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REFRESHER COURSE IN HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

PART 1

TUDOR PERIOD

1485—1603

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND ON THE EVE OF THE TUDOR RULE IN 1485

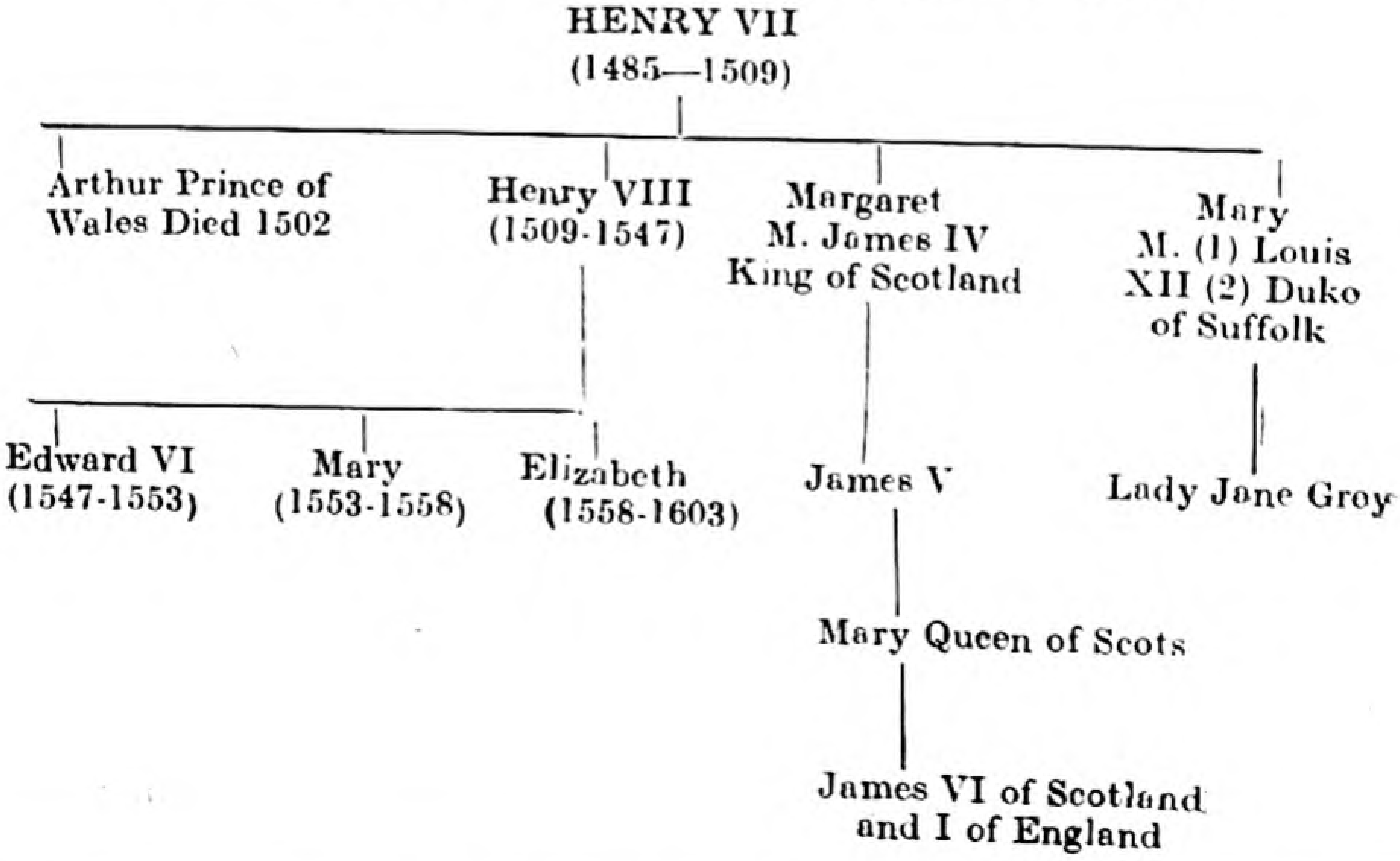
> *"England was weak, poor and backward in all aspects of life at the accession of Henry VII but it rose to be a strong, rich and advanced country at the close of the Tudor period."*
>
> —A GREAT HISTORIAN

Introduction. The accession of Henry VII to the throne of England marks the end of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the Modern Era. To understand the importance of the reign of Henry VII and the achievements and activities of the Tudor Sovereigns, it is essential to have some idea of the condition of England on the eve of the Tudor Period. "England was weak, poor and backward in all aspects of life at the accession of Henry VII but it rose to be a strong, rich and advanced country at the close of the Tudor Period." When Elizabeth, the last Tudor sovereign, died in 1603, England was a first-rate power in the world. We cannot forget "the Spacious Days of Elizabeth when the country felt prouder, safer and more self-confident than ever before."

THE TUDOR SOVEREIGNS 1485—1603

Henry VII	1485—1509
Henry VIII	1509—1547
Edward VI	1547—1553
Mary Tudor	1553—1558
Elizabeth	1558—1603

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TUDORS


HENRY VII
(1485—1509)
Arthur Prince of Wales Died 1502
Henry VIII (1509-1547)
Margaret M. James IV King of Scotland
Mary M. (1) Louis XII (2) Duke of Suffolk
Edward VI (1547-1553)
Mary (1553-1558)
Elizabeth (1558-1603)
James V
Lady Jane Grey
Mary Queen of Scots
James VI of Scotland and I of England

Q. Give a critical picture of the political, economic and social condition of England on the eve of the Tudor Rule. *Or,*

Q. Discuss the condition of England before the accession of Henry VII to the throne of England. *Or,*

Q. Picture England in 1485.

CONDITION OF ENGLAND

Political Condition

Great Power of the Barons. There was no powerful monarchy in England before the accession of the Tudors to the throne. Feudal lords, also called barons, were in power everywhere in the country and every one of them was a king on a smaller scale. They had their own small armies. The soldiers were loyal to their own lords and not to the King. The barons cared very little for the authority of the King or the law of the land. There was no strong and self-reliant monarchy in the country and the barons did what they pleased caring little for the King.

But the Tudor period witnessed a great change. The power of the great lords and barons was entirely crushed. A despotic and all-powerful monarchy was established by the Tudors and the barons were deprived of all powers and privileges that they had fearlessly exercised and misused so far. The Tudor sovereigns rendered a great service to the people by putting an end to the power of the great lords who formed a constant menace to the ruling sovereigns and the people. The Tudors gave the country peace and law which it badly needed. They broke down the power of the turbulent barons and established law and order in the country to save it from the tyranny of the unscrupulous nobles.

Absence of Justice. Justice in the true sense was almost absent in England before the advent of the Tudors. There were no uniform laws in the country. The local lords made their own laws for the areas where they were supreme. Equal and fair justice was not possible in the country for the lords applied the law as they liked and no person had the courage to defy and disobey their verdicts. The courts of the country were so much afraid of them that they were not prepared to entertain a petitioner or appeal against them.

England Had no Position in International Politics. As a weak and backward country England could not take very active part in international politics or establish political relations with other countries. On the other hand, countries like France, Spain and Rome were considered very powerful and advanced countries. They had international importance but England had none.

Economic Condition

Poverty and Starvation. From economic point of view, too, England was passing through a serious crisis. A dreadful civil war (wars of the Roses 1455-1485 between the Lancastrians and, the Yorkists) which had been going on for years had badly upset the economic set-up of the country and impoverished it. The royal treasury was almost drained by the enormous expenses of the Civil War. The royal army was to go without pay for months together. The soldiers maintained by the barons were also in an equally miserable state. In short there was great poverty in the country and common people were on the verge of starvation.

Sufferings of Agriculturists. The agriculturists had been the most unfortunate victims of civil war. The soldiers destroyed the standing crops and to add to their misery the lords never exempted the agriculturists from the payment of revenues. Under these horrible conditions, the poverty-stricken farmers left their lands and fled to the forests. Consequently the land remained untilled and unsown. The grinding burden of taxes further broke their backs and reduced the farmers to the most miserable condition.

No Foreign Trade. Abject poverty, failure of agriculture and heavy taxation made it well-nigh impossible for England to develop internal and external trade. Absence of foreign trade resulted in keeping the masses cut off from the rest of the continent and consequently reduced them to the position of a poor and backward people. Unemployment was another problem which the people had to face for there was not sufficient work for all of them. To add to their misery, manufactures and industries had as yet no place in the national life of the people.

Social Condition

The pitiable economic condition and long civil wars did not permit the people to pay attention to the development of education, art and other useful and progressive aspects of life. The masses were so much pressed down by the adverse circumstances that they could not think of their duties in the various fields of life. The treasury and other resources of the country having been spent on "civil wars", there was destruction, misery and misfortune on all sides in the country.

The masses were in the most deplorable condition from every point of view. Their standard of living was pitiably low on account of extreme poverty. They had no voice in the government of the country though they had to pay a large share of taxation. The privileged classes on the other hand had a lion's share in the activities and administration of the country.

One chief reason of the miserable lot of the masses was that they had no means to give vent to their grievances. Printing Press was not yet invented. Consequently the people had very little chance to improve their lot.

To conclude, the condition of the people of England at the accession of the Tudors to the throne was so pitiable that it could be better imagined than described. The country needed a strong and wise ruler who could give peace and order to it, improve its economic condition and devote himself to the task of reconstruction with untiring zeal and unbounded courage. Henry VII of the Tudor Dynasty was the fittest person to occupy the throne under these difficult and delicate circumstances for he possessed the necessary qualities like tact, wisdom, far-sightedness and boldness to tackle successfully any situation and face all problems. Tired of the horrors of the Civil War as the people were, they welcomed a strong and efficient ruler like Henry VII who gave them blessings of a strong, orderly and efficient government.

Q. What was the Renaissance or the New Learning? What do you know of it with particular reference to its influence, effects and importance?

RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance is a French word which means re-birth or revival of learning and art. When Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453 many Greek scholars ran away to Italy and other countries and taught the European scholars their philosophy, arts, literature and culture. The revival of the study of Greek philosophy and literature also revived the Latin language. This revival of Greek and Latin studies and of Greek arts is often called the Renaissance. This is, however, the meaning of the Renaissance in its narrow sense. In its wider sense the Renaissance is that great transitional movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which led to the birth of new Europe or which changed Medieval Europe into Modern Europe.

Renaissance in Italy

Constantinople was the centre of classical learning, old philosophy and arts. It was the capital of ancient Greek Europe. When it was captured by the Turks in 1453, the new masters did not treat the Greek scholars well. The Greek scholars expert in Greek and Latin literature, philosophy and a number of useful arts fled to Italy for refuge. They first came to Florence—a great and wealthy city of Italy and it became the centre of Italian Renaissance. The Italians accorded a warm reception to the Greek scholars and extended all facilities to them. The newcomers to Italy gave to the Italians the best of their literature, culture, philosophy and art. Rome and other cities of Italy showed as much enthusiasm as Florence in becoming the centres of New Learning. Gradually Greek literature, philosophy, culture and art spread to other countries of Europe. The result was that new thoughts and a new spirit of enquiry and criticism took hold of human mind. The people were no more prepared to take things for granted, they wanted to enquire into causes and effects of things with a critical spirit.

Renaissance in England

A number of scholars went from England to Italy for the Renaissance first began there and many people learnt there a good deal about it.

The Renaissance was introduced in England by Colet, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More, known as the Oxford Reformers. In fact a large number of persons took a deep interest in the matter of reform but these three were the most famous of all. Colet, who had a great deal of learning, did his best to reform education and Sir Thomas More, a famous Dutchman of letters, created a strong desire in men's minds for reform in education and religion. Sir Thomas More wrote his famous book 'Utopia' in which he discussed the social and political problems of the age and drew the attention of the people towards the necessity of reform in education, religion and other spheres of life. Sir Thomas More is also known as the Saint of the Renaissance.

THE INFLUENCE AND EFFECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE

1. *Influence on Letters.* The Renaissance movement led to the revival of Latin and Classical learning (a study of Greek and Latin languages). Many schools, colleges, and universities were opened on new lines and models. Greek and Latin languages began to be studied. Knowledge spread among the masses. "Under the influence of the Renaissance they (the people) now began to study not only Aristotle but, the poets and historians of Greece and Rome in the original tongues, and to enjoy them rather to treat them as text-books for mental gymnastics." (Rayner).

2. *Influence on Mind and Thought.* The Renaissance infused in the minds of people a love for free enquiry and discussion. People began to believe in observation and reason, and refused to take things for granted. They wanted to ascertain truth by themselves, go critically into the nature of things. It made people critical. They ceased to believe blindly in religion and things as they appeared to be.

3. *Influence on Religion.* The Bible was translated and widely circulated. The people began to form their own religious notions and interpretations. This weakened the authority of the Pope and the clergy. The Renaissance infused in the people a keen desire for reform in the Church. People did their best to remove the abuses of the Church and the clergymen. Ignorance, supersitition and bigotry were removed to a large extent. The life of the clergymen became more moral and pure and the tone of the Church was raised.

4. *Influence on Society.* It broke the feudal society. The middle classes prospered while the nobles lost their power. The prosperity of the middle classes rested upon a powerful central government and so the kingly power increased. It also helped to bring into existence the National States.

5. *It Prepared People's Mind for Reform.* Preachers and scholars drew attention of the people to prevailing vices and corruption that weakened purity and character of the Church. The people began to attack openly the places like monasteries which were once thought to be ideal houses of purity, sanctity and all that was noble and good in life. The minds of the people were seriously prepared for reform. When Martin Luther attacked the abuses of the Church and appealed to the people for immediate reform in the affairs of the Church, the people readily welcomed the Reformation Movement.

6. *Influence on Art, Medicine, Philosophy etc.* Though the Renaissance was largely a literary and religious movement, it produced a great influence on art, medicine, philosophy and other things. In literature and fine art like paintings, architecture and music, the religious element ceased to cooperate and human and natural elements became predominant.

7. *It Widened Mental Horizon of the People.* The Renaissance widened the mental horizon of the people and did not allow them to be confined within narrow places and old things. People made many inventions and undertook adventurous voyages to distant places. This led to the increase of trade and commerce and people became prosperous.

The invention of the Printing Press made literature cheap and easily available. This further helped to widen the out-look and intelligence of the people about the things around them.

8. *A Great Change in the Subject of Literature.* Practically all literature dealt with religion and tradition before the Renaissance but there came a revolution in the subject matter of literature with the advent of the Renaissance. Human nature, love, anger, hatred, greed and human feelings of every description were the subject matter of scholars henceforward.

9. *Growth of Trade, Commerce and Industry.* Materialistic ideas began to get hold of people's mind far more than before. They began to think of devoting more attention to the development of trade, commerce and industry.

Dark Side

The Renaissance had its dark side too. People became so bold and reckless that they began to neglect even the dictates of conscience. Distinction between what was moral and what was immoral was almost ignored and people began to think that any means fair or foul could be conveniently employed in the achievement of their objects. Sanctity that was ever a strong characteristic of human conscience was gradually disappearing.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VII (1485—1509)

"The reign of Henry VII marks the division between Medieval and Modern History."

—EDWARDS

Henry VII was the first and a very powerful monarch of the Tudor Dynasty. His accession to the throne of England marks the beginning of a new era in the history of England. His great anxiety was to create order out of chaos, to establish a strong government in the country, to give his subjects peace and prosperity and make throne secure for his son.

Henry's Character and Aims

He was a wise, tactful, strong and painstaking ruler whom the English people heartily welcomed. People were tired of the horrors of a long civil war (Wars of the Roses 1455-1485) which had created chaos and anarchy in the country and destroyed trade and commerce. Henry who was cautious, patient and cool in the face of danger succeeded in giving his subjects the peace and security which formed the immediate and urgent need of the people. Again, by his wise foreign policy which aimed at making England a powerful country by making friendly and dynastic marriages and keeping England at arm's length from foreign wars, he consolidated the power of England which proved most useful to her in her future years.

But Henry was cold, reserved and selfish. Sometimes he was merciful indeed, but from policy not from generosity. He was miserly and greedy in money matters, very far from royal dignity. Excessive love of money was his motto which increased with the nation's prosperity.

People on the whole were happy under Henry for he succeeded in giving them law and order and the peaceful circumstances under which they could work with satisfaction. People called him Henry the Prudent for he was wise, tactful and far-seeing with best interests of his country always at heart. They also called him the "policeman of England" for like an honest policeman he safeguarded the interests of his people by following wise and cautious internal and external policies. "The reign of Henry VII was favourable to the progress of English interests, both at home and abroad." The power of the nobles was very much reduced and the common people who were given every encouragement became prominent and they were given more share in the administration of their country.

Q. Explain why the reign of Henry VII is regarded as marking a new epoch in the history of England *Or,*

Q. "Henry VII's reign was a period of endings and beginnings." Explain and illustrate. *Or,*

Q. "The reign of Henry VII saw the end of the Middle Ages (Medievalism) and the beginning of the Modern Times." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "The reign of Henry VII marks the division between Medieval and Modern History." (Edwards). Explain. *Or,*

Q. "The Tudor Period marks the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern History." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. What were the characteristics of the Tudor Period?

England Before the Coming of the Tudors. Before the advent of the Tudors to the throne of England the condition of the people was most deplorable. Peace of the country was very often disturbed by the feudal lords and particularly under a weak king the barons became so turbulent that normal life became impossible. Masses were very poor. Royal treasury was totally exhausted. The people were most impatient to have a strong ruler who could give them peace and security and keep the unruly barons under check. The country was prepared for a great change and they were restlessly waiting for it.

The following changes which were introduced in England in the reign of Henry VII or during the Tudor Period marked the end of the Middle Ages (Medievalism) and the beginning of the Modern times or (Modernism):

Changes That Brought About Modern Times

1. *Destruction and Disappearance of the Nobility.* For more than sixty years (1422-85)—if we except the latter half of the reign of Edward IV—there had been no government worthy of the name. "The blessings of peace and order were consequently lacking." (Carter and Pears). So far the feudal lords had wielded great power and they could disturb peace and order of the country and create lawlessness and anarchy when they would like. Under a weak king every feudal lord was a king and acted as he pleased. But it was not possible for them to disturb the peace of the country or act as a check on the powers of a king after the accession of Henry VII to the throne of England in 1485. In the first instance, most of the nobles had been killed during the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485) and those that were left were further weakened or destroyed by Henry VII by passing the Statute or Livery and Maintenance, establishing the Court of Star Chamber, imposing heavy fines on the guilty barons and depriving them of all State Offices.

2. *Disappearance of Feudalism.* When there were no nobles, automatically there was no feudalism. Feudalism or feudal system was the system of holding land from the king on certain conditions. This system made the nobles very powerful for their retainers or followers (who got land from the nobles on certain conditions) had to fight for their masters, i.e., the nobles from whom they held the land. Even if a

noble fought against the king, the retainers of that noble would fight for the noble and not for the king for they had received land from the noble and not from the king. Thus feudalism was a system which was full of many defects and which went against the interests of the state. But feudalism disappeared from England with the disappearance of the nobles during the Wars of the Roses and the advent of the Tudor rulers who considerably reduced their power.

3. *Disappearance of Villeinage*. Villeinage means serfdom or slavery. Every noble had a number of serfs or slaves whose condition was most miserable and unworthy of a human being. They were not actually slaves but the treatment meted out to them was like that of slaves. When the nobles were either destroyed or weakened, with it disappeared not only feudalism but also villeinage (serfdom or slavery). Who would keep the villeins when there was no noble? Nobility, feudalism and villeinage were the curses of England but they disappeared with the accession of Henry VII—the first Tudor monarch.

4. *Establishment of a Strong Monarchy or Personal Rule*. As long as there were many powerful nobles in England, it was not possible for a ruler to be strong and successful. The nobles stood in his way and they wanted to assert their own power rather than obey a strong king. Let the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485) be thanked that resulted in the destruction of a large number of nobles. Besides, when Henry VII ascended the throne he made up his mind to rule firmly and resolutely and put an end to the power of the turbulent nobles since they were a hateful nuisance and disturbed the peace and law of the country. His example was also followed by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I who ruled the country with a strong hand and compelled even the richest nobles to obey the law of the land. The Tudors succeeded in establishing despotism rather enlightened dictatorship in the country and thus conferred upon the people the blessings of a settled and strong government. Under the Tudors the country prospered and made progress in every phase of life.

5. *Influence of the Renaissance*. The reign of Henry VII witnessed a revival in learning and art which greatly affected the life and thought of the people. People became inquisitive and began to enquire into things critically and minutely. The spirit of criticism began to work in right earnest. Schools, colleges and universities were founded on new models. People were mentally awakened, they were not prepared to take things for granted, they would call for arguments before they could be convinced. All this marked a new beginning in the life. The new life was the life of enquiry, criticism and reason.

6. *The Rise into Prominence of the Middle Classes*. Henry VII had deprived the nobles of their high offices in the State. He chose his ministers, advisers and other big officers from the middle class persons like Empson, Dudley and Mortin. The King gave away the offices and lands of dead barons to merchants, soldiers and other men of lower rank. Thus he created a new gentry or nobility who were always in his favour and against the barons. The common people

thus gradually became politically important and lent active support to the actions and policies of Henry VII and other Tudor sovereigns. The rise of educated and active-minded middle class thus rendered most valuable services to the cause of their country. "By the destruction of the power of the nobility the middle class became strong and formed the backbone of the English nation."

7. *Equality Before Law.* Before the advent of the Tudors. law was not the same for all the people of the land. The great lords and barons enjoyed great privileges and they considered themselves above the common law of the land. They committed great irregularities and acts of high-handedness but they escaped the grip of law. But in the time of Henry VII and his successors it was not so; even the richest noble was to be judged according to the law of the land and he could not escape the consequences of his actions. A special law court known as the Court of Star Chamber was set up to punish the unruly lords and persons who ignored royal authority or who disobeyed the law of the land. Law came to be properly respected and any one who went against it, was to suffer the consequences of its breach.

8. *Invention of Gunpowder.* The reign of Henry VII witnessed the invention of gunpowder which acted as a powerful means in the hands of the king against his unruly lords. He passed a law prohibiting the lords to make use of gunpowder. This placed the King's power at a much higher level than that of the lords and he was able to suppress them ruthlessly. "The coming of gunpowder brought a social revolution......the fact that private persons could seldom afford the cost of trains of artillery helped to secure the power of national government." (Ramsay Muir).

9. *England's Active Partnership in the Politics of Europe.* It was more since the reign of Henry VII that England began to take a leading part in the politics of Europe. She evinced an equally active interest in all other movements and activities of the continent. She was no more isolated from the continent, rather she became an active partner in most of international affairs. Her power and prestige so much increased on the continent that she became a first-rate power in course of time.

10. *Beginning of a New Foreign Policy.* Henry VII established friendly relations with the princes of Europe by following the policy of 'dynastic marriages.' He married his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland and his eldest son Arthur to Princes Catherine of Aragon and when Arthur died he married his second son Henry (later on Henry VIII) to Catherine (by securing special sanction of the Pope) so as to continue former friendly relations with Spain. This new policy proved eminently successful and made England a prominent and powerful country on the continent.

11. *Important Geographical Discoveries and Inventions.* Henry's reign was also famous for a number of geographical discoveries. During his reign Bartholomew Dias discovered and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, Columbus discovered America, Vasco de Gama the

sea-route to India and Sebastian Cabot the Cog-fisheries of Newfoundland.

Several important scientific inventions were also made in the Tudor Period. Gunpowder, Printing Press and Mariners' Compass were three dominant scientific inventions. These discoveries and inventions revolutionised the history of the world.

12. *Beginning of the Downfall of the Papacy.* Before the Tudors, the Popes, the Priests and the Churches were held supreme and no person had the courage to point out their weaknesses and criticise their actions and policies. But the Tudors proved bold enough to take a strong line of action and openly criticised the authority of the Pope and questioned the Doctrines of the Roman Church. This led to a serious conflict between the Tudors and the Roman Church and the Tudors at last cut off their connection with the Pope. The Church of England was thus separated from the Church of Rome. This made the Tudors the head of the English Church as well as the State and Pope lost his control over the English Church.

13. *Foundation of the Merchant Navy.* Henry VII founded the 'Merchant Navy' in the modern sense of the term. He encouraged the merchant navy by granting a 'bounty' or remission of customs duties, in favour of the builders of a new ship making its first voyage ....The royal or war navy also received attention." Henry is rightly called the 'Founder of the Merchant Navy.'

It was with the help of her strong navy that England was able to crush the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French who were her only rivals in the 18th century. It was her navy that saved her from the fury of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; with her strong navy she was able to withstand the force of the greatest man of the world—Napoleon.

From the above discussion we find that the advent of the Tudor sovereignty in England was a landmark in the history of England which closed the old era and started the modern epoch. We also find that Henry VII showed himself to be the first of modern statesmen.

Q. Explain fully why the modern history of England is said to begin from the time of the founder of the House of the Tudors. *Or,*

Q. Name the events or changes that marked the transition from medieval to modern Europe. *Or,*

Q. In what respects did Henry VII show himself to be "the first of modern English Statesmen."

Ans. Please consult previous answer.

Q. "The advent of the Tudor sovereignty in England was a landmark in the history of England which marked the close of the old era and the beginning of the modern epoch." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "The sixteenth century sees the rise of a 'New Monarchy' in England." Discuss.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Discuss Henry VII's claim to the throne of England. Name the plots formed against him after his accession to the throne. *Or.*

Q. What were the early dangers and difficulties that confronted Henry VII? How did he overcome them."

HENRY VII'S CLAIM TO THE ENGLISH THRONE

Henry VII succeeded to the throne of England in 1485. His claim to the throne was fourfold:

1. *Right by Birth.* Henry VII's claim to the throne by virtue of his descent from the House of Lancaster was very poor. On the principle of hereditary succession his only claim was that his mother Margaret Beanfort was the great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. Thus his hereditary title was very weak and it went far back. On the principle of heredity there were several persons, e.g., the Princess Elizabeth of York, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Lincoln, who had better rights to the throne than Henry VII.

His title to the throne rested on other grounds which may be briefly stated as thus:

2. *Right by Conquest.* Henry VII, a Lancastrian, defeated Richard III, a Yorkist, at the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. This was the last battle of the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485). This established his claim to the throne by right of conquest.

3. *Parliamentary Right.* To confirm his title to the throne he secured the sanction of the Parliament. The Parliament approved of his title and settled the crown upon him and his heirs. This established his parliamentary right to the throne.

4. *Right by Marriage.* He married Elizabeth Woodville of York (the real heir to the throne of England), the eldest daughter of Edward IV and thus united the two rival Houses of Lancaster and York. His object in doing so was to strengthen his position and lessen the enmity between the two leading Houses. "This was a political marriage which 'blended the two Roses' and strengthened Henry's title to the crown."

In addition to all the above claims, Henry VII got his title to the throne of England confirmed by Pope Innocent VIII. He was thus universally acknowledged as King of England.

PLOTS AGAINST HENRY. HIS EARLY DIFFICULTIES

Henry wanted to rule peacefully and he tried his best to please his political opponents. Despite all this the rival parties made several attempts to deprive him of the throne.

1. *The Yorkists' Opposition.* The Yorkists were not prepared to acknowledge Henry VII as their king. Henry overcame this difficulty by marrying the Yorkist lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.

This marriage united the rival Roses, i.e., the House of York and that of Lancaster. This made Henry's position safe and he had no danger at least from the Yorkists who could stand in the way of his peaceful accession to the throne.

2. *Lord Lovel's Rising,* 1586. He was one of the faithful friends and followers of Richard III who had been defeated and slain at the battle of Bosworth in 1485. He headed a rising against Henry VII but it was suppressed without much difficulty.

3. *Revolt of Lambert Simnel,* 1487. He was the son of an Oxford Baker who pretended to be the Earl of Warwick and thus the rightful claimant to the throne. He attacked England with a small Irish army but Henry defeated him at Stoke in 1487. Henry forgave him for his folly and employed him as a cook in the royal kitchen.

4. *Revolt of Perkin Warbeck,* 1492. Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournay, pretended to be Richard, son of Edward IV. He went to Ireland and France but could not get help anywhere. He was then helped by Scotland and invaded England but he could find no support there and was defeated at Towton and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was at last executed. It was thus that Henry overcame his early difficulties.

5. *Danger from the Barons.* The barons and the great nobles who formed probably the greatest danger to the monarchy of Henry VII, were very much weakened by the king's bold and fearless policy of curtailing their power. He resorted to a number of strong measures which ultimately broke the power of the barons and restored peace and law in the country so that the people could follow their occupations with perfect ease. Some of these strong measures were 'a Law against Livery and Maintenance,' and the Court of Star Chamber to break the power of the nobles which constituted the greatest menace to the public peace.

Q. Describe the Internal i.e., Domestic Policy of Henry VII. *Or,* **How did Henry make himself strong and crush the power of the barons?** *Or,*

Q. Why is Henry VII's reign called a 'Period of Remedy'? *Or,* **How did he establish peace and order in the country?** *Or,*

Q. How did Henry VII build the edifice of the Tudor Monarchy on a stable basis? *Or,* **Why is Henry VII known as the founder of the personal rule of the Tudors, i.e., strong Tudor Monarchy?**

DOMESTIC POLICY OR A PERIOD OF REMEDY

Henry VII's reign is rightly known as the 'Period of Remedy' for it applied effective measures to remove all those ills and troubles that had brought misery and ruin to England during the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485). The establishment of a strong central government was the true and only remedy for the removal of all ills and disorders and introducing an era of peace, order and prosperity. His domestic policy was to increase the royal power and establish a strong royal government. His object was to destroy the power of the nobles and to free himself from parliamentary control. Consequently, he succeeded in cutting down the power of the nobles, establishing a strong rule which was independent of parliamentary control and building the edifice of the Tudor Monarchy on a stable basis by the following measures:

1. *Statute Against Livery and Maintenance*: He passed the statute against "Livery and Maintenance," by which he refused to allow the nobles to keep retainers (followers who fought for their master) beyond a certain number. He imposed heavy fines upon those nobles who broke this statute.

By the custom of "Livery and Maintenance" the barons gave livery (a uniform) to their retainers (followers) who were ready to fight at their bidding. The barons thus maintained the quarrels and the retainers escaped punishment. Under the garb of livery a man would commit any crime without being punished because he was the retainer of some baron.

2. *Establishment of the Court of Star Chamber.* It enforced the law against the nobles of whom ordinary courts were afraid. Its judges were big officials like the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Chief Justices, Bishops, etc. It dealt with cases of offending barons and the juries that had wilfully done injustice. Even the greatest barons were not allowed to go unpunished. It sat at Westminster in a room the roof of which was decorated with patterns of Stars. The Court was not afraid of any baron, however, powerful and punished him for his guilt. By doing this he made the law of the country and the King's authority respected in the whole of the land. The power and influence of the barons was thus considerably reduced and the respect for law and order was enhanced.

3. *Confiscation of the Land of the Yorkists.* He severely punished those who formed plots or rose in revolt against him. The Yorkists who still aimed at the throne of England were brought to task and deprived of their property. The Yorkists were no longer in a position to challenge the authority of the king.

4. *Henry Did Not Take his Ministers and Advisers from among the Nobles.* He took all his ministers from the middle class, men like Empson, Dudley and Morton. He gave the nobles no royal offices and permitted no royal connections to be made with their families. They were also ignored in the work of administration, so that the traditional influence of nobility under state affairs was practically destroyed and they no longer wielded any power.

5. *Use of Gunpowder by the Crown Alone.* Guns and gunpowder could be stocked by the king alone. He forbade the use of gunpowder by the barons and any person who made use of it without royal permission was to be severely punished. Its use was limited to the Crown alone. The fact that the gunpowder could be used only by the king considerably increased the power of the crown and dealt a serious blow to the nobles. The king could easily storm the forts of the barons if they rebelled.

HENRY VII (1485—1509) 17

6. *He Amassed a Vast Amount of Wealth.* Henry believed in the power of wealth and as such he collected a vast amount of wealth by forced loans, imposing heavy fines on the barons, who violated any law old or new and who joined any rebellion against him, selling pardons, securing Tonnage and Poundage (taxes on tons and pounds of certain articles) and by reviving the system of Benevolences. Literally Benovolences were free gifts offered by the rich people of the land to the King out of their feelings of good will and devotion for him to enable him to meet his needs (but in fact the rich people had offered a part of their wealth to the King out of fear or the King would find out some excuse to snatch it from them). Henry collected vast sums of money from the people on the pretension of going to war with France but used very little of it for war. He saved practically the whole of this money to fill his treasury.

Morton one of the King's ministers helped his master in collecting a vast amount of wealth by a clever device known as Morton's Fork. To a rich man living in pomp and show he would say that he could well afford to give the King a good deal and to a man living in a poor way he would say that he must have saved much and so he could well give the King a good part of his saving. "The King had fully realized that in the new world that was rising from the ruins of the Middle Ages, money was likely to have an importance that it had never before possessed and therefore pursued the policy of amassing wealth."

7. *Henry's Policy of Economy.* He ran the government in the most economical way but never at the cost of efficiency. Every year he saved a good deal out of the ordinary revenues. He fought no wars and yet he won a respectable position for his country on the continent by holding the balance between the various powers. He believed in peace and was averse to war for he knew that peace would built his economy and the war would destroy all that he had amassed. His economy proved very helpful to him in having a treasury that was ever full.

8. *Henry's Commercial Treaties.* Henry's Commercial Treaties known as Magnus Intercursus or Great Intercourse and his second commercial treaty called the Malus Intercursus with the Flamings brought great commercial benefits and made Henry and his people powerful and rich.

9. *Dynastic Marriages.* Shrewd and far-seeing as Henry was, he further strengthened his power and resources by carefully planning a policy of dynastic marriages (matrimonial alliances). He entered into matrimonial alliances with great powers. In order to detach Scotland from France, he gave his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland (1503). Two years before this, he had married his eldest son Arthur with Catherine, daughter of Fardinand and Isabella of Spain. It so happened that Arthur died after five months of his marriage. Henry VII then married his second son Henry (afterwards known as Henry VIII) with Catherine by a special dispensation (permission) of the Pope.

By following the above measures Henry strengthened his position, laid the foundation of the personal or despotic rule of the Tudors, weakened and broke down the power of the nobles, made the royal law respected all over the land, stored up great wealth and made his rule very strong at home so that there was perfect peace and order in the country. Henry was able to achieve what he wanted.

He died in 1509 and left behind him a Kingdom more settled, strong and prosperous than it had been for over a century and a treasury which besides jewellery etc. had nearly two millions in hard cash.

Q. State the ways and means employed by Henry VII to secure the throne of England to himself and to his family, to restore peace and order and establish despotic government or personal rule.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. "Henry VII's reign was a period of seed-time". Discuss.

Ans. Henry VII's reign has been very aptly described as a period of seed-time. His reign was not merely a period of remedy (as discussed in the previous answer) but was also a 'Period of Seed-time.' Seeds of many things were sown during his reign but the harvest was to be reaped later on. "The results of the sowing though they remained latent in Henry VII's time they bore fruit in the future."

"HENRY VII's REIGN A PERIOD OF SEED-TIME"

1. *Seeds of a Strong Tudor Monarchy.* The first seed sown was the creation of a strong Tudor Monarchy. Henry VII laid the foundation of a strong Tudor monarchy. It developed by and by. The evils from which the people of England suffered in the fifteenth century were more due to the weakness of the crown than to any other factor. Henry VII thoroughly understood this factor and so he did his best to strengthen the power of the crown as much as possible. He also knew the fact that wealth was an important source of power, and thus he vigorously devoted himself to its accumulation. He took into service able but unscrupulous ministers and advisers like Empson, Dudley and Morton who resorted to all sorts of devices to extract money from the people to fill the treasury of their greedy but shrewd master. The coming into use of gunpowder and introduction of artillery also added to the power of the crown and its use by the subjects of the king was strictly forbidden and no body could escape serious consequences if he infringed the royal order. Thus Henry laid in the true sense the foundation of a strong Tudor Monarchy or its seeds were sown by Henry VII though it took some time more to develop into a full-fledged Tudor despotism.

2. *Seeds of England as a Great Future Naval and Commercial Power.* It was in Henry's VII's time that the people of England began to take part in the voyages of discovery. There arose a new spirit of enterprise in the whole nation. The English people were

not prepared to remain in isolation and they had a keen desire to come into touch with the outside world as 'Citizens of the World'.

In 1492 Columbus had discovered the New World and Vasco-de-Gama the Cape route to the East in 1497. These and other discoveries served as a great stimulus for the English people. As a far-sighted and shrewd man of business Henry VII clearly saw a great future of oversea-trade and commerce for his subjects. Under Henry's guidance England directed her attention to the navy which was to be the basis of her future glory and greatness and which gave a substantial push to the energies of the English people. Henry helped to equip an expedition which sailed from Bristol under John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 and which actually reached the coast of North America (Newfoundland and Labrador). Immediately England made no gains from this expedition as it was a land of cold and fog. It was, however, later on that the English people thought seriously of occupying America. As a result of their new adventures and discoveries commerce passed from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the new trade routes lay at England's doors. This ultimately resulted in England's becoming the leading naval and commercial power in the world, but its seeds were sown in the reign of Henry VII. It was under him that England began taking interest in maritime enterprise.

3. *Seed of the Reformation was sown in the wide diffusion of the Reniassance or the new Learning.* It was in the reign of Henry VII that the influence of the New Learning began to be felt in right earnest. It was for the first time that the people began to develop the spirit of criticism and refused to take things for granted. They ceased to be blindly guided by authority or accept any thing that failed to appeal to their reason. The new spirit of criticism and minute examination emboldened the people and they began to find fault whenever it could be found and they would not spare even the Pope. The Pope of Rome and the clergy had abandoned their high principles and lofty ideals. The monasteries and the churches were no longer centres of purity, charity and noble deeds The people began to criticise openly and fearlessly the sad state into which the Church had degenerated. It was in fact in the reign of Henry VII that England was deeply effected by the New Learning and the way for the Reformation (Separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome) was prepared.

4. *Seed of the Union of England with Scotland.* Union of England and Scotland was an event of extraordinary significance in the history of England and Scotland. Both the countries gained immensely from the Union and changed the history and mutual relations of the two countries. But what was at the root of this great Union? On the death of Elizabeth (1603) the Tudor line ceased to exist for there was no representative of the Tudor line to succeed Elizabeth. The Tudor line became extinct. The nearest claimant to the throne of England was James VI of Scotland. He was proclaimed King of England (as James I of England, he was already James VI of Scotland).

His claim to the throne of England lay in his being the son of Mary, Queen of Scots and Darnley and as such he was the great grandson of Henry VII. Thus it was the marriage of Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII, with James IV, the King of Scotland, (1503) which ultimately brought a Scot to the throne of England. The marriage of Margaret led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland under James I, and ultimately to the union of Great Britain in 1707.

5. *Henry's Dynastic Marriages*. His policy of dynastic marriages is another very good example, showing how seeds sown in the reign of Henry VII led to momentous results later on. Henry VII himself married Elizabeth Woodville, the heiress of the Duke of York. It brought about the union of the two Houses—the Lancastrians and the Yorkists—strengthened Henry VII's claim to the throne of England and put an end to the future hostilities between the two Houses. The other two dynastic marriages were those of his son Arthur and his elder daughter Margaret. He had married his elder daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland which brought about the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland and which ultimately united the two countries under the name of Great Britain. He married his son Arthur to Catherine of Arragon of Spain but Arthur died within five months of the marriage. Henry was so eager to continue his relations with Spain that he married his younger son Henry (later on Henry VIII) with the widowed Catherine with the special permission of the pope. But some time afterwards Henry wanted to divorce Catherine for certain reasons and the Pope did not permit him to do so. This enraged Henry VIII who separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome thus doing away with the control and dominance of the Pope over the Church of England. This separation is known as the Reformation which is considered to be a very great event of the Tudor period.

From all that has been discussed above we find that it was in the reign of Henry VII that the seeds were sown or the beginning was made of many important events which actually happened later on. The seeds of these most significant events, some of them of world-wide importance, were sown in the reign of Henry VII, though they bore their fruit in time to come.

Q. Give an account of the Foreign Policy of Henry VII.

FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VII

In his foreign policy Henry aimed at three things—(i) He wanted peace and avoided war.

(ii) He wanted to create friendly relations with foreign powers.

(iii) He wanted to maintain the Balance of Power in Europe in order that no country might become so powerful as to disturb the peace of Europe.

The keynote of Henry's foreign policy was personal and political. Feeling his title to the English throne insecure. he sought to conciliate the chief princes of Europe so that they might not hesitate to recognise him as the lawful king of England and not help the Yorkist rivals. On the whole his foreign policy was that of peace for it was peace more than anything else that was needed now in England.

Henry and France. During the first years of his reign Henry had many troubles to face abroad and France was unfriendly to him. He, therefore, made an alliance with Duke Francis of Barittany who was at war with his overlord. In 1488 Francis died leaving Anne his only daughter as heiress. The French king asked for the hand of the princess. This alarmed he chief enemies of France who overran Brittany and Anne was married to Charles VII. In 1496, Henry made peace with the French by the Treaty of Estaples by which the French paid him a good round sum of money to ensure the withdrawal of his army. Thus he made even a French war a paying and profitable concern. Besides, the French King promised to expel from France Perkin Warbeck who laid a false claim to the throne of England.

Henry and Spain. Always suspicious of France, Henry made it the main object of his policy to win Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to his side. He married his son Arthur to their youngest daughter Catherine of Aragon in 1501. Next year Arthur died. Henry now married his widowed daughter-in-law to his second son Henry. Though such a marriage was contrary to the Church law, Henry obtained from the Pope a dispensation which suspended the law in this case, and permitted Henry (later on Henry VIII) to marry Catherine.

Henry and German Emperor. Henry saw that the chief danger from Warbeck came from unfriendliness of foreign powers. He strove to conciliate the chief princes of Europe. The Treaty of Estaples had driven Warbeck from France. In 1496 the relations between Maximilian the Emperor of Germany and Henry were made very cordial by a treaty called the Magnus Intercursus or Great Intercourse by which trade was resumed and both princes promised not to support each other's enemies. In 1506 Maximilian's son, the Archduke Philip, was driven by storm to take refuge in England. Henry treated Philip with all honour but forced him to sign a new treaty of commerce which favoured English trade so much that the Flemings called it the Malus Intercursus, that is, Bad Intercourse.

Henry and Scotland. In 1503, Henry married his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV, King of Scots, who had been so long hostile. This marriage produced important political results in the future. The matrimonial alliance between England and Scotland proved very useful to both the countries, for it ultimately united the two kingdoms. This union created very friendly relations between them and made them strong and prosperous in the long run. Instead of being hostile to each other they became close friends and helped each other, in the time of need.

Henry and Ireland. Poyning's Laws. Ireland was helping the Yorkist enemies of England. Henry VII appointed Sir Edward Poynings, Deputy Governor of Ireland, to bring Ireland under complete control. Poynings passed two laws called the Poynings' Laws which provided (1) that the laws passed by the Irish Parliament could not be valid unless approved by the King of England, (2) and that the laws passed by the English Parliament were to be valid in Ireland. Ireland was thus reduced to a state of perfect submission and order was restored there.

Henry and Wales. Henry sent his eldest son Arthur to Wales to rule there with the advice and assistance of a council called the Council of Wales. He ruled well and tried to maintain friendly relations with the people of Wales.

His Commercial Treaties

(i) *Magnus Intercursus or Great Intercourse.* In 1496 a treaty was concluded between Henry VII and Maximilian the Emperor of Germany. By this the relations between the two princes became very cordial and trade between their countries was much encouraged. The two princes promised not to support each other's enemies. This treaty was known as the MAGNUS INTERCURSUS OR GREAT INTERCOURSE.

(ii) *Malus Intercursus or Bad Intercourse.* This treaty was concluded in 1506 between Henry VII and Philip, son of Maximilian. In 1506 Philip was driven by storm to take refuge in England. Philip was treated with all respect and courtesy but he was forced to sign a new treaty of commerce which brought so much gain to the English people that the Flemings called it the Malus Intercursus or the Bad Intercourse.

His Interest in Maritime Activity. He created facilities for trade and encouraged it in every way. Freedom of trade had been established between England and the Netherlands by commercial treaties.

He passed a Navigation Act which required that English goods should be carried in English ships alone. The building of big ships suitable for long voyages was encouraged by giving government aid and other facilities.

He made his wars a paying concern for him. His subjects were always ready to fight with France. He got the money for war purposes but used very little out of it for war. Again, he did not actually fight but soon entered into peace with his enemy and made him pay the price of the peace.

Success of Henry's Domestic and Foreign Policy

Henry's internal and external policy was eminently successful. The reasans of his great success are:—

(i) *Henry's personal qualities.* Henry was a shrewd and tactful ruler and a lover of peace by nature and policy. He avoided war as far as possible and it was more by peaceful means than by war that he achieved so much for England. "Thus the victories of the seventh Henry were the victories of peace". (Mowat). He was very energetic and a man of strong determination. He very well realised the value of money, independence and a peaceful and just administration. He never lost his balance of mind even in the darkest hour. He could not tolerate the injustice and tyranny of the strong barons over the weaker people and he resorted to all possible means to achieve this noble object.

(ii) *Strong desire of the People for Peace and Order.* The common people were sick of the war which had causd anarchy and destruction. The nobles were most selfish and greedy and they wanted to crush the people. They had no sense of responsibility and no respect for law and order. Every noble wanted to behave as a king on a smaller scale and thus destroy the liberties of the people. Henry was strong enough to give a strong blow to the power of the unruly nobles and give rest to the land that was distracted by war and anarchy of the previous years. The masses thoroughly co-operated with the king in his policy and activities.

Q. Describe Henry's work and achievements *Or,* his services to England. Importance and merits of his rule. An estimate of Henry VII.

HENRY'S WORK, ACHIEVEMENTS AND SERVICES

(i) *Establishment of a Strong Government.* He put down the power of nobles and the anarchy created by the Wars of the Roses. He gave England peace, order and settled government. He conferred on his people the blessings of a powerful and orderly government. He set up strong centralised government that gave all protection to the masses against the tyranny of the nobles. It was a great achievement of Henry to have given peace to the Englishmen which England badly needed. The barons lost their power and ceased to be a menace to the King and to the people.

(ii) *England Became an Important European Power.* By his diplomacy he made England an important European power. England now became the real arbitrator of European politics which ultimately made England a great commercial, naval and colonial power. "On his accession he had found England of no account in Europe: poor, divided and a prey to anarchy. When he died he left behind him a land powerful, united and prosperous." His wise and strong policy won for England a creditable position. His interference in European politics was very successful and it considerably added to the prestige of England.

(iii) *Making of Good Laws and Enforcing of Strict Justice.* By his Statute of Livery and Maintenance and by the creation of the Court of Star Chamber he put down the power of the barons and reduced them to non-entity. The Court of Star Chamber dealt with offenders and nobles too high to be dealt with by ordinary courts. Before this there was more the rule of the barons than the rule of the King. Every baron was a King and the people could not enjoy the blessings of justice.

(iv) *Prosperity of the Country.* One of Henry's claims to greatness is the work that he did to increase the trade and prosperity of the country. He encouraged trade and commerce by commercial treaties, and by the Navigation Acts he secured for England the 'carrying trade'. He encouraged ship-building and for the building of big ships suitable for long voyages he gave subsidies and other facilities. The country witnessed remarkable prosperity under him. By his commercial treaties he made England powerful on the continent. The people who were hard hit by the Wars of the Roses were able to recover their losses.

(v) *Colonial and Commercial Greatness.* His reign was a time of great discoveries. England saw the beginning of colonial and commercial treaties added to the wealth and position of England. She had a creditable position among the nations of the world.

(vi) *Protection of Industry.* He protected industry and promoted the intellectual and commercial activities of his people. He took a keen and intelligent interest in the development of industry, trade and shipping.

(vii) *England, Ireland and Scotland Bound Closer.* Besides he bound England and Ireland closer, and by his Scottish marriage took the first step towards the union of England and Scotland. His policy of dynastic marriages proved very helpful to England. The Marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV of Scotland ultimately led to the Union of England and Scotland and made them not only strong and prosperous from within but a great power to resist their common enemies.

(viii) *Strong Finances.* Like a wise and cool-headed King he rightly felt the value of money for running a government. In the first place Henry observed every economy in running the government and then he amassed a great deal of it by heavy fines, forfeiture of estates, by benevolences, by getting supplies from Parliament on pretext of wars with France and by other so many means.

The above are briefly the merits of Henry VII's rule. It is on account of his wisdom that he showed in his policy, actions and affairs of the government that he has been spoken of as "a wonder for wisemen".

It was rightly said of Henry VII, "Thanks to his (Henry VII's) vigorous, statesmanly and efficient rule that the England of 1509 was a wholly different and an incomparatively happier and more prosperous realm than the England of 1485."

Again, it is true that there was no romance in Henry's reign, no clashing of arms, no valiant deeds and nothing heroic but we must say that he gave order and rest to a distracted land and raised her again to a tolerably dignified position among the nations. By his strong finances he rendered a very valuable service to his country and the Tudor Dynasty. Large sums of money amassed by him made him and his son Henry VIII practically independent of Parliament.

By his wise and powerful policy King Henry made the crown of England safe and secure for himself and his dynasty.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII (1509—1547)

> *In its essence the Reformation was a revolt against conventions which had lost the justification of the conditions that had brought them into being and had become the fetters upon intellectual and spiritual progress instead of aids to its advancement.*"
>
> —INNES

His Accession. He ascended the throne of England in 1509 at the age of eighteen after the death of his father Henry VII. Henry VII had two sons, Arthur and Henry—Arthur was married to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the King of Spain. Arthur had died within a year of the marriage. Henry VII was so anxious to continue his relations with Spain that he married his second son Henry (Henry VIII) with Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur, by a special permission granted by the Pope for ordinarily one could not marry one's brother's widow.

His Character. Henry was eighteen years of age at the time of his accession. He had many personal accomplishments and appeared every inch a King. He was tall, handsome and healthy and had received good training in the use of arms. He was a splendid athlete, could ride better than his grooms and shoot better than the archers of his guard. "He was a fine sportsman, a good musician and a man of learning and culture." He was well-educated, delighted in the society of scholars and knew a number of languages like Latin, French and Spanish. He was hearty and affable with a kind word and a jest for every one. He had a vigorous mind and a firm will. If he once made up his mind for anything, nothing could turn him aside from his purpose. The said qualities coupled with his warm and generous ways made him popular among his people. On coming to the throne, the first thing he did to win popular applause was to order Empson and Dudley—the hated agents of his father who extorted money from the people in most unscrupulous ways—to be executed on a charge of treason.

As he advanced in years, Henry VIII showed himself selfish, greedy, unscrupulous and cruel. He would do anything fair or foul and care for no scruples when he wanted to serve some personal end. He ruled England as an autocrat and exercised the most despotic sway over the lives, the fortunes and the liberties of his subjects. The Parliament was there but he employed it very much to his own ends and reduced it to a position of subservience. He was insincere and ungrateful. He praised and rewarded a man as long as his services were needed by him but when the need for him was over, the services rendered by him were soon forgotten and generally death warrants were served on him. He ordered Empson and Dudley to be sent to scaffold, dismissed Wolsey and ordered Cromwell to be executed though he had served his so loyally. He had ability and courage but he possessed a temper at once fierce, unbinding and unforgiving. The treatment that he meted out to his wives was most undignified and unworthy of royal position. It has demanded condemnation even from his greatest admirers.

In spite of his great faults and weaknesses of character, he was a sagacious statesman who guided England in most difficult times. He proved to be a great and strong King who worked hard to make England powerful and respected at home and abroad. He loved pleasure but never neglected his work. He safeguarded national interests and though a despot he never forgot the good of his subjects. He was the most popular sovereign of the Tudor Dynasty, and maintained his popularity throughout his whole reign of thirty-eight years. Internally he made himself much stronger than Henry VII had been. He established his despotism on a very firm basis, and became the leader of the English masses, and made the Parliament agree to whatever he liked.

Q. Give an estimate of the character, work, policy and achievement of Cardinal Wolsey. *Or,* (D U. 1956, 1953)

Q. Give a brief sketch of the career of Cardinal Wolsey and his influence on the foreign policy of Henry VIII. *Or,* (D.U. 1963).

Q. How far was Wolsey's foreign policy based on the doctrine of the Balance of Power? *Or,* (D.U. 1964).

Q. "The role of Wolsey in the sixteenth century England was really significant." Discuss.

THOMAS WOLSEY

Wosley's Early Career. He was born to an Ipswich merchant in 1471. He received his education at Ipswich and Oxford and took his degree at the age of fifteen and was thus known as 'Boy Bachelor'. He had joined the ecclesiastical service in the reign of Henry VII and soon distinguished himself by his political capacity. Henry VIII had the faculty of choosing really capable persons for his ministers and advisers among whom the most famous and competent was Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey was appointed Archbishop of York in 1514, Chancellor in 1515, Cardinal in 1515 and Papal Legate in 1518. Till his fall in 1529 he was the Chancellor of Henry VIII and supreme both in the Church and the State. He rose to the high position by virtue of his personal merit, ability and not due to his birth or favour. He did not feel satisfied with his position in the Church and wanted to become the Pope. He was handsome, energetic, untiring, eloquent and sagacious. All authority rested in his hands and he ruled both the King and the entire kingdom as long as he was in office.

HIS WORK, POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Wolsey was a great diplomat and far-seeing statesman. He made England great at home and abroad. "Wolsey was the first statesman to raise England to a great place in European politics." He raised the position of England in national and international politics. For more than fourteen years he was the master of everything and controlled and moulded the destinies of England.

To appreciate his work and achievement we have to understand his Home, Church and Foreign Policy that have contributed so much to the good of the people of England and made her a great country.

His Home Policy. His domestic policy lay in making Henry VIII all-powerful and absolute. Wolsey realised that if he wanted to maintain his own high position in the church and the state, he must add to the strength and independence of the King. He made it a point to make royal power supreme and defend the interests of the Crown in the church and the state. He adopted these measures to add to the power and dignity of the King:—

(a) Whenever there was a point of dispute betwen two or more important nobles he came forward to solve the problem by playing the part of a peaceful middleman. This helped to secure peace in the country and peace gave strength to the King and the people.

(b) Most of Wolsey's subordinates and attendants were the sons and relatives of the nobles. The nobles, therefore, did not disturb the peace of the country for they knew that their sons and relatives would be promptly punished and suitably taken to task for their guilt. This again helped to maintain peace and security in the country.

(c) To please the King and to carry on certain beneficial public activities, he collected money to fill the royal treasury. He imposed several new taxes and used strict measures for their realisation. Besides, he encouraged the system of Benevolences, i.e., of offering presents and gifts to the monarch on suitable occasions.

(d) Wolseys' reforms and improvements in the administration of justice, his keen interest in educational activities and the foundation of colleges added to the glory and prestige of Henry. By strengthening the position of the king, Wolsey indirectly strengthened his own position. "For fifteen years, 1514 to 1529, he almost ruled England, labouring incessantly in office and at the council table, and in the closest confidence of the King." (Mowat).

His Reform of Church. His Religious Policy. Wolsey played a very important role in Church matters too. As Papal legate he was all-powerful in his authority over the English Church. Besides, the main thing that made him take active interest in the Church reform was the great influence that New Learning exerted on him. He had a high sense of morality and was deeply touched by the most deplorable internal condition of the Church. He was alive to the vices and corruption that prevailed in the internal life of the Church and the clergymen. In some cases their practical life was so vicious and shocking that it led human nature to revolt. He was strongly in favour of ecclesiastical reforms, so that perfect sanctity of religion might remain intact.

The monasteries had grown wealthy and so indolence and self-indulgence had crept in among them; particularly many of the smaller monasteries had grown lax, both in discipline and morals. Wolsey had suppressed the smaller ones (the task of suppressing bigger monasteries was left to Cromwell and Cranmer during 1536-39) and with the wealth that he got from them, he built new colleges and bishoprics with the sanction of the Pope. One of the colleges that Wolsey founded was known as Christ Church College, Oxford. He also made arrangements to educate the clergy so as to raise the standard of their morality and make them better qualified for the duties of their office.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy. Balance of Power. Wolsey had a thorough knowledge of the national and international politics. The Chief points in his foreign policy were to keep 'Balance of Power' in Europe and make England a mediator (an umpire between the contending parties). It has been rightly said in connection with Wolsey's foreign policy that Wolsey's theory in foreign politics was that of the 'Balance of Power'. His principle of 'Balance of Power' meant that there should be a state of equilibrium, i.e., equality of power among nations and no single nation should be allowed to grow too powerful. If a nation grew too powerful, it would endanger the liberties of other nations and conquer the weaker ones. This would disturb the political balance and the inevitabe result of this would be deadly wars. Peace would be seriously disturbed and groups of nations formed to cut each other's throat. The end would be destruction. Wolsey had a firm belief that the policy of 'Balance of Power' had a great value and the world could be saved from horrors of destructive wars by sticking to this policy.

Wolsey's great idea was that there should be peace on the continent and in England by preserving the 'Balance of Power' between different nations so that no single nation was allowed to grow very powerful and thus endanger general peace. When France and Spain were deadly enemies of each other, both of them were trying to seek the friendship of England. England first sided with Spain and defeated the French at the Battle of the Spurs. In 1525 when England saw that France had been badly defeated and there was fear of 'balance of Power' being upset lest Spain might grow too powerful, Wolsey made England side with France against Spain and forced the latter (Spain) to make peace with the former (France). Thus he made England an arbiter of European peace and a strong and influential power. "This system of playing off the two strongest European powers against each other was Wolsey's greatest contribution to political theory and has ever since remained the foundation of England's

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foreign policy." (Osbert Lancaster). It is therefore rightly said that Wolsey was responsible for laying the foundation of a traditional foreign policy for England. Wolsey's fame and greatness mainly rested on his ably handling the foreign affairs. "In the beginning of the reign England was a power of the second order. By seven years of hard toil, Wolsey raised her to be mediator in the politics of Europe." The ability and energy of Wolsey were of special service to his master in the region of foreign politics.

He succeeded in making Henry a powerful and autocratic ruler and England a great country both at home and abroad. England became so important and prominent that it became the centre of European politics. It was all due to the wise statesmanship and exceptional political ability and common sense of Wolsey to handle the affairs of Europe that England came to act as an umpire between the contending parties and its prestige was raised high as a great European power.

"During Wolsey's time foreign affairs assumed an importance they had not enjoyed for many years, largely owing to the young monarch's (Henry VIII) eagerness to play a prominent role on the European scene."

Wolsey's Contribution Towards Tudor Despotism. Wolsey was a very significant figure in the sixteenth-century England. He had made England great and respected both at home and abroad. His personal life had taught many valuable lessons to Henry VIII. He learnt a good deal from Wolsey on account of his close and personal associations with him.

(i) Being the supreme figure in Church and State Wolsey ruled like an autocrat and still his autocracy was cheerfully tolerated by the people and they never objected or resisted. The secret in Wolsey's successful autocracy was that he never ignored efficiency. He maintained autocracy side by side with efficiency. It served as a great lesson for Henry who made up his mind to have the detailed and thorough knowledge of every business if he wanted to rule successfully. This gave him efficiency in his business.

Again, Wolsey lived in great pomp and show and this helped him to rule like a successful autocrat. Henry followed his example of living in great magnificence and this really stood him in great stead.

Next, Wolsey combined in himself the highest positions both in the Church and State. This acted as a stimulus for Henry and made him feel confident that the same person both as the head of the Church and the State could rule successfully. This confidence helped Henry to make himself the supreme head of the Church and the Sate and rule with efficiency. Tudor despotism was thus in no small measure a success through the efforts and example of Wolsey which Henry VIII carefully followed.

Wolsey's Fall. Henry VIII was bent upon divorcing Queen Catherine, daughter of the King of Spain and the aunt of Charles V the Roman Emperor, a very powerful ruler of Europe, and marrying Anne Boleyn for whom he had developed a strong love. According to English law he could not have two wives at a time, thus he must divorce Catherine if he wanted to marry Anne Boleyn (A lady of the Court). Wolsey tried to secure the Pope's consent for the King's divorce of Catherine but the Pope was not willing to give his verdict in favour of divorce. The Pope wanted neither to displease the king of Spain, nor did he like to displease Henry of England. The Pope remained silent.

Henry was led to think that Wolsey was not taking full interest in securing the Pope's consent and that the delay in the matter of divorce was wholly due to him. Henry who had lost all patience dimissed Wolsey and confiscated his estates and goods. His office was given to Sir Thomas More. Sometime after he was arrested for treason.

Wolsey was summoned to London to stand his trial for treason but he died on his way (1530) to London as the result of the great shock he had received from the most undignified and disgraceful treatment meted out to him. His last words were: "If I had served my God as diligently as I have served my King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs." Wolsey had served his master—Henry VIII—with perfect devotion but Henry repaid Wolsey's services with the blackest ingratitude, unworthy of a great King.

Wolsey's Character. Wolsey was the greatest political genius of his time. Great as a churchman he was still greater as a statesman. He was a great figure not only in England but also on the continent.

Wolsey was very ambitious and fond of power and succeeded in holding the highest offices in church and state. His next ambition was wealth and the display of wealth. He received very high emoluments from his great offices which he held in Church and State; he also received large sums of money as presents and pensions from foreign princes. Again, nobles, sons of nobles, big churchmen and numerous retainers were among his attendants. For full fourteen years he was the mainspring of state politics and the King had left the routine and administration in his able hands. His ability and courage enabled him to work in his high offices with the greatest success and satisfaction. He kept peace and order at home and made a number of very important improvements at home for the good of the people. He promoted England's greatness both national and international and made it a strong and prosperous country. He occupies a very high and honourable place in the British History.

Q. What is meant by the term "the Reformation"? Discuss the main causes and factors that brought about the Reformation on the continent (Europe). *Or,*

Q. State the evils and abuses of the Medieval Church (Roman Catholic Church) that necessitated the advent of the Reformation. *Or,*

Q. What do you understand by the term 'Protestantism or Reformed Religion? Describe the circumstances that brought about

the fall of the Medieval Church and the advent of the Protestant Movement. *Or,*

Q. "In Many ways the Church needed reforming." In the the light of this remark mention the needs that brought the Reformation to England.

THE REFORMATION

Meaning of the Reformation. The Reformation Movement was a great attempt to reform the Medieval Church (Roman Catholic Church) in which a number of evils and abuses had crept and which had deplorably degenerated. It may be said that the Reformation was a sort of moral revolt against the abuses and corruption found in the Pope and the churchmen and which had brought a bad name to them. This movement which aimed at reforming the Roman Catholic Church was started by Martin Luther, a Professor in the University of Wittenburg in Germany.

Martin Luther was shocked to see the practice of 'Indulgences'. What is an Indulgence? An indulgence was a 'pardon-certificate, which the Pope or his deputies granted to the indulged person (person who was guilty of some crime) in return for a certain amount of money. Indulgences were openly sold and their sale brought huge sums of money to the Pope. Luther first criticised the sale of 'indulgences' and then some doctrines of the catholic religion were the objects of his criticism. Luther was accordingly expelled from the Church and soon after many persons who believed Luther to be right gave up Catholic religion out of sympathy for him. The movement which Luther and his sympathisers began in Germany for the reform of the Catholic religion or the Medieval Church was called the Reformation.

Luther made his 'protest' against the corruptions and evils of the Roman Catholic Church and wanted to reform them. The reformed religion was therefore called Protestantism and the movement for reform was known as the Reformation. The followers of the reformed religion were known as the Protestants. The reform movement started by Luther in Germany gradually travelled to other countries of Europe till it became a vast movement. This great religious movement of the sixteenth century permanently divided Christendom into two great sects, viz., the Protestants and the Catholics.

Martin Luther's exposure of the vices of the Pope and the Catholic Church and his urgent appeal for reform facilitated the task of the Reformation in England and Henry's task of separating the English Church from the Church of Rome was accomplished with great ease.

CAUSES AND FACTORS LEADING TO THE REFORMATION

In its early days the Catholic Church was a very noble and truly religious institution so that it looked after the poor, the sick and the ignorant and performed a number of other social and humane functions. Its ideal was the good of humanity as a whole. But as time passed, it became lax in discipline and morality and became corrupt

A. Religious Causes

1. *Abuse of Power by the Pope.* There was a keen resentment against the enormous powers possessed by the Pope and the way in which he used them:

- (a) The Pope of Rome thought himself to be the representative of God on earth and so he expected the ruler of every Christian State to pay due obedience to his orders right or wrong. If he was displeased with any Christian King for any reason he could punish him by declaring that he was no more a Christian and as such he forfeited the right to rule the Christian subjects. He had other weapons too which he could employ against Christian Kings.
- (b) The Pope sold 'Indulgences' (pardon certificates) to indulged persons for forgiving their sins in return for a certain amount of money. This clearly means that people were robbed in the name of religion, otherwise how could God be expected to be so greedy as to accept bribe to pardon sins.
- (c) Every Christian ruler was required to pay 'First Fruit' (the portion of income of his Kingdom during the first year) to the Pope.
- (d) The Pope sold high ecclesiastical offices in different states for heavy prices.
- (e) Ordinarily one bishop was expected to manage one church with efficiency. But the Pope received a heavy amount of money from a bishop who was put in charge of a number of Churches. In such cases the bishop could not but be corrupt as well as inefficient. All that has been said above shows that the Papcy had ceased to be the religious centre of Christendom. The Popes were no longer the spiritual guides of the people. They were more concerned with spreading their own Kingdom than the Kingdom of Christ and they took no interest in safeguarding the morality of the people whom Providence had placed under their care. They were corrupt and had little of the true spirit of religion and purity and sublimity. The corruption of the head was but a sign of the decay of the members under him.

2. *Vices Among the Greater Clergy.* The greater clergy were given to a life of luxury, idleness and greed. They negleced the duties of their office and took absolutely no interest in the welfare of the people. From religious point of view they were considered to be the guardians of the people's character but actually they had forgot their high ideals and moral responsibilities.

The Clergy claimed to be above the laws of the land and claimed special rights and privileges. This attitude of mind made them proud and forgetful of their duties and noble mission which Christianty placed before them. All this caused great resentment among the people.

3. *Monasteries as Hotbeds of Corruption.* There was a time in the history of monasteries when those who dwelt in them spent their time in helping the poor, the sick and the needy. Their great ideal and chief pursuit was the 'service of mankind.' They lived a simple and pious life and passed their time either in the service of suffering humanity or in prayers to the 'Creator of the Universe'. Their practical life was exceptionally pure and their mission was the noblest.

In course of time the monks and friars forgot their simplicity, 'purity and high ideals of life.' They led immoral life and observed no discipline and restraints. Most of them were more full of vices than worldly persons. This had caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among the people.

4. *Religion a Mass of Silly Superstitions.* Religion had lost its true worth. Character, charity, truth, liberality and kindness to others which were once the true characteristics of religion had disappeared. True religion lay in practising certain practical virtues and discarding certain vices. But now, i.e., on the eve of the Reformation religion was nothing more than a mass of silly superstitions and showy ceremonies. More importance was attached to the observance of empty forms and ceremonies than to the practice of Christian virtues. "Too much stress was laid on outward ceremonies, too little on right living, in spite of occasional protests.... The Roman Catholic Church failed to satisfy the urgent need of 'heart religion' for which good men longed." Religion had lost its old sanctity and had thus ceased to command respect of the people. The people were very much disgusted with this state of affairs and their disappointment knew no bounds.

5. *Work of John Wycliff and Lollards.* In the reign of Henry IV, Lollards and their able leader John Wycliff brought to light, with their exceptional courage even those evils and vices of the Church which were not known to the general people. Their movement and teachings were suppressed by Henry IV. But the followers of Wycliff continued their work and ultimately it awakened the people to the necessity of immediate reform in the sad affairs of the Church.

(B) Political Causes

Rise of the Spirit of Nationalism. The Renaissance made people's mind active, thoughtful and bold. The corruptions of the Papacy were no longer a secret. No righteous person whether in England or elsewhere could tolerate this sad state of affairs in the Church. The English people held the Pope mainly responsible for all this. They looked upon the Pope as a foreigner. The people of the counries of Europe since they had become national-minded wanted to get rid of the Pope's influence in their countries. The people strongly resented the interference of the Pope in their religious affairs and wanted to have their independent national churches over which the Pope had no control. They were eager to get rid of the influence of the Pope in their daily life and activities.

Annoying Treatment of the Pope. The English people, like all other people of Europe, were tired of his indifferent and unsympathetic attitude to the interests of the people. Moreover, there never was a chance of any Englishman becoming a Pope.

(C) Social Causes

Heavy Demands of the Church. The masses had developed a strong dislike for the Pope and the Church not only for their vicious life but also for their commercial spirit. Religion was commercialised. Sins could be forgiven by payment of money. Other demands of the Church were daily increasing which the common man was unable to pay. The Renaissance had brought about a great intellectual change among the people who could not tolerate injustice, vice and burdensome demands for which there was no justification.

Influence of the Humanists. The Humanists who exerted a peculiar influence on human mind created a strong desire in the people to reform the deplorable state of affairs prevailing in the Church. Their influence made people averse to injustice, vice and tyranny and filled them with a determination to fight evil and replace it by virtues.

Strong Feeling Against Papal Interference. The English people, proud of their ancient independence, resented the Papal interference in the affairs of England. They resisted the claim of the Pope to settle English affairs in Rome. Englishmen were determined to establish an independent national church being in no way subordinate to the Church of Rome. Their ideal was to have a Church free from the influence of the Pope and any other foreign power. They wanted perfect religious freedom and to have a Church of their own ideal in which no foreigner had any right to interfere.

Thus practically the whole Europe, including England, was full of explosives and only one spark was required to set the whole thing ablaze. The spark came from Martin Luther in 1517.

Q. How did the Church of England separate from the Church of Rome and become independent? *Or,* **Carefully examine the work of the Reformation Parliament in England (1529—1536).** *Or,*

Q. Sketch the course of Reformation in England from 1529-1536, or in the reign of Henry VIII and indicate its results. *Or,*

Q. Why and how did Henry VIII defy the Papacy? Explain how this defiance of the Papacy helped to increase the power of the Crown?

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The Reformation in England was due to certain remote and immediate causes. The causes which brought about the Reformation were so important that the advent of the Reformation became inevitable. The Reformation could have been postponed for a short time but it could not have been avoided.

Remote Causes. There were certain powerful causes and factors that had strongly prepared the minds of the people with a determination for religious changes. For instance, Martin Luther had exposed the weaknesses of the Pope and challenged his right to sell 'Indulgences.' People greatly resented the vast powers claimed by the Pope more particularly because he used these powers to serve his own selfish interests. Vices that prevailed among the greater clergy gave a rude shock to the conscience of the people. It was really deplorable that most of the monks and nuns whose chief aim in life was once 'service of mankind' were leading immoral and shamefully degraded lives. Religion had lost its sanctity and was nothing more than a mass of silly superstitions and meaningless ceremonies. Imbued with the spirit of nationalism as the English people were, they were not prepared to tolerate the influence of a foreigner like the Pope as the supreme head of the Church of England. They could not tolerate the domination of a foreigner over their national Church particularly when he was not making the right use of his power.

Immediate Cause. Henry VIII was a Roman Catholic and a follower of the Pope. But certain peculiar circumstances compelled him to defy the Papacy whom he had so far respected from his heart of hearts. It was the Divorce Question, i.e., the determination of Henry to divorce Catherine (Henry's first wife and the widow of his elder brother Arthur) and marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the Court, whom Henry had dearly loved. According to the law of England, Henry could not have two wives at a time. If he was to carry Anne Boleyn, he must first divorce Catherine, but he could not divorce his former wife till the Pope had declared this marriage illegal.

Difficulties in the Way

1. The former Pope had accorded special sanction for the marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine and now if he declared the marriage unlawful that would badly reflect on him and also degrade the Church in the public eye.

2. The Pope would be incurring the displeasure of the King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to whom Catherine was closely related, if he declared the marriage null and void. The Pope also hesitated to refuse to grant the wish of Henry for that would make him hostile to him. Thus the Pope, out of policy, restrained from interfering in the divorce question and tried to remain aloof and unconcerned.

Appointment of a Commission

To overcome his difficulty the Pope appointed a commission of two persons—Thomas Wolsey, the Chancellor Henry VIII and Campeggo, one of his own Legates—to go into the divorce question. They discussed the different aspects of the question for some time but they refused to give their judgment mainly for the fear of displeasing the King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The members of the commission declared their inability to decide the divorce question under reference.

The inability of the commission to decide the divorce question in favour of Henry upset his mind and his wrath fell on Wolsey. Wolsey was deprived of all his offices and forced to retire to York. He was charged with treason and summoned to London to stand his trial but he died on his way to London.

Failing to get divorce from Pope, Henry consulted the Universities of Europe which however gave a divided answer. At last Henry decided to break off all connection with the Papacy and to make the Church of England independent with the King of England as the Supreme Head of the English Church.

Separation of English Church from Roman Church. Thomas Cromwell was the chief secret adviser of Henry. Henry with the help and co-operation of Cromwell made a direct attack upon the Papacy. completed the breach with Rome and made the Church of England independent of the Church of Rome. Henry called the Reformation Parliament in 1529 to accomplish the great task of removing certain abuses and separating the English Church from the Roman Church so that Henry as the Supreme Head of the English Church might do what he pleased and thus divorce Catherine.

WORK OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT 1529—1536

(A) Removal of Clerical Abuses. Submission of the Clergy to Henry VIII

1. *An Act to Cut Down the Fees of the Clergy,* 1529. An Act was passed by the Parliament to cut down the fees (for wills, burials etc.) which people were bound to pay to the clergy and the Church courts in England.

2. *An Act to Forbid Pluralities,* 1530. Many of the bishops and the clergy derived their income from more than one source. This made them greedy, vicious and neglectful of their duties. The Act meant to limit their sources of income so that they might lead simple and pious lives.

3. *The Clergy Acknowledged Henry Supreme Head of the Church.* The Clergy had been threatened by Henry with the confiscation of their Church estates for they had acknowledged Wolsey as the Papal Legate. The clergy had to pay a heavy sum to Henry for buying off his pardon. Henry also secured 'Submission of the Clergy' to his becoming Supreme Head of the English Church and the clergy of England.

4. *Church Courts Brought Under King's Control,* 1531. An Act was passed by the Parliament to forbid the Convocation (The Council of the Clergymen) to pass any law without the permission of the King.

By the end of 1532 the clergy had lost almost all their privileges and the Church courts were completely brought under the control of the King. Their power was weakened and they were so much afraid of Henry VIII that they no more supported or favoured the Pope. Henceforward they co-operated with Henry and looked to him for protection and not to the Pope. They worshipped the rising sun—Henry VIII.

(B) Separation from the Church of Rome

1. *The Act of Annates,* 1532. Before this the newly-appointed bishops and the clergy had to pay Annates or First Fruits, i.e., First Year's Income to the Pope but by this Act it was to be paid to the King of England and not to the Pope. (Peter's Pence too was to be paid to the King of England and not to the Pope. In fact all payments of money were forbidden to Rome).

2. *Ban on the Convocation,* 1532. In 1532 the Reformation Parliament prohibited the convocation (Assembly of the Clergymen) to pass any law without the permission of the king.

3. *The Appeals Act,* 1533. Soon after the coronation of Anne Boleyn the Parliament passed the Appeals Act by which the English clergy were forbidden to carry appeals to Rome. If a case was taken out of England to the Court of Rome it was considered to be a breach of law and a seriously punishable crime.

4. *The Act of Supremacy,* 1534. By the Act of Supremacy Henry VIII became the only Supreme Head of the Church of England and it was asserted that the Pope had no authority or jurisdiction in England. This Parliament also passed the Act of Treason (1536) by which it was considered a treason to deny the King of England the title of 'Supreme Head of the Church of England.' (Now the Church of England was independent of the Church of Rome. A court presided over by Archbishop Cranmer, authorised Henry to divorce Catherine).

5. *The Act of Succession,* 1534. By this Act the crown of England was vested in the heirs of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn and all subjects of the King were required to take the oath of Succession and those who refused to take the Oath were to be charged with treason.

6. *Dissolution of the Smaller Monasteries,* 1536. In 1536 the Reformation Parliament ordered the 'Dissolution of the Smaller Monasteries', i.e., those monasteries whose annual income was less than £200 a year were to be dissolved. The property belonging to the monasteries went to the King. This added to the wealth and power of the King. The Church of England was now completely brought under the control of the State. The King of England thus became the head of the Church of England and the Pope lost its control over it. The Church of England was now a department of England thoroughly under the control of the State. "For the last twelve years of his reign Henry VIII was a kind of Pope over the English Church." (Southgate).

N.B.: Another Parliament abolished the larger monasteries in 1539; the land belonging to them was sold at a low price and the proceeds of the sale of the land went to the pockets of the King. Some of the land was granted to the courtiers and favourites of Henry VIII.

We should not forget that the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome was brought about by the laws passed by the Parliament and the consent of the people. The fact that the Parliament achieved all this by passing a number of laws shows that Parliament was constitutionally very powerful. The power of the King was considerably increased.

Q. Account for the ease with which between 1530 and 1534, Henry VIII and Parliament were able to break with the Papacy.

FACTORS WHICH MADE EASY THE BREACH

Certain strong factors and circumstances which are given below had already prepared the minds of the people for the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome:—

1. *Work of Martin Luther.* He exposed the weaknesses of the Pope and challenged his right to sell 'indulgences'. People began to suspect the motives of the Pope.

2. *Abuse of Power by the Pope.* There was keen resentment against the enormous powers claimed by the Papacy and the way in which these powers had been used to serve the selfish interests of the Pope.

3. *Vices Among the 'Greater Clergy'.* The wealth and luxury of the greater clergy and the idleness and greed of many of the monks led to resentment of the people.

4. *Monasteries were Hotbeds of Corruption.* Most of the monks and nuns whose chief pursuit was once 'Service of Mankind' were now leading immoral lives and were even more full of vices than worldly persons. They had a keen resentment against monasteries and wanted their reform.

5. *Religion was a Mass of Silly Superstitions.* Most of the people were disgusted with religion and they wanted to reform it immediately, for it had lost its original sanctity and was reduced to a mass of silly superstitions.

6. *Rise of the Spirit of Nationalism.* The Renaissance had made people's mind active and thoughtful. They were not prepared to accept the influence of the Pope as a foreigner in England particularly when he was not serious about his duties. English people did not want the Pope to have any influence in England.

7. *Strong Influence of the Humanists.* The Humanists exercised a particularly strong influence on the human mind and prepared the people to reform the sad state of affairs in the Church.

8. *Determination of the King and the Divorce Question.* Henry VIII was determined to divorce Catherine but the Pope was not prepared to permit Henry to divorce her. Henry VIII had no other way but to make himself the supreme head of the Church of England and then get the needful done by his subservient Parliament. The angry action of the wilful King Henry VIII played a very important role.

9. *Archbishop Cranmer and Parliament served as willing tools.* The Archbishop and the Parliament both served as willing tools in the hands of Henry VIII and carried out his wishes. But for the active co-operation and help of the Archbishop and the Parliament, it would have been impossible for the King to get the needful done.

N.B.: All these points have been dealt in detail in the previous question. The students should study carefully and expand them.

Q. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Nature of English Reformation, showing that it was personal and political and not religious. "English Reformation was a political movement." Elucidate this statement.

(b) English Reformation as distinguished from Continental Reformation.

(c) Henry VIII's religious policy or his attitude towards Reformation.

(a) NATURE OF ENGLISH REFORMATION

English Reformation Personal and Political and not Religious. The Reformation in England during the time of Henry VIII was a purely personal and political question; it was not a religious question. Henry VIII wanted to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn. He requested the Pope to permit him to do so but the Pope could not displease the King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V as Catherine was closely related to them. Had the Pope agreed to allow the King to divorce Catherine and make Anne Boleyn his queen, no further complication could have taken place between the relations of the Pope and the King. So far it was a purely personal, private or individual question and if it had been satisfactorily solved, the Reformation in no sense could have taken place in England in the reign of Henry VIII.

The personal question soon after assumed the form of a political movement. The situation became serious when the Pope declined to accept the King's request. The only alternative left to the King was to end the papal authority in England and make himself the Supreme Head of the Church in order to be able to divorce Catherine. There was no question of fight on the rites and doctrines of the Church between Henry and the Pope. Henry had never raised this question for in his heart of hearts he believed in the doctrines of the Medieval Church (Roman Catholic Church). Till his death Henry continued to believe in the Roman Catholic Church. The quarrel between the Pope and Henry VIII was not based on religious rites and doctrines of Church but it related to the powers of the Pope. The Pope claimed the power to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church but Henry was not prepared to yield. Henry was wise enough not to take any despotic or unconstitutional steps to break off the connections of England with Rome. He called a Parliament which passed a number of Acts, first to reform the monasteries and weaken the loyalty of the clergy to the Pope and then it passed a number of important Acts to end the authority of the Pope in England. When

Henry had made himself the Supreme Head of the Church, he was free to neglect the Pope and do what he liked.

The Reformation was a Dual Movement—(1) the denial of the authority of the Pope to interfere in the religious affairs of Christian countries; this was the political aspect of the Reformation. (2) The denial of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. This was the second aspect of the Reformation and this was the religious aspect.

Henry had denied the authority of the Pope but he had not denied the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, i.e., he had introduced Reformation in England only in a partial sense and not in a complete sense. He had brought in England only political aspect of the Reformation and not its religious aspect. The King and the majority of his subjects were more interested in throwing off the papal authority in England than introducing changes in religion. Thus it may be said that the English Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII was personal and political and not religious.

(b) ENGLISH REFORMATION AND CONTINENTAL REFORMATION DISTINGUISHED

There are some important points of difference between the Reformation in England and the Reformation on the continent. They are as follows:—

1. The English Reformation, to begin with, was not a religious movement in the time of Henry VIII because its object was not to reform the abuses and corruption. The movement started with personal and political motives. The personal motive behind the movement was Henry's great anxiety to divorce his wife Catherine and when the Pope expressed his inability to allow Henry to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn, Henry was so full of wrath that he made up his mind to deprive the Pope of the right of interference in the affairs of the English Church. Henry's motive became a political one when he resolved to end the papal interference in the affairs of the English Church and to make himself, instead, the Supreme Head of the Church and thus to make the Church an instrument with which to carry out his wishes. In England the Reformation was not a religious movement in the reign of Henry VIII since there was no religious change and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were allowed to remain in their original condition. On the other hand, the Reformation Movement on the continent (Europe) was neither personal nor political but strictly religious. The people eagarly wanted a change in the doctrines of the Church.

2. In England the Reformation began at the top, i.e., it was started by the King and filtered down below. It was not a revolutionary movement of the people against their sovereign but it was a comparatively peaceful movement regulated and started by the Crown. On the continent it was a national movement on a mass scale. It started from below, i.e., the initiative was taken by the people and not by the Crown.

3. The Reformation in England was gradual and moderate. England was not prepared to accept extreme and thorough-going Protestantism.

(e) HENRY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY; HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS REFORMATION

In religious matters Henry VIII was still a staunch follower of the Roman Catholic Church. He broke with the Pope and the Church of Rome but not with the doctrines of Catholic religion. He had abolished the Pope's authority in England, but still he was opposed to the idea of introducing far-reaching changes in the doctrines of the old faith. In Henry's reign no important change was introduced in the Catholic religion and he was still a keen follower of the old faith as will be clear from the following account:

1. When Martin Luther preached against the abuses and corruption of the Catholic Church, Henry opposed his views and expressed his faith in the Catholic religion. Henry even wrote a book in favour of the Pope and the Catholic religion. For this act the Pope had honoured him with the title of 'Defender of the Faith'. The Lutheran teachings had very little effect on the people of England. It was the Divorce question and the angry action of the wilful king Henry that brought about the partial Reformation in England during his reign. Henry and his subjects were not opposed to the doctrines of the Catholic religion but they were opposed to the Pope and wanted to get rid of his control over the Church of England. If the Pope had allowed Henry to divorce Catherine, he would not have broken even with Pope. Thus Henry's personal and political and not religious motives led to that part of the Reformation in England which related to the authority of the Pope over the Church of England. Henry only wanted to make himself the Supreme Head of the Church of England to be able to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn and he had no quarrel with the doctrines of the Catholic church.

Thus he followed a middle course—it was not papal because Henry had abolished the authority of the Pope over the Church of England and it was also not Protestant because he had introduced no change in the doctrines of the Catholic religion.

2. Henry suppressed the monasteries mainly for two reasons—they had great wealth and they were also the strong supporters of the Pope.

3. Henry was in favour of the Reformation only partially. The Reformation had two aspects—(1) Denial of the authority of the Pope and (2) Denial of the doctrine of the Catholic Religion. Henry denied the authority of the Pope but not the doctrines of the Catholic religion. It was on the ground of his personal and political motives that this aspect of the Reformation was introduced in England. Henry and his subjects wanted to go so far and no further. No change was caused in the doctrines of the old religion.

4. Those persons who refused to follow the Act of Appeals, the

Act of Supremacy and the Act of Succession were seriously dealt with and even put to death.

5. Henry wanted no change in the doctrines of the old Church. He passed the Statute of Six Articles in 1539 which enforced the doctrines of the Catholic faith. "Henry VIII was averse to all doctrinal reforms and the Act of Six Articles was a definite statement against any attempt to change doctrine." Henry required all his subjects to observe the Statute of the Six Articles and those who denied the Articles were to be punished. Thus Henry strictly adhered to the doctrines of the old faith. "The great majority quite agreed with the King in maintaining all the old doctrines and practices except the supremacy of the Pope." (Rayner).

Henry's Persecutions. The Protestants who denied to express their faith in the Statute of the Six Articles were persecuted and even burnt to death. The Catholics who refused to acknowledge Henry as the Supreme Head of the English Church were persecuted. The monks of the Charterhouse were either persecuted or put to death for not acknowledging Henry as the Supreme Head of the English Church and for their not taking the oath of the Act of Succession. Several other well-known persons including John Fisher and Sir Thomas More were also executed for their refusing to accept the Acts of Succession and the Act of Supremacy. By the Treason Act passed in 1534, any one who denied the royal titles of Henry VIII was to be put to death.

The leaders of the revolt known as the Pilgrimage of Grace which followed the suppression of the small monasteries (1536) were executed. In 1539 the King with the help of Thomas Cromwell suppressed the greater monasteries and all those persons who opposed the King's policy were mercilessly executed or otherwise persecuted.

Thomas Cromwell who had been the chief instrument of Henry in making him a despot and breaking with the Pope was charged with high treason and put to death in 1540.

Q. Mention the general effects of the Reformation. *Or.*

What were the effects of the Reformation on England and other countries of Europe?

(A) EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION ON ENGLAND.

Economic Effects

(1) Already the power of the Crown had very much increased in the reign of Henry VII. But in Henry VIII's reign, it increased still further. The Suppression of the Monasteries gave Henry huge sums of money and numerous tracts of land in 1536 and again when the greater monasteries were suppressed in 1539 it made Henry a very rich King. Lands were also distributed among the King's courtiers. His great riches made him independent of the Parliament. "One by one, all the remaining monasteries were dissolved and all their property confiscated for the use of the Crown." (Mowat). Only a small portion of the confiscated money was used for public purposes such as education, defence of the coast etc.

(2) Before the Reformation Movement a large part of English wealth was drained outside the country. The Pope of Rome extracted the First Fruit from the clergy and thus took away a lot of wealth from England (The first-fruits were a year's income given to the Pope by all Bishops and Archbishops). Besides, the pardon certificates were sold to sinners generally in exchange for heavy amounts. As a result of this, England was deprived of her immense wealth every year. It was a constant drain on England's resources. The Reformation Movement thus saved England from being impoverished and enabled her to improve her economic condition.

Social and Religious Effects

Before the Reformation, England was bound to follow the lines of the Roman Catholic faith as it prevailed in Europe. She had to act on the European thought-line and could not detach herself from that. She could not exercise independent thinking nor avail herself of it. This Movement freed England from the chains of Catholic faith being exercised from without (England had the fullest advantage of her position when Reformation was introduced in England in the full sense).

With the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, England secured her ecclesiastical independence. The English Church became national and followed her own line of action without the interference of any outside authority. It was a department of the State under the authority of the English sovereign. The King had now full authority over the Church as well as the State.

Political and Constitutional Results

1. *Papal Authority Was Weakened in England.* The interference of the Pope in the religious affairs of the countries of Europe had long been resented by the people. The attempt of Henry to free the Church of England from the control of the Pope was appreciated by the majority of the people. A national state could not tolerate the interference of a foreign sovereign (the Pope) in its internal or religious affairs. This attempt of Henry strengthened the national spirit.

2. *Henry VIII Became More Powerful by Becoming the Supreme Head of the Church.* The various Acts passed by the Reformation Parliament during the course of seven years (1529—1536) made Henry VIII the Supreme Head of the English Church and led to the abolition of the authority of the Pope in England. The archbishop, the bishops and the clergy had always looked to the support of the Pope because he had a great hand in moulding their fortune but now everything came into the hands of Henry. Henry was now the complete master of the situation. Henry was to appoint and dismiss them as he liked. They were, therefore, henceforward dependent on Henry. This made Henry despotic who was now all-powerful over the state and the church. Before the Reformation the Church was like a state under the control of the Pope and not under the King of England but now the Pope had nothing to do with the religious affairs of England. The Pope's control over the English Church was completely removed since

the Act of Supremacy made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England and anybody who denied this royal title was put to death. The Church was now subordinate to Henry and as such it lent active support to him in his policy and actions.

3. *Henry's Power and Authority Increased by his Control over the Church Courts.* The control over the ecclesiastical courts came entirely into the hands of Henry after the breach with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries. Henry became almost despotic in the affairs of the Church and the State. His power enormously increased.

4. *Influence of the Church Weakened in Parliament.* The composition of the House of Lords was greatly changed. The abbots who had been previously sitting in the House of Lords lost their seats after the Reformation on account of the dissolution of the monasteries. The Church ceased to be represented in the Parliament like before and became extremely weak.

(B) EFFECTS OF REFORMATION ON OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

1. *Division of Europe into Two Main Religious Camps.* The Reformation Movement divided England two main hostile camps on the basis of religious differences. One camp comprised the countries that were in favour of the Reformed Movement. They were called the Protestants or the followers of the reformed religion. The other camp consisted of the States that were in favour of the old faith. i.e.. Catholicism. The two camps were always at daggers drawn as the direct outcome of their religious hostility. They shed great human blood in the name of religion and committed acts of which humanity was ashamed.

2. *Partial Removal of Evils Among the Clergy and Catholic Religion.* The Reformation Movement as it was called was a revolt against the vices and failings found in the life of the clergymen. The followers of the old faith took advantage of the opportunity and got rid of certain personal abuses and religious rituals which had been made the object of serious criticism. Thus religion was partially purified and rested on moral basis.

3. *The Spirit of Understanding the True Sense of Religion.* Before Reformation the people had implicit faith in religion and blindly followed its dictates. They did not care to grasp what religion meant. Since the Bible was not translated into different languages, it enabled the people to think and understand what religion really meant. They were no more led by conventions but they began to appreciate the soul and sense of religion.

4. *Reform in the Language of Books on Religion.* Before Reformation the language of the religious books was complicated and ambiguous for nobody had cared to feel that these books were meant mostly for those persons who did not possess much knowledge and learning. When the people could not easily understand the language of the books, they failed to grasp their spirit and sense. Their failure to appreciate them made them indifferent to religion. But the books

written after the Reformation were easily understandable by the layman both as regards their language and sense. As such they served a better religious purpose. Such books helped to raise the moral standard of life and helped the people to understand and appreciate the essence and importance of religion.

5. *Religion and Humanism Wen Side by Side.* Some people had developed a sort of indifferent attitude of mind towards religion when the preachers of the reformed faith exposed the abuses and drawbacks of the old religion. Now there was a great change in the mental attitude of the people. Instead of devoting their whole attention to religion, they devoted a part of it to religion and a part to the problems of their country, i.e., human problems with a view to improve its social, economic and political condition. Some people liked to be more concerned with the problems of their country than with their religion.

Q. What led to the Suppression (Dissolution) of the Monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII? What were the results of the suppression?

CAUSES OF THE SUPPRESSION OF MONASTERIES

If Henry VIII wanted to weaken the influence of the Pope and give a blow to his power in England, it was essential for him to suppress the monasteries since they were more attached to the Papacy and served as Papal strongholds. The monasteries offered a strong support to the policy and actions of the Pope and formed his pillars of strength. There were other reasons too for which Henry wanted to dissolve them. Henry made up his mind to suppress them because:

1. They were no longer useful institutions as they had been in the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages they served as charitable institutions and places of learning where education was imparted free, but they had by this time outlived their utility and were serving no useful purpose.

2. The monasteries had grown so rich that the monks became indolent and luxurious and some of them even immoral. The monks were neither learned nor zealous, nor strikingly devout, and that as religious communities the monasteries had largely lost their former sanctity and utility. "Vice and immorality were found to exist in many of them."

3. The monks were more careful of the interests of the Pope and more attached to him than to the King. They formed the chief sources of strength to the Pope in England.

4. Henry wanted wealth and the monasteries possessed great landed property and wealth. With the help of Thomas Cromwell, the King first suppressed the smaller monasteries in 1536 and then the bigger ones in 1539.

N.B.: Any monastery which had an endowment of less than £200 a year was considered a small monastery.

RESULTS OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

Economic and Social Results

1. The imediate result was a revolt in the North led by Robert Aske. The rebels made two demands—that Cromwell be punished and the lands of the monasteries be restored. The revolt is called the Pilgrimage of Grace. The revolt was suppressed and its leaders were punished.

2. The people lost their prayer houses. The countries built their splendid houses on the ruins of the suppressed monasteries.

3. The tenants of the abbey lands were ruined as the new landlords did not care for their welfare. They simply wanted to get as high a rent as possible.

4. The poor people also suffered much. The monasteries had afforded charitable relief to the poor, but their suppression deprived many poor men of the subsistence that they had received.

5. Only a small number of monks and nuns received pension; but very many of them lost their living. These monks and nuns and other dependents on the monasteries swelled wretchedness in the country; vagrancy and wickedness increased in consequence. "The monks became homeless wanderers. Beggary and pauperism increased. Thus the dissolution led to one of the greatest social evils." The deplorable state of affairs produced by vagrancy necessitated the Poor Law under Elizabeth.

Political Results

1. The King with the spoils of the monasteries in his possession became the richest sovereign that had ever been in England. This naturally made him strong and fearless. He could be independent of the parliamentary control for he needed no money from it.

2. The destruction of the monasteries was responsible for a rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace which was put down with much bloodshed. A new court called the Council of the North was established to keep the people in check. Those monks who offered any opposition were put to death on a charge of treason or on some other false ground.

3. A part of the money was spent for building ships and fortifications for the defence of the country. "A fraction was expended on the Channel defences."

4. The king gave the major portion of the monastic lands to the nobility and thus brought into being a new and official class of nobility altogether dependent upon the King. This new nobility gave a hearty and active support to the King for it was his creation and could not, therefore, afford to displease him or go against his wishes in state affairs. This nobility formed a major element in the Parliament and always co-operated with the King. Thus the royal power was enormously increased.

Religious Results

1. The cause of Reformation received a new stimulus. Those who received from the King the confiscated lands of the monasteries zealously supported the Reformation Movement. If the Papal power was restored and the cause of the Reformation Movement was allowed to suffer the lands would surely pass away from their hands to the new landlords. The new gentry who got lands from Henry were most loyally devoted to the cause of the King and the Reformation. "The secularisation of the Abbey lands secured the English Reformation by harnessing to King's cause the strongest, most enterprising, most influential section of English society."

2. Mary tried to get back the monastic lands distributed or sold by Henry but she failed in her attempt. This checked her ambition to restore Roman Catholicism.

Constitutional Results

With the fall of the monasteries, the abbots lost their seats in the House of Lords. The number of lay peers naturally increased. Since the lay peers were more dependent upon the King than the spiritual lords, the power of the King increased and that of the Church decreased.

All this shows that the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries were enormous and far-reaching.

Q. "Henry VIII's reign marks the climax of Tudor despotism." Do you agree with this statement? Give reasons. *Or,*

Q. "The Tudors were autocrats outgrowing all moderation. Under Henry VIII this high-handed despotism reached its high water-mark." Elucidate.

TUDOR DESPOTISM AT ITS HEIGHT

We cannot deny the fact that Tudor despotism was at its height under Henry VIII. Under him it had reached its climax and it could not have gone beyond that. Henry VIII was clever and tactful and he felt the pulse of the nation. He knew where to yield and where to remain firm. Some of his acts were most arbitrary and high-handed, his wish was law, his ministers and Parliament were tools in his hand and nobody had the courage to resist his wish. His ministers and councillors were his clerks whom he could dismiss whenever he liked. No person was safe in his hands; he could execute even his own Queens.

The following account would help us to understand how Tudor despotism had reached its climax under Henry VIII:—

His Arbitrary Policy in Breaking off with the Pope. Henry VIII wanted to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn but the Pope's sanction was necessary for this. The Pope, however, did not allow Henry to do so because he (Pope) could not afford to incur the displeasure of the Emperor of Spain, Queen Catherine being his niece. Henry's Parliament known as the Reformation Parliament passed a number of Acts by which the King of England became the Supreme Head of the English Church and the Pope lost all jurisdiction in religious matters of England. The King of England was now the supreme head both of English state and church. The English church was now reduced to the position of a department and it was as much a department of the State as so many other departments. When the church was made subordinate to the state it was no longer a problem for the King to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn.

In his heart of hearts Henry VIII was a Catholic and had the Pope allowed him to divorce Catherine he would not have separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome.

His Arbitrary Policy in Religious Matters. The fact is that Henry VIII was a Catholic and he broke off from the Pope not because Henry had protestant views but because the Pope would not allow him to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn. In 1539 Henry caused the Statute of Six Articles to be passed through Parliament. Any person who refused to accept any of the first five points of the Statute of Six Articles was to be imprisoned and his property was to be confiscated. And if any person denied the sixth point, that is, the doctrine of Transubstantiation (According to it the bread and wine. used in the mass were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ) he was to be put to death. He had succeeded in extending his Kingly authority in religious matters by abolishing the authority of the Pope in England by making himself the supreme head of the English church. He imposed his will on the nation in religious matters by passing the Statute of Six Articles the denial of any point of which involved heavy punishment like imprisonment, forfeiture of property and even life. He was not willing to allow his people to accept Protestantism. People had no religious liberty so to say. He was the supreme authority in religious matters of his kingdom second to none. Southgate has very correctly remarked, "For the last twelve years of his reign Henry VIII was a kind of Pope over the English Church."

His High-Handedness in Imposing His Will on the Nation. Some historians have described Henry VIII as the "King, the whole king, and nothing but the King." Any person who refused to act against his wish in matters of state and church was not safe. Nobody on the Council could have the courage to stand in the way of the King's will. Southgate says, "it must be remembered, however, that nobody on he council dared offer strong opposition to the King's policy. As Henry grew older and his health and temper grew worse, to attempt to thwart him was to incur grave risk of death for 'treason.' Whatever their private opinions might be, all of Henry's Councillors were outwardly Catholic, and all accepted the royal supremacy over the Church."

Henry's Greed for Plunder of Wealth Was Unlimited and Illegal. Some instances of the unlimited and unjustified greed of the King may be quoted—the king had the courage to indulge in the most unlawful acts because he knew that his fear was so great that nobody would criticize even his most unconstitutional and illegal acts.

The King ordered the chantries to be suppressed and their wealth and property to be taken into possession by the Crown. The next victim of the royal greed were the gilds. The gilds were associations of craftsmen to act as Unions to protect the interests of men engaged in various arts and crafts. Some of these gilds were very rich and it was their tradition to devote a part of their wealth to religious purposes and charity. The King's uncontrolled avarice led him to confiscate that part of the wealth of the gilds which was meant for religious purpose. The king had the courage to indulge in these and many other despotic and illegal acts because he knew that his awe was so great that a word would not be uttered against him.

Henry Made His Ministers and Councillors Serve as the Instrument of His Despotic Will. The ministers, councillors and advisers of Henry VIII had never the courage to oppose his will. Almost all of them were the instrument of his will and the tool to accomplish his ends however despotic and self-willed. Those who stood in the way of his despotic will or showed their reluctance to fulfil his wishes had to face a very sad end. The instances of the most prominent persons who fell a victim to his uncontrolled will are not wanting. Cardinal Wolsey who had served Henry so long, so loyally and held such important offices both in Church and State was dismissed and all his estates and goods were confiscated in 1529 because Wolsey could not bow down before the King's despotic will in the solution of the divorce question. He was then arrested on a charge of high treason but he died on his way to London in 1530.

Thomas Cromwell, a chief adviser of Henry VIII, who had done his best and used all his fair and foul means to make the power of the King absolute and in doing so had incurred the hatred of the nobles and the people alike, was ordered to be executed by a Bill of Attainder. The charge against him was that he had advised the King to marry Anne of Cleves whose appearance was not liked by him (the king). Again, Sir Thomas More, a great literary scholar who had written 'Utopia' and was sometime the King's Privy Councillor, was executed in 1535 for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy.

His Despotic Acts Were Supported by the Parliament and the People. He made Parliament a tool through which Henry exercised his despotic acts. Henry packed the Parliament with his own men so that it passed any law, imposed any tax and agreed to anything that the King liked to do. It was so docile and subservient that he could conveniently use it to serve his most selfish and personal ends. The King was careful never to wound the susceptibilities of Parliament. The submissiveness of Parliament is clear from the following few examples:

1. Parliament paid the King's debts;

2. It allowed him to separate the Church of England from the Church of Rome and make the English sovereign the supreme head of the Church and the State;

3. It gave the power of law to royal proclamations;

4. It always passed the Acts of Attainder (its object was to execute a person for high Treason or similar charge).

5. It allowed the King the right of repeated marriages.

6. It allowed the King to regulate succession to the throne according to his will.

7. The Parliament of 1539 suppressed the greater monasteries permitting the King thereby to seize their wealth and lands.

Henry always humoured the Parliament and besides, he was confident that the majority of both the Houses was in favour of his policy.

The people calmly bore the King's despotic acts because they wanted a strong ruler who could keep down the turbulent nobles and give the country blessings of peace and security. The people knew well the civil results of the tyranny of the uncontrolled barons; hence the people had decided to be satisfied with the rule of one tyrant instead of having so many tyrants (still there were many barons in the country and every baron could act like an uncontrolled tyrant if the King was weak. Hence the people wanted a very strong ruler who could keep perfect peace and order in the country). Henry VIII, clever and tactful as he was, often threw the burden of his unpopular measures on a particular minister and punished him to please the people. The people highly valued peace and security for without it life was impossible and for this the price paid by them was their silent tolerance of the despotism of King Henry VIII which had reached its climax under him.

Henry VIII's despotic policy was tolerated because it was based upon national support and approval. His policy did not lead to any popular insurrection, because it had the support of the people.

All this shows that "No single monarch left so large a personal mark upon the nation as Henry VIII."

A NOTE

HENRY'S WIVES

Henry was married to Catherine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow, for state reasons. Henry VII had married his eldest son Arthur to Catherine to create friendly relations with Spain. Thus it was a political marriage and not a marriage of Arthur's choice. When Arthur died, Henry VII married his second son Henry (afterwards Henry VIII) by a special permission of the Pope to maintain friendship with Spain. It was again a marriage for state purposes and not as the result of affection and personal convenience like those of private people.

When Henry had become king he decided to divorce Catherine as he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn—a court lady. After a few years she fell into disgrace and was beheaded by the king's orders, for high treason. Henry at once married Jane Seymour who met her natural death about two years after the marriage. Henry's fourth wife was Anne of Cleves, the arrangement being made by Thomas Cromwell. But her appearance was not to the king's liking. Cromwell was beheaded and the marriage was declared null. His fifth wife was Catherine Howard but she proved to be an undutiful wife and hence executed for high treason. His last and sixth wife was Catherine Parr who fortunately survived Henry.

Q. Describe briefly Henry VIII's work and achievement. What were his services to England? *Or,* **"Henry VIII was one of the great Kings of England". Discuss.**

Henry VIII is rightly considered one of the very ablest Kings of England. He had certain serious faults as man and as king, but had he been devoid of all virtues, he would not have been able to hold England in his grip for 37 years. He rendered many services to his country and his work and achievement were certainly commendable. They may be briefly noted as under:—

HENRY'S WORK AND ACHIEVEMENT, HIS SERVICES, HIS GREATNESS

Peace and Prosperity. He crushed the power of the nobles and established a strong centralized government in the country. Henry VII had done much to destroy the power of the nobles but still there were barons in the country who required to be seriously dealt with. It was left to Henry VIII to crush such barons. He established perfect peace and order in the kingdom. He encouraged industries, trade and commerce and thus made his people prosperous. He ruled England as an autocrat but he proved himself to be the guardian of the national interests.

National and Independent Church. He made the Church of England National and independent. He separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome and made the king of England the supreme head of the Church and the State. "The Papal Supremacy had been abolished, the king was the Supreme Head of the Church in England and the "Papal Militia" had been dispersed with the dissolution of the Monasteries." He brought the Reformation in England and made the English Church national and independent by cutting off all connections with the Pope. In other countries the Reformation brought not peace but the sword. Henry VIII, on the other hand, handled this difficult problem so adroitly and skilfully that the peace of the country was never allowed to be disturbed. The success of his religious policy is the greatest tribute to the political ability of Henry VIII. It has been rightly said that Henry's greatest achievement was to secure the ecclesiastical independence of his country.

Mowat says: Henry was a sagacious statesman, and possibly no other man could have piloted England through the crisis of the breach with Rome.

A Successful Foreign Policy. During Henry's reign England was raised to a very high place in European politics. England kept a balance of power in Europe and made itself a mediator in European politics. His policy of 'Balance of Power' meant that he helped and supported the weak against the strong so that the strong party might not devour the weaker party and thus become the source of danger to others. Henry did not allow any single country to grow abnormally powerful. The ability and energy of Wolsey were of special service to his master (Henry VIII) in the region of foreign politics. Under his able guidance England became a great factor in European politics.

Growth of Navy. Henry took a keen interest in naval affairs. He laid the foundation of a "Standing Navy." He encouraged shipbuilding and founded schools for training of pilots. He introduced swift ships and gained a naval victory over the French. The shift ships introduced by him were fitted with guns and it was this type of ship which proved so effective in the fight against the Spaniards. It was Henry VIII who built an effective fleet of royal fighting ships with royal dockyards at Woolwich and Deptford; he also founded the Corporation of Trinity House. He is rightly known as the 'creator of modern navy'. It was with the help of a strong and efficient navy that England was able to increase its trade and commerce and win many battles on the sea. England was rich and victorious mainly through its navy. Naval strength made England a great power not only on the continent but in the World. "He took great pains to build a powerful navy which formed the most important part of England's defences."

Political Union of England with Ireland and Wales. Hitherto the title of an English King was Lord of Ireland but in 1541 Henry was acknowledged as the King of Ireland by a Parliament at Dublin.

Under him Wales was finally incorporated in England. Wales was divided into thirteen counties and the Welsh counties and boroughs sent members to English Parliament and had the same system of laws as England. Complete union of England and Wales was thus effected.

Henry a Bad Man but a Good King. As Henry grew older, he degenerated into a terrible monster and lost all consideration for others so that no one could approach him without trembling. He was merciless to all who caused him any offence or stood in his way. This is also true that some of his acts were arbitrary and high-handed, his wish was law, his ministers and Parliament were tools in his hands but in spite of all his defects he did a lot of good to his countrymen. We should not forget that he was a watchful guardian of the national interests and had at his heart the permanent good of his countrymen. He steadily promoted the welfare of the country and succeeded in giving it a place of honour and glory among the nations of the world.

With all his crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious princes of his time. From the account that has been given about the work. achievement and services one can say that he deserves a place among the great kings of England and one has to say that no single monarch left so large a personal mark upon the nation as Henry VIII.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

Write an essay on the Renaissance or, what is the Renaissance?.

What do you know about the Italian and English Renaissance? What were its effects? How far was the Reformation an indirect result of the Renaissance Movement?

Sketch the career of Wolsey and his work and achievements. How far was Wolsey responsible for laying the foundation of a traditional foreign policy for England?

"Wolsey is the last Eminence in that long chain of ecclesiastical statesmen that tower through English History from Dunstan onwards." Explain.

Discuss the following statement: "Wolsey imitated on a large scale the foreign policy of Henry VII."

How did Henry VIII free England from the Papal control?

Explain the steps by which Henry VIII overthrew papal authority in England.

Write an essay on the Reformation in England.

Describe the work of the Reformation Parliament.

By what stages did the English Church sever itself from Rome? How did the people accept the change?

"The effects of the Reformation were far-reaching." Discuss the general effects of the Reformation.

"The Reformation effected not only England but the whole of Europe." What were the general effects of the Reformation?

"The Movement for Reformation encircled the whole of the continent thus causing a wholesale change in the outlook of the people throughout Europe." Mention carefully how the Reformation effected the whole of Europe.

Why did the wrath of Henry VIII fall on the Monasteries? Carefully deal with its effects or constitutional and political results.

Explain clearly the position of the Parliament under Henry VIII.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD VI (1547—1553)

> *"In ages of the saints that had comforted many a weary heart were rudely smashed. Sacred paintings that on Church Walls, had told bible stories to generations of illiterates, disapeared under whitewash".*
>
> —I. TENEN.

His Accession and Character. After the death of his father Henry VIII, his only son Edward by his third wife Jane Seymour, succeeded to the throne of England. Edward was gentle, studious, pious, affectionate and full of much promise. He was well educated, far wiser than his years and took interest in the affairs of the state. He was hardly ten at the time of succession. His mother had died soon after his birth and so Edward was brought up in the Seymour family in the reformed faith (Protestant religion). He was, therefore, interested in promoting the cause of the Reformation. He died in the sixteenth year of his age after a rule of six years.

The Council of Regency and Somerset. Henry VIII had put down in his will that as long as his son Edward was a minor, the country would be ruled by a 'Council of Regency' with sixteen members. It so happened that the council of regency had a majority of reforming party (those in favour of the Reformation or Protestantism) with Edward Seymour, the uncle of Edward, their leader. Edward Seymour took the title of the Duke of Somerset and became Lord Protector of the Kingdom.

Q. Give a brief account of Somerset's Protectorate with special reference to his war with Scotland, the progress of Reformation or the religious changes and the popular risings under him. Why did he fail? *Or,*

Q. What were the aims of the Protector Somerset? Account for his failure. (D.U. 1960).

Somerset as Protector. Edward was hardly ten at the time of succession when his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, the leader of the reforming party in the Council of Regency, assumed the title of the Duke of Somerset and became Lord Protector of the realm.

His Aims. He had two main aims before him—(1) To unite England and Scotland by marrying Edward VI of England to the Young Mary, Queen of Scots, who was being brought up in Scotland. under the care of the Queen-mother. (2) His second aim was to promote the cause of the Reformation or to introduce changes in the creed and the doctrines of the Church (that is why it is called Doctrinal Reformation).

I. *England's War with Scotland.* Both Henry VII and Henry VIII had eagarly desired to unite England and Scotland under the rule of one King. To bring about a lasting union between the two countries, Somerset proposed to marry Edward VI to Mary, Queen of Scots, but the Scots did not welcome the proposal. Somerset took it ill and invaded Scotland. The Scots were defeated at Pinkie in 1547 but they did not yield to the proposal of the marriage. The way in which Somerset behaved enraged the Scots and they sent Mary to France where she was educated and later on married to Francis II. Somerset not only failed in his object but also turned Scotland into a bitter enemy of England. The apparent English victory at Pinkie was in fact a serious political defeat for it strengthened the friendly alliance of Scotland and France against England.—"Not only did the plan of uniting Scotland with England fail, but also the Scots were driven into the arms of the French."

II. *Progress of Reformation (Protestantism) or Religious Changes under Somerset.* The second great aim of Somerset was to bring about religious changes in order to promote the cause of Reformation. In the reign of Henry VIII the Reformation was political, i.e., it separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome which made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church and the Pope lost all jurisdiction in England. But it was for the first time in the reign of Edward VI that Somerset introduced the following changes in the creed and the doctrines of the Church of England:

(i) The images of saints were pulled down, and broken into pieces and their pictures on the walls were destroyed and defaced.

(ii) The Statute of Six Articles passed by Henry VIII and the Mass were abolished.

(iii) The clergy were permitted to marry.

(iv) The use of Latin in Church services was abolished and instead the use of English was made compulsory.

(v) The First Prayer Book of Edward VI in English was introduced in 1549. It was a complete guide of prayer and worship for churches in England. An Act of Uniformity was also passed the same year (1549) ordering all the churches in England to use the First Prayer Book of Edward VI as a matter of uniformity.

(vi) Catholic bishops were imprisoned. Advanced Protestants were appointed to the bishoprics from which Catholics had been excluded.

(vii) The Church property was confiscated once again. A new Chantry Act was passed by which hundreds of chantries (religious places where the Catholics met to sing religious songs and say prayers) and the religious charitable endowments of the Catholics were suppressed.

Causes of the Unpopularity and Failure of Somerset.

1. Somerset had miserably failed in his proposal to unite Eng-

land and Scotland. He acted wrongly and rashly in attacking Scotland to compel the Scots to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, to Edward VI. He perhaps forgot that hands are won not by force and fear but by love and good wishes. No doubt, Scotland was defeated but with this defeat Scotland was also lost. Scotland became hostile to England and instead France and Scotland became friends.

2. In his religious policy too, Somerset was an equal failure. The severity and tactlessness with which the religious changes were carried out caused great unrest and gave a rude shock to the conservative part of the people who formed an overwhelming majority. The religious houses of the Catholics were plundered by the reformers like Somerset and his followers and they grew fat on their wealth. The property of trading companies and other similar corporations was confiscated on religious pretensions.

The rapidity and rashness with which the religious changes were thrust upon the people made them indignant. This led to popular revolts in Cornwall and Devonshire but they were suppressed without much difficulty.

3. The agrarian and economic grievances of the people led to a more formidable revolt in Norfolk under the leadership of Ket. Ploughland had been converted into pasture, sheep-farming became more popular, the enclosure of the commons, the greed of the new landlords who had got the lands of the monasteries, rise in prices of corn and other articles owing to the debasement of currency were the chief causes of the revolt. The rebels first defeated the King's forces and the position was very critical but they were at last defeated by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, a member of the Regency Council. Somerset was held responsible for this great rebellion which was put down with great difficulty. He became unpopular among all sections of people. His incapacity to govern and manage affairs of the State with efficiency was too clear.

4. Somerset's personal character was also greatly responsible for his unpopularity, failure and ultimate fall from power.

He was very rich and overbearing and got even his own brother arrested and executed, was greedy and ambitious and robbed the religious houses and lay institutions to make himself and his followers grow rich on their wealth. Somerset built for himself a most magnificient and princely house on the Thames partly out of the materials obtained from the robbed churches. He was tactless and utterly failed to form an idea of the difficulties and problems that he had to actually face in his undertakings. 'He was utterly unpractical and failed in all his undertakings.'

All these factors and causes led to Somerset's fall from power. He was removed from the Council and the Duke of Northumberland took his place as Lord Protector of the realm. Somerset was at last executed in 1552 for the charges brought against him.

Q. Trace the course of the Doctrinal Reformation (Protestantism or Reformed Faith) in the reign of Edward VI. ***Or,***

Q. Trace the progress of Reformation under Somerset and Northumberland. *Or,*

Q. What do you know of the religious policy of Edward VI or what steps were taken to make Protestantism as State Religion in the reign of Edward VI? *Or,*

Q. How did England become a Protestant country under Edward VI?

Ans. The reign of Edward VI was constituted of two parts—one under Protector Somerset 1547—1549 and the other under Protector, the Duke of Northumberland 1549—1553. Both of them were zealously in favour of the Reformation and took a number of steps to promote it. The combined work of both forms the sum total of the progress of Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.

(A) *Progress of Reformation or Religious Changes Under Somerset.* For this please consult previous Answer.

(B) *Progress of Reformation or Religious Changes Under Northumberland.* Northumberland succeeded Somerset as Protector and ruler of the realm in 1549. He was selfish, greedy, unprincipled and ambitious who knew no scruples. He grew enormously wealthy by the riches he had robbed from churches and monasteries in the name of reform. He was a self-seeker and had no true love for religion, though outwardly he joined the party that was in favour of religious reform. His efforts to secure the throne of England for his own Daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, after the death of Edward VI, made him widely unpopular among the people. He was charged with treason and executed in 1553. Everybody felt that he had deserved that fate.

He introduced the following changes to promote the cause of the Reformation:

1. Catholics who still adhered to the bishoprics were excluded and advanced Protestants were appointed to take their place.

2. Foreign theologians who were strongly in favour of the reformed religion were appointed at Oxford and Cambridge to undertake the task of guiding the clergymen in the spread of Protestantism among the people.

3. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI was revised and issued to the public in 1552 under the name of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. A new Act of Uniformity was passed to enforce its use in all English Churches.

4. The Forty-two Articles of Religion were issued in 1553. They contained the doctrines of Protestantism in full and formed the basis of the English Church.

5. The Act of Succession passed by Henry VIII to regulate succession to the throne was changed. It meant to deprive Mary (daughter of Henry VIII and a Catholic) of the throne and bring Lady Jane Grey (married to the son of Northumberland, and a Protestant) to the throne of England after the death of Edward VI. Northumberland succeeded in prevailing upon Edward VI to give his consent to the changed Act of Succession.

CHAPTER V

MARY TUDOR (1553—1558)

> *"Mary's sole aim was to bring back the nation to the Catholic faith to which she was fervently attached. She undid the work of her father and brother."*

Accession of Mary Tudor a Popular Event. Mary was the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine—that unfortunate queen who had been divorced by Henry. According to the Act of Succession passed by Henry VIII, Edward VI was to suceeded by his sister Mary Tudor. But the Duke of Northumberland, the second protector of the realm (first Protector was Somerset) in the reign of Edward VI, a greedy, unprincipled and unscrupulous man, did not want Mary Tudor to come to the throne after the death of Edward VI. He wanted Lady Jane Grey, his own daughter-in-law, the wife of one of his sons, to ascend the throne after the death of Edward VI. Lady Jane Grey was the grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary. Northumberland formed this plot for two reasons—to keep the political power in his own hands through Lady Jane Grey and to continue the work of the Reformation for Mary was a staunch Roman Catholic and she would undo the work of his father and brother, if she ascended the throne. Northumberland succeeded in getting the sanction of Edward VI to this new arrangement of succession, but his plot was destined to fail.

After the death of Edward VI, Northumberland and his supporters proclaimed Lady Jane Grey as his successor. But Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey had no popular support. Lady Jane Grey was on the throne hardly for nine days when Mary Tudor arrived in England amidst popular rejoicings. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were thrown into the Tower. Northumberland was captured and now he proclaimed Mary as Queen publicly repenting that he had done wrong things under the influence of the Reforming Party and that he had favoured reform under compulsion, but in spite of this he was executed on a number of charges in 1533.

People both Protestants and Catholics flocked round Mary, promised to be loyal to her and sympathised with her cause. Northumberland who was a self-seeker and had grown fat on the wealth of the Church was most unpopular and was deserted by the navy and his own army. "Northumberland found little support, and everybody deserted him and upheld the cause of Mary." No sovereign ever ascended the throne with greater popularity than Mary Tudor.

Mary's Character. Mary had plain features and a weak constitution but she possessed plenty of Tudor courage and had a strong determination uncommon among women. She would not yield to a threat of force; she seemed to have inherited her father's (Henry VIII) strength of will. She was not selfish and corrupt. She felt for the poor and expressed her anxiety to improve their condition. Her great weakness was that she loved Catholicism too much and had no sympathy for the new faith. Her determination to restore the old religion and bring back the supremacy of the Pope in England spoiled her cause and made her rule doomed to failure despite her good qualities.

Q. The Spanish marriage of Queen Mary had two important results—one religious and the other political—but both disastrous." Explain. (D.U. 1957).

Mary's Marriage with Philip II of Spain. Mary was an extreme Catholic who came to the throne with her full determination to undo what her father and brother had done to destroy the influence of the Pope in England and push the cause of the Reformation. By a series of Acts passed by the Reformation Parliament between 1529—1536, Henry VIII had made the King of England the supreme Head of the Church of England and done away with the supremacy of the Pope in the affairs of the English Church. In the reign of Edward VI, the two Protectors, Somerset and Northumberland, had sufficiently advanced the cause of Reformation, i.e., Protestantism. Mary was determined to upset all this. As a bigoted Roman Catholic lady, Mary hated the Reformation still more because the sufferings and disgrace of her mother Catherine were more due to it than any other cause. Her firm belief in her religion made her blind to every other consideration—personal or political. She considered it her sacred mission to bring her subjects back to their old faith. It was to strengthen her hands to accomplish her great work that she married her cousin, Philip II of Spain, son of Emperor Charles V, and a man of strong Catholic views. Besides, she looked to Spain for moral and material aid because it was her mother's home. It cannot, however, be denied that Mary committed a great political blunder and betrayed utter lack of statesmanship in marrying Philip of Spain. This marriage was the greatest disappointment of her life for when she tried to love Philip, he tried to forsake her and he had hardly visited England more than once.

Wyatt's Revolt. Marry's marriage with Philip of Spain, soon became unpopular in England. The people wished Mary to marry some English noble and not Philip of Spain for that would result in the loss of England's independence and make her a mere dependency of Spain. The people of Kent and Sussex revolted under Wyatt as a protest against the marriage but Mary preserved her courage and put down the revolt. Wyatt was beheaded. The revolt was a failure.

Disastrous Religious Result of the Marriage. As a staunch Roman Catholic, Mary was bent upon restoring the old religion and the supremacy of the Pope at all costs and consequences. In her mad endeavour to accomplish this wrong task before her, she forgot all personal and political consequences, she ignored the forces at work against her, she paid no heed to the national aspirations and she neglected the great truth that her bigotry and cruel measures would turn love of her people into hatred. What she considered to be a sacred mission turned to be the greatest disappointment of her life. Her cruel measures and three years' persecution (burning of about three hundred leading Protestants of both sexes to death) made her reign the darkest period in the history of England. She undid the whole work done by Henry VIII and Edward VI, she revised the power of the Pope in England, she committed inhuman acts which earned her the nickname of 'Bloody Mary' but all this worked for the failure of her life-mission. Every cruel act of Mary strengthened the cause of Protestantism and showed the barbarous nature of Catholic religion. The courage, patience and silence with which the sufferers bore the sufferings created in the minds of the people a sense of deep respect for Protestantism and a feeling of disgust for Catholic religion. The object which Mary had placed before herself turned out to be a dream. She miserably failed in her religious mission. Instead of restoring Catholicism she helped to resore Protestantism in the long run. "By these persecutions, however, she failed to achieve her purpose of eradicating Protestantism from England." Now Protestantism was on sure footing. In her religious policy she went too fast and too far and therefore she failed. Had she adopted a middle course, i.e., restored only the old faith, the nation was with her but when she restored papal supremacy in England the nation turned against her. The restoration of the papal supremacy was a national disgrace and humiliation which the nation was not prepared to stand. The control of the Pope over the religious affairs of England was removed by Henry VIII but it was restored by Mary—a disgraceful, humiliating national change.

Disastrous Political Result of the Marriage. Loss of Calais was the disastrous political result of the Spanish marriage. There was a war between France and Spain and Philip of Spain requested Mary to join him in the war. Mary knew that her husband's treatment towards her was one of extreme indifference and disappointment but still she decided to agree to his request and participate in the war. She was however destined to undergo one more misfortune before her reign ended. She sent an English army jointly with her husband to defend the Spanish Netherlands against France. The French as a measure of revenge successfully attacked Calais, the only English possession on the continent. Calais fell easily since its fortifications and garrison had long been neglected. It was a national loss and humiliation. The loss of Calais made Mary very unpopular. She herself felt it very much. "Calais will be engraved upon my heart", she is supposed to have said. We have thus seen that Mary's marriage was not a happy one. It led to very important results—one religious and the other polical—but both were sad and disastrous. Her religious policy led to the failure of her reign and the loss of Calais caused her such a serious shock that she died of it. She went down to the grave childless, hated by her people, unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Her end was really miserable and existed pity.

Her religous policy was a complete failure, so was her foreign policy. She was anti-national in her outlook and least fitted to govern England in those times.

Q. Describe the various steps by which Mary restored Roman Catholicism and papal supremacy in England.

Q. What were those religious measures by which Mary undid the work of her father Henry VIII and her brother Edward VI. *Or,*

Q. What do you mean by the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reaction under Mary Tudor? *Or,*

Q. Trace the course of the Reformation in the reign of Mary.

Meaning of Counter-Reformation. The attempt to check the progress of Reformation and undo its work by bringing back Roman Catholicism to its original glory and position is called the Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reaction. The Pope tried to check the progress of the Reformation thus: he asked the Jesuits to lead a pure, simple and noble life so as to make the people appreciate the beauty of the Catholic religion; he advised the bishops and the priests to live a better and nobler life; he requested the Catholic Kings of France, Spain and other countries to resort to necessary measures to restore the Catholic religion; he asked Mary Tudor to do her best to bring back the old religion to its old position.

Steps by which Mary restored Catholicism and Papal Supremacy. Mary was a woman with strong Catholic views. She received her religious training on the staunch Catholic lines. She had suffered very much at the hands of the reformers. Her mother Catherine of Aragon had been divorced. She had nearly lost the throne herself. Her Catholic priests always tried to excite and instigate her against the reformed faith. She also wanted to please her husband who was a thorough and uncompromising Catholic. All these factors combined to restore Catholicism apparently with great zeal. In fact she worked like a fanatic who is prepared for all consequences.

Mary's Parliament passed the following Acts:

1. *Act to Annul the Divorce of Catherine.* A Bill was passed annulling the divorce of Catherine by Henry VIII thus making her position regular and stable. Mary could thus play the role of a full-fledged sovereign and exercise all rights peculiar to Tudor monarchy.

2. *Dismissal of the Protestant Bishops.* The Protestant bishops were driven away from their seats and the Roman Catholics like Bonner, Gardiner and others were brought back in their seats. She filled up all important ecclesiastical seats and other important posts in the government by persons of her own choice. The foreign Protestants were also ordered to leave the realm.

3. *Restoration of the Ancient Form of Worship.* The English Bible and the Prayer Books of Edward VI were replaced by the old Latin Prayer Book. All laws passed in the reign of Edward VI, to push and encourage Protestant religion, were repealed.

4. *Restoration of the Six Articles.* The Parliament restored the Six Articles and the Mass. The clergy were prohibited to marry. The clergy who had already married were asked to give up their wives.

5. *Repeal of the Forty-two Articles.* Her Parliament repealed the Forty-Two Articles that had formed the basis of the Reformed Faith. Any effort to encourage Protestant teaching in the country was forbidden and it was to be severely punished. (So far she had restored the old religious conditions, i.e., Roman Catholicism but henceforth her object was to go still back and restore the supremacy of the Pope or to bring the Church of England under the Church of Rome).

6. *Repeal of the Act of Supremacy.* Mary's Parliament repealed all the laws that Henry VIII had passed to weaken the power and position of the Pope in England. The Act of Supremacy which made the sovereign of England the supreme head of the Church of England was also repealed. By this the supremacy of the Pope as the head of the English Church was restored though the monastic property was not to be returned and it was allowed to remain in the possession of the present holders. The English sovereign was no longer the head of the English Church which was again brought under the control of the Pope. England was no longer independent in her religious affairs and she was again made a dependency of Rome. A Papal legate was appointed to remain in England. It was a national insult and a national humiliation. Henry VIII had got rid of a foreigner as the head of the English Church but Mary had brought him back again. Mary made her submission to the Pope.

7. *The Law Against the Lollards Was Re-Enacted.* Somerset had repealed the law against the heretics in the reign of Edward VI but that was re-enacted by Mary's Parliament. According to this law Mary got the right of punishing the Protestants and even burning them to death. The task of burning the Protestants was the last part of her religious policy. She was not satisfied with the religious changes made so far by her. Her thirst for human blood was still to be quenched.

She mercilessly persecuted the followers of the Reformed Faith, i.e., the Protestants. The Protestant bishops including Hooper, Golgate, Ridley and Latimer were burnt alive to death. When the flames began to make sharp noise, the aged Latimer cried out, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Ferrar, Rogers, Saunders Taylor and Cranmer in all about three hundred (300) Protestants of both sexes including children were burnt alive to death. When Cranmer was brought to be burnt, he said with courage: "This was the hand that wrote it (Catherine's divorce), therefore it shall suffer first punishment." The fire rapidly spread and the martyr was soon dead and gone.

The great historian Innes says, "Henry before and Elizabeth afterwards could be ruthless, but while one reigned thirty-eight years and the other forty-five, yet in neither reign was the aggregate of burnings or executions for religion so great as in these five years (1553—1558) of Mary's." The cruel policy of indiscriminate persecution earned her the nick name of 'Blood Mary' and her reign the darkest period in English History.

Mary A Miserable Failure. Her life was full of sad failures and bitter disappointments. When she first ascended the throne, she was most popular and her subjects heartily welcomed her but during five years she turned her subjects into her bitterest enemies and her friends into foes. Her fault was that she went to extremes and travelled too fast and too far. She was a heartless Catholic fanatic burning with a desire for revenge. Had she stopped with the restoration of the old faith the nation was with her and did not oppose her but when she took steps to restore the papal supremacy in England the people's anger knew no bounds and began to hate her.

The restoration of the power of the Pope and the religious changes introduced by her show that she had undone the work of her father and brother. But in fact, here was nothing in it for her to rejoice for all this was a temporary phase and the Reformation came back once again in its full swing in the next reign.

When she was burning the Protestants to death she was in fact digging a grave for Catholicism. Her cruel persecution of the Protestants turned the hearts of the people from a religion which could encourage such barbarity and paved the way for the restoration of the Reformed Church. Martyrdom of every Protestant was more effective than a hundred sermons against popery. 'No religion could be killed by force and fear' was the verdict of the world history. The courage with which the Protestants faced their death strengthened the cause of Protestantism. No Acts of Parliament could have restored Protestantism with as much ease and rapidity as did the glorious persecution of three hundred Protestants. Southgate writes the great truth in the following words, "But, above all, she tried to stamp out protestantism from the land, and, whether she realized it or not, she established it firmly in the hearts of the English people."

Q. "The accession of Mary Tudor was very popular but her death was equally welcomed." Discuss this statement. *Or,*

Q. "Mary was a failure in everything that she undertook." Explain. *Or,*

Q. "In the whole of English history, there is no tragedy more piteous than that of Mary Tudor." Explain.

The above statement is quite true. Its answer can be divided into two parts.

(a) *"The Accession of Mary Tudor Was Very Popular."* For this please see introduction to this Chapter.

(b) *"But Her Death Was Equally Welcomed."* The other half of the statement is also equally true. Let us study the main causes for which her death was welcomed. Her work and policy had so much offended her subjects that she became most unpopular among them and a time came when they welcomed her death.

The following points will help us to understand why she became most unpopular and the people welcomed her death:—

1. *Her Marriage with Philip II of Spain.* Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, an uncompromising Caholic, was most unpopular in England. The people of England rightly felt that England would lose her own independence, she would become a dependency of Spain and her interests would be subordinated to those of Spain. They were right to think that the authority of the Pope would be restored in England, the cause of the Reformation would be pushed to the background and England would be compelled to fight in favour of Spain against France.

The English people wished that Mary should marry some English noble but she was so much devoted to Philip that she entertained no other proposal of marriage. Her marriage with Philip was a great political blunder and showed her lack of statesmanship. She gained nothing from this Spanish matrimonial alliance but had to lose a great deal in her attempt to please her husband at all costs. The people in some parts of the country even revolted as a protest against the proposed Spanish marriage alliance but Mary gave no heed to it. Philip did not love her, and, in fact, neglected her. He ceased to have every regard for her as soon as he came to know that it was not possible to have a son from her.

2. *Her Extremely Catholic Policy.* Mary was a staunch Catholic. She and her mother had experienced great sufferings at the hands of the reforming party. She was determined to revenge her mother's divorce. The great aim before her was to repeal the Acts passed by her father and brother in favour of Protestantism. Her anxiety was to restore old religion and also to make the authority of the Pope supreme in England as it was before the legislation of the Reformation Parliament of Henry VIII. Here she made a great mistake for it was going too fast and too far. Had she stopped with the restoration of the old faith the nation was with her but she was not satisfied till she had brought back the papal supremacy, i.e., made Pope the supreme head of the Church of England. This caused great national humiliation. The nation as a whole turned against her. Henry had made the Church of England 'National' by doing away with the authority of the Pope over the religious affairs of England but Mary restored the papal authority which was a national insult and humiliation. She therefore lost the sympathies of her subjects. Her religious policy was greatly mistaken and a sad failure.

3. *Her Foreign Policy and Loss of Calais.* Her marriage with Philip of Spain was really a political blunder. It was to please her husband Philip of Spain that she fought jointly with Spain against France. France, to punish Mary, attacked Calais, a place which was most unprotected. France captured Calais. This was a national humiliation. England had to suffer this loss—material, moral and national—due to the misguided foreign policy of England. It was only to please her husband that she brought this great national insult to her country. This made Mary most unpopular with her subjects.

Thus Mary was unhappy and unfortunate in everything that she undertook. Her work and policy was a great failure. There was no achievement to her credit. She was a liability to her subjects. All that she brought to England was national insult and humiliation. Her reign was a signal failure. It was on account of her miserable failures and national insults that her death was equally welcomed: "Honest but misguided, courageous but unfortunate, the first Tudor Queen failed to solve the problems of a new age."

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

What was Somerset's contribution to the Reformation as Edward VI's Protector?

Discuss the contribution of Northumberland to the Reformation (Protestantism) in England during the reign of Edward VI.

What was Mary Tudor's religious policy?

How did Mary reverse the religious measures of Edward VI's reign?

How did Mary undo the work of her father and brother in the field of religion?

"In the reign of Queen Mary, England experienced a sudden reversal in religious policy." Discuss the religious policy of Mary explaining how it was reversed under her "Catholicism was re-introduced into England in full force." Discuss the measures by which Mary introduced Catholicism in England.

Describe the role of Mary in the Revival of the Catholic Faith. How far was she successful?

Write a note on the Marian Reaction.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETH I (1558—1603)

> *"She was free from fanaticism, having no strong religious beliefs; for her, unlike her brother and sister, the religious problem was primarily a political problem and her aim was so to handle it as to maintain the unity of the nation."*
>
> —RAMSAY MUIR

Her Accession Character. Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VII and Anne Boleyn, succeeded to the throne of England after the death of her step-sister Mary in November, 1558. Her claim to the throne was Parliamentary since she ascended it according to an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of her father Henry VIII. She is called the Virgin Queen for she did not marry throughout her life. Her policy was to give England peace and to keep her out of war for as long a period as possible and her second object was to make England self-dependent and a great European power.

Bright Side of Her Character. She was tall, robust, healthy and good-looking. From her father she had inherited wonderful nerve, rare courage, indomitable will, and supreme self-confidence. Generally she was gay and cheerful and had a balanced mind under difficulties. She could speak several languages fluently and was proud of her skill in hunting, dancing and riding. She loved her people and was highly patriotic and national in spirit. She had the tact of selecting able and wise ministers who worked hard for her and made her reign one of the most brilliant periods in the history of England. She had a real love for the poor and she did a lot to improve their condition.

"Queen Elizabeth was a very clever and wise woman, and she proved to be one of the best rulers that ever sat on the English throne."

Weak Side of Her Character. She had inherited from her mother fondness for pomp, show and pleasure and she spent a great deal on her dresses. At times she was most unscrupulous and resorted to any means, fair or foul, to gain her purpose. She never hesitated to tell lies. Generally she was selfish and vain and loved flattery. Like her father she was insincere and ungrateful to those who had served her even most faithfully. "Vanity was one of her weak points. When old and wrinked, she listened with pleasure to the flatteries of her courtiers."

Conclusion. But in spite of her faults and failings, she was a great queen of whom England was always proud. She was wise.

clever and tactful and guided her country most successfully through all difficulties and problems. She never allowed any one to dictate and dominate her. Her political wisdom, i.e., when to yield and when to remain firm, her capacity to choose able and wise ministers, her rock-like determination to face any situation, her policy of compromise, her intense love of her people and her anxiety to make England great and respected abroad were the virtues which far-outweighed her weaknesses and were responsible for making her age one of the most glorious periods in the development of the English people and giving her a place of honour among the greatest sovereigns of England. In fact she proved to be one of the best rulers that ever graced the English throne. A great historian has summed up her character as—

> "She was as self-willed and imperious as her father. As mean and stingy as her grandfather, and as vain and frivolous as her mother. But beneath this frivolity and stinginess, there lay a real love of England, which guided her in all her actions."

Ramsay Muir writes, "careers were made or marred by her smile or frown and the aim of all ambition was to win her favour." She felt happy to know that people were anxious for her smiles.

Q. Briefly state the various domestic difficulties and problems that Elizabeth had to face. How did she overcome them? ***Or,***

Q. What were the domestic problems that faced England during Elizabeth's reign? (D.U. 1965)

ELIZABETH'S DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS

When Elizabeth ascended the throne after the death of her step-sister Hary Tudor, she had to face a number of problems but she overcame them by her courage, wisdom and skill and a balanced mind. Some of her domestic problems and difficulties may be briefly described as follows:—

(A) *Difficulty About Law and Order.* When Elizabeth ascended the throne the country was seriously suffering from lack of law, order and discipline. The main reason of this was that the reign of Edward VI and Tudor Mary had been solely busy with introducing religious changes in the realm and paid no serious attention to any other aspect of life. During the reign of Edward VI, the two Protector, Somerset (1547—1549) and Northumberland (1549—1553), were equally greedy, ambitious and unscrupulous. They were self-seekers and grew fat on the Church property. They devoted no attention to the State business and the maintenance of law and order.

Again, in the reign of Mary, the government was whole-heartedly busy with introducing religious changes and neglected law and order of the country. Mary was a fanatic Catholic who devoted her sole attention to the restoration of the Catholic religion and the supremacy of the Pope. She paid no heed to other affairs of the State. Her mad policy of bitterly persecuting the Protestants led to a very sad state of affairs and badly upset law and order of the country.

The first thing that Elizabeth did was to restore peace and order in the country by her strength, wisdom and tact. She knew it perfectly well that a country which suffered from lack of law, order and discipline could not make satisfactory progress. She established a strong government in the country which the people urgently needed for no progress and prosperity was possible without it.

(B) *Religious Difficulty*. There were three main religious parties in the country—the Catholics, the Protestants and the Puritans. The Catholics desired to be united to the Pope; the Protestants were those persons who were satisfied with the religious changes introduced in the reign of Edward VI; the Puritans, from their desire to purify the Church still more, wanted to push on the Reformation still further.

Elizabeth wanted peace in the country by pleasing people of all religions. She wanted a political and not a religious solution of the problem. She had personally no strong religions scruples and prejudices. She wanted to avoid extremes of the reigns of Edward VI and his sister Mary. Both had gone too fast and too far and thus both had failed, but Elizabeth wanted a *via media* or a middle course. Her solution of the religious problem of her realm was more of a politician rather than that of an ecclesiast. Edward VI and Mary had both acted as fanatics and ecclesiasts and not as politicians. Elizabeth wanted to play the role of a wise politician who is anxious for the welfare of the people, who wants to avoid civil wars and disturbances and who wants to preserve peace, law and order in the country.

Her settlement of the religious problem is known as the Compromise, i.e., based on Middle Course which proved a great success in the long run and which gave England her national Church once for all. She passed a number of Acts to bring about her 'Religious Settlement of the Church'.

(For details please see separately 'Her Religious Settlement of the Church or Her Religious System').

(C) *Social and Economic Difficulties*. (1) Lands that were, sometime before, cultivated were now converted into pastures, that is, grazing grounds for animals. As a result of this many of the people became unemployed.

(2) The coin was debased in three previous reigns, i.e., Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. Consequently the trade of England suffered a great loss as other countries would not like to have debased coins in return for their goods.

(3) Any new arts, industries and professions were started by persons who were not expert in them. This lowered the quality of the manufactured goods since they could not be sold at proper prices.

(4) The suppression of the smaller and larger monasteries in 1536 and 1539, did a great deal of harm to the common people because the monks had acted as teachers, doctors and the relieving officers of the time. They had also established schools and hospitals and other similar social institutions. They fed many poor people.

The suppression of the monasteries had made many people homeless and vagabonds.

MEASURES TO IMPROVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

Elizabeth's Social Code. Task of National Re-organisation

1. *The Statute of Apprentices or Artificers.* By this Statute no one could set up as a fully qualified artisan unless he was 24 and had served at least seven years of apprenticeship. This led to the growth of useful industries which made the English people prosperous.

2. *Foundation of Merchant Companies.* Elizabeth founded and encouraged among others the trading companies like the Turkey Company, the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company and the East India Company. They brought immense wealth to the country.

3. *Fixing of Reasonable Wages.* The workers in different trades and industries were to be paid reasonable wages as fixed by the Justices of the Peace.

4. *Laws to End Vagrancy.* People who had been thrown out of work went round the country like vagabonds with no aim but to harass simple and innocent people. Such vagabonds generally lost morals and became a disgrace and burden to the society. By the Laws of Vagrancy people found to be wandering without aim were to be punished in terms of law and were forced to work in the State Work-houses where work was provided to them and payment was made for the work done by them.

5. *Reform of Coinage.* The coinage was debased in the reigns of Henry VII, Edward VI and Mary Tudor. It brought bad name to England abroad besides adversely affecting Trade. Other countries were not prepared to accept debased coinage and thus it rendered incalculable loss to English merchants.

Elizabeth, however, gave her serious attention to the question of reforming the coinage. The needful was done and the trade of the country prospered.

6. *Promotion of British Industries by Encouraging the Huguenots.* The Protestants of France and Netherlands were called Huguenots. They left their native lands and came over to England for religious grounds. Such people were experts in several industries, manufactures and professions. These artists and artisans were encouraged and given concessions and facilities to settle in England. Manufacture of cloth, paper, sugar, glass, shipping and many other things flourished under them and they trained and taught Englishmen in all industries known to them. There was a sort of industrial revolution in the country.

7. *The Poor Laws,* 1601. Still there were 'Sturdy beggars' in the country who were bodily fit for work but intentionally they did no work. To meet this difficulty, Elizabeth passed a number of Acts, according to which 'overseers' were appointed. Their duty was to

levy rates on all the landowners of a *parish* and to maintain such of the poor people who could not work for physical unfitness. For the able-bodied poor, who were out of work, employment was provided in the work-houses. Thus the problem of unemployment was solved to a great extent.

All her efforts resulted in solving social and economic problems of her country to a great extent and added to its material prosperity.

(D) *Financial Difficulty.* The Treasury was emptied and the nation was in debt. There were four reasons for this:

(a) There was misgovernment both under Edward VI and Mary;

(b) England's war with France had drained her treasury;

(c) Mary had been so busy with religious affairs that she paid no attention to internal progress; and

(d) Mary had given up the Church lands that were in the possession of the State.

Elizabeth reformed the coinage, encouraged trade and industries, gave facilities to the Huguenots, restored the credit of England in foreign markets, founded Trading Companies, controlled the expenses of the State by allowing no mismanagement and carefully avoided wars and followed the policy of peace particularly in the first twenty-five years of her reign. The treasury was thus improved.

(I) *Personal and Political Difficulties.* She had to face political difficulties at the hands of the Catholics and the Pope.

(i) The Catholics supported the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots (the descendant of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII) to the throne of England by declaring Elizabeth as the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn.

(ii) The Pope (Pius V) refused to acknowledge her as Queen of England. In 1570 the Pope issued a Bull excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth.

(iii) Mary, Queen of Scots, was a source of constant danger to the safety of Elizabeth. A number of plots were formed with the object of killing Elizabeth and placing Mary on the throne of England. All these plots had failed and at last Elizabeth had to order Mary to be executed in 1587 for she was found guilty of participating in a plot which aimed at murdering Elizabeth.

Plots Against Elizabeth

(1) *The Ridolfi Plot,* 1571. Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, induced the Duke of Norfolk to put himself at the head of the rebellion. He was to marry Mary. The object of the plot was to release Mary (because she was in imprisonment in England) depose Elizabeth and restore Catholics. The plot was detected and Norfolk was executed.

(2) *The Throgmorton Plot,* 1583. The object of the plot was

to kill Elizabeth and place Mary on the English throne with the help of Spain and English Catholics. The plot was discovered and its leader Throgmorton was executed in 1584. The Spanish ambassador was expelled from England for his complicity in the plot.

(3) *Babington Plot*, 1586. Its object was also to assassinate Elizabeth and to place Mary on the throne. The plot was detected and the chief plotters were executed. Mary was also executed in 1587 as it was found that she had approved of the main object of the plot.

It was with the execution of Mary that political dangers of Elizabeth ended and she felt safe on the throne for the rest of her reign.

It can be said to the credit of Elizabeth that she overcame all difficulties by her courage and confidence in herself and her country. She showed rare courage and firmness of purpose in great matters. Rayner says about Elizabeth, "Perhaps her greatest quality was her steadfast courage amid dangers and difficulties which would have daunted any other person."

Q. Describe briefly (a) Elizabeth's religious views and (b) her Religious Settlement.

Q. Clearly examine the religious policy of Queen Elizabeth I. *Or,* (D.U. 1958—60)

Q. How did Elizabeth settle the religious Question? What were the effects of this settlement? *Or,* (D.U. 1955)

Q. Describe Elizabeth's Ecclesiastical Policy and her Establishment of the National Church of England.

(a) ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Elizabeth was not a woman of religious beliefs in the sense of her brother Edward VI and her sister Mary. She was not a fanatic like them. She was endowed with a spirit of toleration and carefully avoided extremes. She was neither a staunch Catholic nor a staunch Protestant but she would like to adjust her views to political conditions and the prevailing circumstances in the best interests of the country. Personally she did not care much for religious creeds and practices. She was not interested in religious dogmas.

Her main consideration was the maintenance of peace and order in the country and to so adjust her religious policy that there was no conflict among the various parties in the country and that her own position was secured as head of the Kingdom in religious and secular affairs.

Thus about Elizabeth's religious views we can finally say that she did not bother much about her own religious views. At least she was not a zealous follower of Reformed Faith like her brother Edward VI nor a staunch Catholic like her sister Mary. It was not religion that stood first with her but the interest of her subjects by maintaining peace and harmony among them and avoiding the possibility of a conflict and a Civil War. She was tolerant by nature and would prefer to make use of 'compromises' and 'adjustments' so as to preserve peace of the country which she considered a greatest blessing which a ruler could give to his or her people. She was wise, tactful and politically-minded and would resort to a policy that was in the best interests of her people and also secure her position as the head of the Kingdom without external interference in secular and religious affairs. She was tolerant and not so strict in her religious views; her religion lay in best safeguarding the interests of her people by giving them peace and a spirit of toleration.

(b) HER RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT OR SYSTEM. HER RELIGIOUS POLICY OF COMPROMISE

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, there were three main religious parties in the country (a) The orthodox Catholics; (2) The moderate Protestants and (3) The extreme Protestants called the Puritans. She had no personal interest in any religion. Her great object was to promote national unity in the Church and make England a great power nationally and internationally. She wanted to follow a policy that would please all parties and offend none. She wanted to avoid extremes for that would lead to civil and religious war among the parties and thus expose the country to untold horrors and sufferings. To avoid this dangerous position she decided to follow her religious policy like a clever diplomat and a wise politician rather than as a religious zealot. It was not religion in which she was so much interested but it was peace that she wanted in the country so as to keep the people out of religious conflicts. Peace was dearer to her than the so-called religion if it destroyed harmony among the people and led them to shed blood in the name of religion. Her main anxiety was to preserve peace in the country and keep it aloof from religious conflicts and quarrels which are a great curse.

When it is said that Elizabeth settled the religious question as a politician rather than as an ecclesiastic, it clearly means that she attached more importance to the preservation of peace and order and wanted to save her country from the bloodshed of a civil and religious war than she cared for dogmas and creed. She was guided more by the motives of peace than any other consideration while formulating her religious policy. "Her greatest desire, therefore, was to keep England out of war and to give her internal peace."

Her Church policy was a middle course between extreme Protestantism and Catholicism.

Chief measures by which she settled the Church system or brought about her religious settlement can be briefly described as follows:—

1. *Act of Supremacy*, 1559. In 1559 she passed an Act of Supremacy by which she gave up the title of the 'Supreme Head of the Church' but adopted the title of the 'Supreme Governor of the Kingdom' in all matters of religion and government. This abolished the Pope's authority over England.

2. *The Changed Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.* A few

changes were made in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI and it was ordered to be used as the Prayer Book of the English Church in future.

The changes were made in favour of the Catholics so as to make the Prayer Book acceptable to them.

3. *The Act of Uniformity*, 1559. This Act was passed to enforce the use of the changed Second Prayer Book of Edward VI in all the Churches of the country. The use of any other form of public prayer was forbidden.

4. *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.* The Forty-Two Articles of Edward VI were cut down to Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, containing a full statement of the tenets of the English Church as it was to be in future.

Some Articles that were repugnant to the Catholics were removed.

5. *Court of High Commission.* Elizabeth set up the Court of High Commission to enforce the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Those who were moderate in their religious views were satisfied with Elizabeth's religious settlement but the extreme Catholics and extreme Protestants (Puritans) were dissatisfied and might defy her orders any time. It was to enforce her religious policy successfully and to strengthen her hands that she set up the Court of High Commission. Those persons who defied her religious policy were to be tried and punished by this Court.

6. *Elizabeth Did Not Marry.* Elizabeth decided not to marry in order to offend no party. She knew that if she married a Catholic that would displease the Protestants and the Puritans and if she married a Protestant that would offend the Catholics. She decided not to marry for that would save her country from the ruinous effects of religious wars and strifes. It was great sacrifice on the part of Elizabeth to remain virgin throughout her life and that is why she was called 'Virgin Queen.' It was politically a very wise step.

Character of the Elizabeth Settlement. Carter and Mears write as follows:

> The legislation of 1559 may be regarded as a settlement in two ways. First, it laid down the lines on which the Church of England has proceeded ever since; secondly, it brought peace for the time being. There were various religious wars in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century, but not in England.

The arrangement made by Elizabeth to settle the religious question was clearly a compromise, for it granted in full the demands of no party. It was an attempt to please all parties and to be least offensive to any one.

The Religious Settlement or System as introduced by Elizabeth was unsatisfactory to extreme Catholics as well as extreme Protestants for the time being. She had placed the Church on a broad basis which still endures. It was not the outcome of religious zeal but it was a compromise or a *via media* dictated by political necessity or the best interests of the country. But it worked and very little attempt was made by persecution to enforce obedience to new arrangements. It formed the basis of the National Church (Anglican Church) of England as it exists to-day and restored the national unity. Her settlement was, broadly speaking, wise and brought peace to the country. This was a great achievement to the credit of Elizabeth because it served the best interests of the country by creating an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

N.B. The success in this difficult task of Religious Settlement was mostly due to Elizabeth's tact, wisdom and spirit of toleration and her wise and selfless advisers and councillors. Her sole interest lay in a peaceful settlement. She had witnessed with her own eyes persecution of Catholics at the hands of Protestants and that of Protestants at the hands of Catholics. She had no strong religious views of her own. She was neither Edward nor Mary Tudor in her religious views. Her religion lay in the safety of her people and the country whom she wanted to save from bloody civil and religious wars. Mary (Tudor Mary also called Bloody Mary) had altogether failed to solve the religious problem of the country. She also knew that she could not be a strong and successful ruler if she failed to secure sympathies of both Catholics and Protestants. She, therefore, decided to follow a Middle Course or a Policy of Compromise which would seek to satisfy moderate Catholics as well as moderate Protestants. She never showed to any party that she was either a Protestant or a Catholic though her leanings were in favour of Protestantism for the Catholics had denied her title to the throne.

Effects of Elizabeth's Religious Settlement. The Religious Settlement of England was a great task which the wise and tactful Elizabeth alone could accomplish. The Middle path or the policy of Compromise adopted by her was followed by the largest number of Englishmen. Effects of Elizabethan Religious Settlement may be briefly noted as follows:

1. *It Ended Civil and Religious Wars.* Elizabeth rendered a great service to England by her Anglican Church Settlement. It was not well-received in the beginning because it was not the work of a religious zealot but of a thoughtful politician who was more anxious about giving peace to the people of a country than care for dogmas and creed. In the long run it worked and the people accepted it. It gave the country a national church and national unity. It saved the people from the most ruinous effects of a civil and religious war.

2. *It Led to Better Use of Human Energy.* The energy of the people was no more wasted in useless civil and religious wars but it was utilized for the welfare and advancement of the country. The people devoted their energy and attention to the development of arts, industries and professions under the inspiring guidance of Elizabeth and thus England became a great industrial and manufacturing country. If Elizabeth had been busy about creating and putting down religious conflicts and wars, her reign could not have been considered to be one of the most glorious periods in the development of the

English people. The progress in literary and sea-faring activities would have been out of question if the people had continued to indulge in conflicts about religion.

3. *Establishment of National Church and National Unity Which Gave Elizabeth Success Against Spainsh Armada.* Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion was not based on narrow dogmas and creed but it placed the Church on a broad basis. She was more in favour of giving people liberty of conscience. As time passed the Church established by her came to be regarded as the National Church and gave the people national unity which raised high the position of England. If the Catholics and the Protestants had not felt as one nation, it would have been difficult for Elizabeth to defeat the 'Invincible Armada of Spain'. At the time of the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada the Protestants and the Catholics forgot their differences and rallied around Elizabeth to defend their country. The great national and international position of England was more due to her national unity than to any other factor. The national unity of the country was due to her wise settlement of the religious problem.

4. *England Was Having Peace While Europe Was Torn by Wars.* It goes to the credit of Elizabeth that while Europe was torn by wars England was enjoying the blessings of internal peace and harmony. Her wise Religious Settlement saved the country from the calamities of internal wars and bloodshed. A great historian very correctly remarked, "While the vultures of war darkened the European horizon, the birds of peace sang in England." The Anglian Church as established by Elizabeth came to be liked by almost all men after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The wise and moderate policy adopted by Queen Elizabeth made her reign one of the brightest periods in the history of England and gave the people an opportunity to make wonderful progress in every branch of life.

Q. State the causes that were responsible for a successful religious Settlement by Elizabeth ***Or,*** **Elizabeth's Religious Settlement was more of a 'Politician than of an Ecclesiast' Discuss.**

Causes of the Success of Elizabeth's Religious Settlement. Elizabeth's settlement of the Church even though it had a few shortcomings, proved satisfactory on the whole. The reasons which contributed to her successful and satisfactory religious settlement may be described as follows:

1. *Effect of Mary's Policy of Persecution.* Mary's persecution had worked for the Protestant cause, it had made the waverers see that the Protestants were really honest and earnest. Mary's effort was to suppress the course of the Reformation by persecuting the Protestants but she had to be disappointed in this. Her persecutions went against her and spoiled the cause of Catholicism. Her policy of persecuting the Protestants helped to promote the cause of Protestantism.

2. *Weakness of the Catholic Cause.* The Catholic cause had weakened owing to the strong belief among the people that it was a

foreign cause. It was the cause of Philip of Spain; and Elizabeth's Catholic rival, Mary Queen of Scots, was the wife of a French prince. Hence the loyalty to Elizabeth grew more and more to be a Protestant loyalty, the Catholics tended to be thought the disloyal party.

3. *Elizabeth's Great Ability as a Politician.* Elizabeth acted like an able politician in making her religious settlement. Being a sagacious and shrewd ruler she was more careful about the security of her throne than about anything else. She arrived at a settlement that would give offence to no party as the Prayer Book was in many places ambiguously worded both in its regulations for public worship and in its statements of doctrine and could therefore suit the consciences alike of Protestants and Catholics.

4. *Elizabeth's Middle Way.* Elizabeth deliberately avoided the extreme policy and drastic changes in the Church Settlement. Fortunately, her personal inclinations in matters of religion were by no means strong. She could see that Somerset (Edward VI's Protector) and her sister Mary Tudor had failed to bring about a permanent settlement of religious affairs because each had taken up too extreme a line. She rightly thought that to imitate Somerset would mean letting loose upon the country a body of wild revolutionaries. On the other hand, she could not imitate Mary for that would mean bringing back the supremacy of the Pope in England. To avoid all this trouble and to secure her position on the throne, she followed the middle path—the path of moderation that proved successful in the long run and led to peace in the country. Her policy of compromise saved her from the annoyance of the masses and won support to her policy. Tolerance and moderation proved miraculous in the solution of the problem that had long upset the realm. "Elizabeth's settlement of the Church was a compromise. It was a compromise dictated by political necessity and for that reason it was unsatisfactory to enthusiasts on most sides."

5. *Elizabeth's Leniency in Enforcing Her Religious Settlement.* Elizabeth did not enforce anything of the religious settlement with great rigidity. Any one who did not attend public worship was required to pay a fine of 12 d. and this fine was not too strictly realized. The result of her lenient policy in matters of religion was that she had still the support of the masses and when the Pope excommunicated her in 1570 A.D. few of her subjects revolted against her. The majority of the more patriotic Catholics were still in her favour.

6. *Change in the Mentality of the Masses.* The other great factor that helped Elizabeth in arriving at a satisfactory religious settlement was a change in the mentality of the masses. The masses were tired of persecution and bloodshed witnessed by them during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. They were anxious for a peaceful settlement that avoided an extreme line of action. Elizabeth gave the majority of the people what they wanted leaving of course the enthusiasts and the extremists who were very few.

The Settlement of the Church as made by Elizabeth worked; it had the great merit that it was reached by the consent of reasonable men, after a period of turmoil which had imperilled national unity. "The Elizabethan Church Settlement was a layman's settlement reached after discussion, and not imposed by authority......Not until then they were replaced by Protestant Divines, but Elizabeth did her best to select moderate men." (Ramsay Muir). It has the credit of having lasted down to our own times. The use of the English Prayer Book and the negation of Papal authority are still the distinguishing features of the Church of England as established by Elizabeth.

Q. (a) What do you know of Mary Queen of Scots? What part did she play in English History and what was Elizabeth's policy towards her?

(b) Compare her with Elizabeth. *Or,*

Q. Give an account of the life of Mary Queen of Scots. What influence did she exercise on the history of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth?

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

She was the great grand-daughter of Henry VII. (She was the grand-daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. Margaret was married to the Scottish King—James IV). Somerset had made an effort to marry Mary to Edward VI but had failed. She was, however, married to Francis II, King of France. Francis died in 1560 and Mary came back to Scotland where she married her cousin Lord Darnley. She bore a son who became James VI of Scotland and James I of England. She soon came to have a hatred for Lord Darnley who was murdered after some time. It was suspected that Mary had a hand in the murder of Darnley and she made these suspicions true by marrying the murderer of her own husband. The Scots were so much displeased with her that they threw her into prison. She managed to escape from the prison, and went to England where she placed herself at Elizabeth's mercy.

Mary's Part in English History and Elizabeth's Policy towards Her. Mary was a thorough Catholic. She was clever, ambitious, energetic as well as very beautiful and charming. She was accomplished and tactful and she had rare capacity for commanding the sympathy and affection of those who were brought into closer relations with her. She was an open claimant of the English throne and was always trying to encourage and back up Catholic risings in England. She was a life-long enemy of Elizabeth and a source of constant danger to her. She tried every means to stir up as much trouble for her as she could by secretly encouraging the Scottish Protestants. The King of Spain and Catholics, both in England and Spain, were in favour of Mary. They wanted to depose and kill Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne of England. Many plots and conspiracies were formed to achieve the above object but all of them ended in smoke. At last in 1586 yet another plot was hatched by Mary and her adherents to compass Elizabeth's death. Mary's associates were arrested and beheaded. Urged by her ministers Elizabeth gave orders for her trial and when she was found guilty, she reluctantly signed her death warrant and she was executed in 1587.

The execution of Mary marks a turning point in the relations of England and Spain. So long, Elizabeth had tried to be on friendly terms with Philip II but the execution of Mary made it quite clear to Philip that Elizabeth was pre-eminently a Protestant. The Spanish King, accordingly, made preparations for war and sent the huge Armada to invade England in 1588.

Mary and Elizabeth Compared. Though beautiful, accomplished and fascinating, Mary Queen of Scots was an intriguing, shallow-minded woman. Mary married three times. Francis II of France, Darnley and Bothwell but Queen Elizabeth remained a virgin throughout her life. She did not marry on two political grounds—she did not like to displease any party and secondly she was so ambitious of power that she would not like to part with political power. Regarded as a virgin of blameless character she was adored by all her people.

2. Elizabeth proved to be a popular sovereign because she had always the good of her people at heart and was anxious to promote their welfare. She gave peace, order and prosperity to the English people at home. By her strong foreign policy he won for England a very high position among the European monarchies. England was feared and respected abroad and had a high position in international politics.

Mary Queen of Scots was not at all popular with her subjects and she did not possess Elizabeth's diplomacy, ability and statesmanship.

3. Elizabeth possessed great practical wisdom and political sense. She knew when to yield and when to remain firm. She possessed great courage, strength of will and self-reliance. She had the knack of choosing best men as her ministers who rendered her most valuale services and without their advice and guidance it would have been well-nigh impossible for Elizabeth to accomplish such a great task. Mary Queen of Scots did not possess any of these qualities and this brought about her ultimate ruin.

4. Elizabeth's policy was intensely national. She kept England out of war and developed her resources. She had a deep sense of duty towards her subjects and raised their standard of living and made them happy and prosperous. She encouraged trade and commerce and made many sorts of improvements so that people became rich, happy and contented and England became a good and happy place to live in. Mary, Queen of Scots, had no such ideal and sense of duty and she practically did nothing for her people. Her ideals were never high and noble like those of Queen Elizabeth. By her wisdom, hard work and keen interest she brought about a great change among her people and made her country great and glorious.

5. Elizabeth adopted a middle course between Catholicism and extreme Protestantism and thus established a national Church. She adopted this middle course because she was anxious to satisfy the

three parties—the Catholics, the Protestants and the Puritans. On the other hand Mary Queen of Scots was a staunch Catholic. The Scots who had adopted an extreme form of Protestantism under the guidance of John Knox hated Mary. They put her in prison from where she escaped to England in 1568. The Roman Catholics in England formed a number of plots and conspiracies to murder Elizabeth and to make Mary Queen of England, but they failed.

6. Both were ambitious and loved power. Both were equally fond of display and pleasure and adopted all means, fair or foul, to gain their end.

Q. Give a brief account of the causes of the war between England and Spain in the reign of Elizabeth or an account of the Spanish Armada also called the Invincible Armada, 1587. Why was the Armada defeated? What were the results of its defeat? *Or,*

Q. Discuss the causes of conflict between Elizabeth and Spain.
(D.U. 1961)

THE SPANISH ARMADA

Ans. During the earlier years of Queen Elizabeth's reign the relations of England and Spain were friendly but in 1586 and 1587, their relations were estranged and Philip of Spain prepared a fleet of many ships called the Armada to invade England. "Persuasion and plots failed to produce any effect upon Elizabeth. Now the exasperated Pope and Philip, the Champions of Catholicism, tried force and the Armada was the result."

Causes of Enmity Between England and Spain

1. *Hatred between England and Spain on Religious Grounds.* From the first the English Queen and the Spanish King had been opposed to each other in their religious, political and commercial aims. Philip was the champion of Roman Catholicism and Elizabeth the champion of the Protestants of Europe; as such they had a strong hatred for each other.

2. *Refusal of Elizabeth to Marry Philip of Spain.* Philip of Spain wanted to turn England into a Catholic country but he had failed to do so. Philip had still to face another greater disappointment. Philip wanted to marry Elizabeth and the Queen, clever and tactful as she was, had been holding out to him false promises of marrying him. Philip felt very angry when Elizabeth said openly that she was not prepared to marry him. Both on religious and political grounds it was not possible for Elizabeth to marry him.

3. *Elizabeth's Help to the Netherlanders Offended Philip.* The English helped the Netherlanders against Spain in winning their independence. This offended Philip. The Netherlanders were Protestants and were under Spain. In fact this was a fight between Catholicism and Protestanism. Elizabeth strongly supported the cause of the Netherlanders because they were Protestants.

4. *Plots and Conspiracies against Elizabeth.* Philip of Spain helped the Catholics in England in plots and conspiracies against Elizabeth. The object of all these plots and conspiracies was to murder Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne. The useless attempts to put an end to the life of Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Queen of Scots proved most unsuccessful and served no other purpose but to create more bitterness between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots.

5. *Commercial Rivalry between England and Spain.* England and Spain were rivals for trade in Spanish and American waters. The English seamen like Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh attacked and plundered the Spanish settlements in Central and South America. They also plundered the Spanish trading ships.

6. *Execution of Mary Queen of Scots by the Order of Elizabeth* Mary Queen of Scots was executed by the order of Elizabeth because Mary had taken a very active part in a plot aiming at the life of Elizabeth. A number of plots and conspiracies were formed by the friends and supporters of Mary to kill Elizabeth and bring Mary to the throne of England. At last she was tried and found guilty of actively participating in a conspiracy planned against the life of Elizabeth, and she was ordered to be executed.

Philip had also hoped to unite England and Spain by marrying Elizabeth but her refusal to marry him gave him a rude shock. Mary was a strong Catholic and Philip was supporting her cause in every way. Her execution made Philip very angry.

Before her death Mary had by will disinherited her son and bequeathed to Philip I of Spain her claims to the English Crown. Philip had, therefore, reason to claim the throne of England and avenge Mary's execution.

Events. In May 1588 the Invincible Armada (so called for the Spaniards thought that no power on earth could conquer it) consisting of 137 ships with eight thousand seamen and nineteen thousand soldiers sailed from Spain under Medina Sidonia to be joined on the way by the Duke of Parma with three best Spanish troops from the Netherlands. It was settled that the Spaniards would invade England after being joined by Parma and his soldiers. It so happened that Parma could not join Medina Sidonia for reasons beyond his control.

The English fleet was entrusted to the supreme command of Lord Howard of Effingham. By the time the Armada reached the English Channel, the English fleet was ready for the fight at Plymouth. The Armada was allowed to sail in the English Channel for some distance when the English ships attacked it from behind. The Armada was well harassed till it was forced to take shelter at Calais. The English fire-ships then caused a great destruction among the Spanish ships and so much panic was created among them that they lost heart and fled back to Spain in wild confusion. A great battle took place at Gravelines (in the Straits of Dover) in which the Spanish ships suffered a very heavy loss. Then a storm came and it did a tremendous harm to the Spanish ships and only a few of them reached home in safety. It was a defeat the like of which the Spaniards had never suffered before. The English had not lost even a single ship. Elizabeth felt so much joyous over the victory that she struck a medal with the words, "He (God) blew and they (our enemies) were scattered."

Causes of the Defeat of Armada. The Englishmen, whether Protestants or Catholics, had laid aside their religious difference and united together to face the enemy boldly. The different partymen sank their political differences in the interest of national unity. Philip of Spain had been wrong to think that the Catholics would support him in his fight with England. Elizabeth showed great courage and infused a new spirit for desperate fight in the Englishmen. The English sea-captains possessed great skill and daring. The English ships were equipped with big and powerful guns and commanded and manned by brave and experienced seamen. "Lord Howard of Effingham who was the Commander-in-Chief of the English fleet was aided and advised by the most experienced and skilful captains of the type of Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher".

The Spaniards did not possess sufficient powder. Nature was against Spain. A heavy storm blew and destroyed the Spanish ships.

The English ships were light, and could move quickly in every direction while the Spanish ships were heavy and moved very slowly. With their lighter ships the English seamen could dash anywhere and do anything. The English fire-ships caused terrible havoc and destruction and rendered the Spanish ships unfit to continue their fight.

Effects of the Defeat of the Armada on England. Protestantism in England was saved. Catholic Spain had tried to destroy Protestantism in England but it had failed to do so. England became religiously independent. The victory of England was the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism. The defeat of the Armada was a rude shock to the cause of Catholicism.

England became a great naval power. Spanish supremacy of the sea was crushed. England began to take an active part in European politics and international matters. Her prestige and power increased in Europe. "By defeating the Spanish Armada Elizabeth raised England high among the nations of Europe."

The naval supremacy of the sea made it possible for England to increase her trade and establish colonies. England's commercial and colonial greatness began. The English people had no more cause to fear any nation of Europe. The removal of fear brought about an era of peace and prosperity. Literature developed and poets and dramatists flourished.

It put a check on the Catholic powers that were working against the Reformation. "It gave a set-back to the counter-Reformation Movement. England had no more danger from the Catholics."

The English union with Scotland and Ireland became possible.

Maritime, commercial and colonizing activities of England received a great stimulus.

The power of Spain was broken and its naval prestige was lost. It revealed the weakness and proclaimed the downfall of Spain.

The power of the Parliament in England increased. The defeat of the Armada removed all dangers from outside. It devoted its attention to internal affairs and to the increase of its own power. Having got rid of external dangers, English people grew restive and began to call in question many of the Queen's actions. Rupture began between Elizabeth and her Parliaments.

The moral effect of the English victory over the Spaniards was still great. It gave the English a sense of pride and self-confidence. Now they cared for no fear and looked the whole world in the face.

Effects of the Defeat of the Armada on Europe. The defeat of the Armada affected not only England but it had its effect outside England too.

Firstly, the defeat of Spain most adversely affected the progress of the counter-Reformation. The Catholic reaction was checked everywhere on the continent. "The defeat of Spain was most disastrous for Roman Catholic religion." Catholicism suffered a great blow. Protestantism came out victorious in its conflict with Catholicism. There was no longer any hope of Catholic revival. The Counter-Reformation movement received such a set-back that it could not recover from it. "The stronghold of Catholicism was greatly weakened on the continent."

Secondly, the defeat of the Spanish Armada led to the independence won by the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands.

Thirdly, it gave a serious blow to the Spanish naval supremacy and reduced its power and prestige among the nations of Europe. England became a great power and began to dominate Europe.

Q. "The destruction of the Armada marked the turning point in the great duel betwen Catholicism and Protestantism." Elucidate.

Ans. Hints. It set definite limits to the Catholic reaction. It checked the progress of the counter-reformation and decided once for all that Protestantism was to grow and be the religion of the majority. The Catholic powers that were working together to impede the progress of Protestantism were give a strong set-back.

Q. Narrate the story of Elizabeth's relations with Spain.

Ans. Please study the story of the Spanish Armada.

Q. Politically Elizabeth's reign is the story of the struggle with the Counter-Reformation." Explain the statement, and briefly describe the policy which gave her victory in the long run.

Or,

Q. "The long reign of Elizabeth represented a sustained struggle against the forces of Counter-Reformation." Explain and examine the statement. *Or,*

Q. Elizabeth's reign was one constant struggle against the forces of Counter-Reformation." Elucidate. (D.U. 1963).

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Meaning. The Catholic revival in the middle of the sixteenth century and the attempts of the Papacy to win Protestant Europe to the Catholic fold by setting its own house in order are known as the Counter-Reformation. Its political leader was Philip II of Spain.

The movement tried to win back England and Elizabeth to the Papal fold. They failed and the failure led to open attacks against Elizabeth who succeeded in repulsing all the assaults of the forces of the Counter-Reformation.

There were four phases of Elizabeth's struggle against the Counter-Reformation. The first of Scottish phase ended when Mary Queen of Scots, sought shelter in England after many vicissitudes of life. The second phase comprises the period of plots when a number of unsuccessful conspiracies, all aiming at the deposition or assassination of Elizabeth, were hatched. Mary's complicity in the Babington plot, the last of the series, was proved and she was executed. The third phase covers the story of the Armada. The Armada sent by Philip to conquer England was defeated. England had the whipping hand in the last phase when English sailors destroyed the power of Spain at sea.

Some Details of the Story. Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn and her right to the throne was secured by an Act of Parliament passed in her father's time because the Pope had refused to recognize her as the rightful claimant to the throne of England. Hence her title to the throne of England was Parliamentary. She had to face many difficulties at her accession. She was not recognised by the Pope as the legal heir. France supported the claims of Mary Stuart of Scotland, while Spain was also looking for its own opportunities. But through her wisdom and sagacity, she was able to overcome all opposition and succeeded in making England a first-rate power.

From the beginning of her reign she displayed a tendency towards Protestantism. Hence both Spain and the Pope became her mortal foes. Just at this time a new movement had been set on foot on the continent. This is known as the Counter-Reformation and Queen Elizabeth had to cope with the forces of this movement. The main object of the Counter-Reformation was to restore and establish Roman Catholicism in England. The Pope, Pius IV, wanted to have good relations with Elizabeth and invited her to the Council of Trent which had been called to reform the current defects and vices of the Roman Church. But Elizabeth refused to accept the invitation of the Pope because he had declared her mother's marriage unlawful. As a result, the Pope became a bitter enemy of the Queen.

The Catholics, seeing the great progress made by Protestantism, thought of improving their own Church in order to give a blow to the influence and check the advance of the new movement. The Papacy had reformed itself to a certain extent and the Popes were no longer politicians or supporters of art, but they were zealots and religious leaders. New religious orders had been set up to teach the old faith to the heathen, the heretic or the indifferent. Chief among these was the Order of Jesus, started in 1540 by the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, and which had already made much progress on the Continent. Jesuit workers soon became the zealous supporters of the new movement. The Pope also renewed the Inquisition where heretics were tried and next Pope, Gregory XIII, sent a number of Jesuits under Campion Church were removed by the famous Council of Trent, summoned by the Pope in 1563 and to which hè invited the English Queen. Queen Elizabeth, however, refused the invitation and thus provoked the Pope and his followers.

The Pope now issued a bull, excommunicating Elizabeth and asking her subjects to give up their allegiance to the Queen. But the English Parliament answered by passing anti-Papal legislation. The next Pope, Gregory XIII, sent a number of Jesuits under Campion and Persons to rouse discontent in England and to win the country back to Catholicism. The Queen, however, with the help of her Parliament, succeeded in passing a number of Recusancy laws which helped her to expel the Jesuits and their followers from England. Campion was executed and Persons fled away with his life. Thus Elizabeth succeeded in avoiding the papal attacks through the Jesuit and seminary priests. The Pope and the Spanish King then stirred up the Catholics and Mary Queen of Scots to form a series of plots against the life of the Queen. The Englishmen, thereupon, formed an association called the Bond of Association to protect the life of Elizabeth. Many plots were formed but they failed and ultimately resulted in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

The execution of Mary marks a turning point in the relation of England and Spain. So long Elizabeth had tried to be on good terms with Philip II, but the execution of Mary made it quite clear to Philip that Elizabeth was pre-eminently a Protestant. The Spanish King, accordingly, made preparations for war and sent the huge Armada in 1588 which was, however, defeated and crushed by the English seamen. The defeat and destruction of the Armada dealt a death-blow to the supporters of Counter-Reformation in England. This freed Elizabeth from every further danger from the Catholics at home and secured the freedom of the Netherlands.

Results. Elizabeth's success against the Counter-Reformation ensured the loyalty of England to Protestantism, helped the union between England and Scotland, encouraged English naval enterprise and determined the course of her future development. It further contributed to the success of the revots of the Netherlands and to the decline of Spain.

The Policy Which Gave Elizabeth Victory in the Long Run. Elizabeth was a great ruler indeed. She was full of courage, determination and self-confidence which form a great secret of success for any great achievement. She was a great diplomat and often outwitted foreign rulers and statesmen by her tact and diplomacy. She possesed great vigour, foresight and extraordinary intelligence to understand and handle things. Her people supported and respected her for her aim was to make England a great power and her people prosperous. Through her wise and far-seeing policy she made England a great commercial, colonial and naval power. It was during her reign that Pope started a new movement known as the Counter-Reformation. The Queen, however, rose to the occasion and was fully successful in saving Protestantism in England. By her religious settlement, she won the support of her subjects and by encouraging her seamen she succeeded in defeating the object of the supporters of the Counter-Reformation. The defeat and destruction of the Spanish Armada is the greatest achievement of Elizabeth because this victory laid the foundation of England's future greatness and truly she has reaped the fruits of the efforts of that great queen. She never went against popular opinion and this fact largely accounts for her success against the greatest enemies of England at that time. A.J. Grant says, "But when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, the monarchy was again strong, national and popular; more truly representative of the whole people than any Parliamentary government could at that time have been......But for the most part the Crown was supported by the enthusiastic loyalty of the country." Thus according to A. J. Grant, Elizabeth received a great support from her own people. She established a national church and her religious settlement came down to the present times with very few changes. All these causes enabled her to succeed against the forces of Counter-Reformation.

Q. Mention briefly Elizabeth's Foreign policy or England's relations with France, Spain, Netherlands and Scotland in the time of Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

Elizabeth was anxious to keep England out of war. She wanted to develop her internal resources and still make her great abroad without allowing her to waste her finances in war. Her policy was therefore to avoid war and conflict. Her foreign policy was essentially a peace policy and that of keeping the balance between different powers.

Elizabeth and Spain. It was Spain that proved to be the greatest enemy of England. Spain and France were not on good terms. She made the best of this opportunity and took the maximum advantage of the situation. She played off the one against the other and did all she could to excite and keep alive a keen sense of rivalry between them. She allowed them no opportunity to make a common cause against England or to grow powerful to a degree that might upset the balance of power.

Not only this, Elizabeth took advantage of Spain's internal troubles too. The people of Netherlands revolted against Spain. Elizabeth sent help to the rebels to enable them to continue their resistance and their efforts to be free. Spain was thus kept occupied in her internal troubles and face such difficulties so as to have no time to think of designs against England.

At last when England had grown strong and she had no dangers, internal or external, she followed the policy of instigating Spain for a war. The war became inevitable. The fight between England and Spain (The Spanish Armada—see separately) became inevitable in which Spain suffered a crushing defeat, and England came out victorious and became the 'Mistress of the Seas.'

Elizabeth and France. Elizabeth very wisely kept France and Spain jealous of each other. Their rivalry grew stronger day by day and she missed no opportunity to keep them at a distance from each other. They could not be friends or make a common cause against the interests of England. Elizabeth, a woman of great cleverness and sagacity, took great advantage of this opportunity, i.e., enmity between France and Spain.

She also took equal advantage of the internal troubles and problems of France. There arose a civil war between the French Catholics and the Protestants who were known as the Huguenots. She sent aid to the Huguenots to enable them to maintain their struggle, so that France, busy in her domestic problems, might not think of injuring the interests of England or forming a coalition against her. "Her weapons of dealing with France and Spain, who were jealous of each other, were curious. She kept peace as long as she could. She achieved this by dangling the prospect of her marrying now Philip of Spain, now a French Prince, although all along she had no intention of marrying any of them."

Elizabeth and Scotland. Scotland was a source of danger to Elizabeth for a long time. Mary Queen of Scots was constantly aiming at the throne of England and made a common cause with the enemies of Elizabeth to form plots and conspiracies against her to depose or assassinate her. Finding insecure as long as Mary lived. Elizabeth had her executed on a charge of treason for alleged complicity in the Babington Plot of 1587. So passed out of history the tragic figure of Queen Mary and with her the worst of Elizabeth's troubles was over. She also took advantage of the serious conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics in Scotland.

In 1593, Elizabeth sent aid to the party of the young King in Scotland and suppressed the last remnants of Queen Mary.

Results of Her Foreign Policy. Her foreign policy was most successful. England began to occupy a prominent position among European nations. Her importance on the continent grew. She assumed a position of extraordinary significance and other nations were anxious to seek the alliance and friendship of England. England was at last free from all dangers and difficulties at home and abroad and had no worries at all. She subdued Ireland, united Scotland to England, crushed Spain. She fomented the internal troubles of France and did not allow her to do any harm to England. She also continued her matrimonial intrigues and kept France quiet for the rest of her reign.

SHORT NOTES

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

Monopolies. Elizabeth generally rewarded her favourites and courtiers by the grant of a 'monopoly' to them. A monopoly was the exclusive right to sell a certain article, so that the holder of the privilege could enrich himself by raising its price without fear of competition. So she created so many monopolies in articles of daily use that the people began to clamour against her. When the list of monopolies was read before the Commons, a member exclaimed: "Is not bread among the number." So great was the outcry that Elizabeth yielded and revoked all monopolies which weighed heavily upon the people.

Mercantilism. Elizabeth and Cecil (Lord Burleigh), a statesman and adviser of Elizabeth who took great interest in the growth of trade and industry, introduced the system that came to be known as Mercantilism. It aimed at developing the resources of the country so as to improve the economic condition of the people. She was the first among the Tudor rulers to start 'Mercantilism' in her reign. To promote the interests of her people in manufacturing articles, she opened workshops at government expense and provided many facilities to them. Shipping and fishing were encouraged in various ways. Foreign mechanics and experts were invited to England and encouraged to start new industries. Goods began to be manufactured in England and they soon commanded a good market in other countries. Imports were discouraged. Expert weavers were brought to England from Holland, France and other countries to provide efficient training to the people in the art spinning, weaving etc.

Statute of Apprentices. She passed the Statute of Apprentices by which no one could set up as a fully qualified artisan unless he was 24 and had served at least seven years of apprenticeship. This led to the growth of manufactures of good quality and made the English people rich and prosperous.

Besides, Elizabeth founded new merchant companies which brought immense wealth to the country. The Turkey Company, the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company and the East India Company are some of the most outstanding Companies favoured by the Queen. London soon became a very prosperous city and took the place of Antwerp as a manufacturing and trade-centre of Europe.

The Poor Law, 1601. The 'Enclosure' movement had thrown many people out of work in the country. Thus misery prevailed in the lower section of society, and 'sturdy beggars' able to work but unemployed were frequently seen. To meet this difficulty, Elizabeth passed a number of Acts, according to which 'overseers' were appointed. Their duty was to levy rates on all the land-owners of a parish and to maintain such of the poor people as could not work for physical unfitness. For the able-bodied poor, who were out of work, employment was provided in the work-houses. Thus the problem of unemployment was solved to a great extent.

William Cecil (Lord Burghley) (1520—1598). He was the chief minister and adviser of Elizabeth and the greatest statesman of his age. He served the Queen most faithfully for forty years (1558—1598) and proved extremely useful to her till the year of his death in 1598. He was the most important member of the Queen's secret Cabinet, enjoyed her fullest confidence, was responsible for her successful policy and exercised efficient supervision over every department of the State. It would have been a difficult task for Elizabeth to gain success in her actions and policy and to have achieved personal greatness without the devotion, wisdom and guidance of this great statesman.

Sir Francis Walsingham. He began his political career as a diplomatist under Lord Burleigh who appointed him as ambassador to France. When he came back from France he was appointed the Secretary of State. He was a very clever and tactful person who played the role of a very successful detective at home and abroad through his agents.

He detected in time the secret plots that were formed from time to time to kill Elizabeth and bring Mary Queen of Scots to the throne of England.

The Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Essex were also among her leading ministers.

Earl of Leicester (1532—1588). Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was the son of Duke of Northumberland the Protector of Edward VI. He was a favourite of Elizabeth but he was not shrewd and tactful like Lord Burghley. It was believed that Elizabeth shall marry Leicester but she was never prepared to part with her political power by having a husband. He was not successful in the expeditions headed by him. He died in 1589.

Sir Walter Raleigh. He was born at Hayes in 1552 and was educated in a Grammar School and at the Oriel College. He was the first man to think of the possibilities of an England on the other side of the Atlantic, i.e., founding English Colonies. He led an expedition to the Azores in 1578 against the Spaniards. To pursue his scheme of colonisation he led an expedition to America where he founded a colony under the British flag and called it Virginia in honour of the Virgin Queen (Elizabeth). He made another attempt in 1578 but both his attempts at colonisation failed for want of proper facilities and necessary provisions.

In the reign of James I he was imprisoned for being an accomplice in a plot against the king. He wrote the History of the World while in jail. In 1617 James allowed him to sail to America to discover gold mines on the condition that he would not quarrel with the Spaniards. It so happened that he could neither discover gold mines nor avoid coming into conflict with the Spaniards. To pacify the Spaniards James ordered him to be executed in 1618.

Sir Francis Drake. He was the son of a Devonshire Clergyman who led several expeditions against the Spaniards. He was the first

Englishman who sailed round the world, plundered the Spanish towns on the Pacific coast and returned home laden with silver and gold. For his great adventures he was created 'knight' by Elizabeth, in 1588 he fought with great courage against the Armada and burnt a part of it.

Drake's famous voyage of 1577—80 round the world was significant in several respects. It led to the beginning of English trade in the East Indies and the expansion of England's trade in other parts of the world, it led to the establishment of private trading companies; it marked the beginning of England's naval supremacy; it led to the improvement in seamanship, gunnery and naval tactics; in fact his famous voyage of 1577—1580 round the world opened up the New World to England accompanied with numerous advantages.

Sir John Hawkins. The motive of most of the expeditions led by the early famous English sailors and seamen of Elizabeth's time was not to establish colonies but trade in slaves. In 1562 he sailed first to Africa and then to the West Indies. He captured about three hundred slaves and sold them to the Spaniards who had settled in Hispaniola. In the same way he availed himself of several opportunities of capturing slaves and selling them to others. He is rightly known as the founder of the Negro slave-trade in America.

SPEECH OF ELIZABETH TO HER PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF THE ARMADA

My loving people! we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take head how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength a safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects and therefore, I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my Kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust.

I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field." (Mowat).

Q. Describe Elizabeth's relations with her Parliament.

Ans For this please see next Chapter 'General Questions' on the Tudor period.

Q. Show how the character of Elizabeth was reflected in her policy, both home and foreign. "Elizabeth is said to have been

at once the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Elucidate.

Ans. Hints to expand. Elizabeth is said to have been at once the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. To be simple, it means that she inherited, in a true sense, the peculiar traits of character of her parents. From her father, she inherited love of power, self-confidence, want of gratitude to those who served her faithfully and a strong determination. From her mother she derived love of pomp, coquetry and self-indulgence. She had learnt intrigues from the dangers of her early life and was ever ready to use any means fair or foul to achieve her purpose. In council she was keen and, though at times irresolute, she could strike a decisive blow at the exact time. She was a good judge of men and selected her advisers well. She consulted her ministers and examined their views but generally her policy was her own. These traits of her character made their influence felt in her foreign as well as domestic policy. The way in which she affected religious settlement of England illustrates her character, and that clearly shows that she knew the value of the middle course and moderation".

She followed a policy of moderation and intentionally avoided extremes for she knew that extremes were dangerous and often led to serious trouble and disturbed the peace of the country. Personally the Queen had no deep religious feelings and the result was the political settlement of religious matters. She had seen how Edward VI and Mary had failed in their religious policies because they had taken up too extreme a line. She therefore adopted the 'middle way' and wanted to follow a 'middle course' between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. She aimed at bringing about a peaceful settlement to save the country from civil strife and struggle. It is rightly said that her settlement of the religious question is more of a politician than of an ecclesiast. This clearly shows that the way in which she settled the religious question of her country was that of a wise politician and not of a religious fanatic. The first thing to her was the peace of the country and religion was to her a secondary thing. The same trait is also to be found in her attitude towards Parliament. Her policy was to keep Parliament in good humour. She knew how to remain firm and resolute, but at times she yielded with grace whenever there was any strong opposition. She knew when to remain firm and when to yield. She tactfully handled the Parliament and never gave it an unnecessary cause of displeasure. Her foreign policy aimed at the maintenance of peace abroad, especially with France. With this end in view, she did not even want to refuse the hand of the French king. It was for England that she remained a virgin all through her life. She had intense love for her country, and her example was one of the chief reasons for the growth of the new spirit that characterised the age. She inspired the people to do great deeds and thus bring honour, wealth and prosperity to their country.

Q. Write a note on the literary and maritime activities during the reign of Elizabeth.

"The reign of Elizabeth was the Golden Age of English literature". Comment.

ELIZABETH'S REIGN GOLDEN AGE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

Literary Activities. The 45 years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute one of the most momentous period of English history and the growth of English literature. The Renaissance and the Reformation, the discoveries of the unknown lands and continents and the various inventions connected with paper, printing press, scientific instruments, etc., widened and enlightened human knowledge beyond proportion. Added to these was the consciousness of national greatness which came to the English people, as a result of the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The Tudors, all of them from the time of Henry VII, had been patrons of literature. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as well as the Grammar Schools had their due share of royal patronage. Finally, with the closing years of Elizabeth there developed exclusively, a national literature which was the result of the influences—political, social and religious,—that England had been experiencing for some time.

First comes the name of William Shakespeare, whose dramas have secured immortal fame all over the English-knowing world. His *Hamlet, Macbeth* and *Julius Ceasar*, etc., claim to be the best tragedies ever written. So also are some of his comedies. The next is that of the poet Spenser whose *Faerie Queene* is the most poetic of romances in the old-world style. Christopher Marlowe is another name of the period remarkable for stateliness of verse and rare bits of poetic beauty. Other notable poets of the time are Thomas Sachville, George Chapman, Micheal Drayton and Sir Philip Sidney of 'thy necessity' fame.

Of the essayists, the names of Bacon, John Lyly, Hooker, Green and Sir Walter Raleigh stand out prominent. It is interesting to note that the works of all these men are characteristically English. Their intense vitality, their wide vatiety, the alertness, which they produced in English mind, their joyful outlook, their vigorous patriotism and above all their true English character produced what is known as the "Golden Age of English Literature." England shook herself free from the fetters of old learning, the years of dread were over, the enemy humbled, her position as the Mistress of the Seas recognised, new trade routes opened and she at least, was safe and saved from further humiliation and foreign wars. The above facts justify the truth of the statement that "the reign of Elizabeth was the Golden Age of English literature."

REIGN OF ELIZABETH AGE OF ENGLISH SEAMANSHIP

Maritime Activities. Maritime activities of the Tudors have special significance for they have played a great part in the development of the country. During the reign of Henry VII Cabbot discovered America and Henry VIII took keen interest in the building up of English navy. But it was really under Elizabeth that Englishman felt a strong love for sea-life and the spirit of adventure had full play. The sea-rovers were the embodiment of the spirit of adventure. The sea-rovers had so often to deal with pirates and take part in naval warfare and as such they had ample opportunities to become excellent fighters on the sea. The destruction of the Spanish Armada really marks an important stage in the development of England's colonial, commercial and naval power. In this work Elizabeth was very much helped by her sailors, among whom Hawkins, Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert stand out prominent and they are better known as the Sea-dogs of Elizabeth's times.

Hawkins was one of the first group of sailors who sailed far. He reached Sierra-Leons on the west coast of Africa in 1662 and captured Negroes whom he sold as slaves in South America making a huge profit from the sale. His other ventures were failures.

Drake sailed into the Spanish parts of America and plundered their valuable cargoes including silver and gold and returned with treasure untold. He made several voyages and plundered a large number of Spanish and other trading vessels. When the Spanish Armada was being fitted out, Drake reached Cadiz and displayed great courage in the destruction of the Spanish Armada.

Q. Describe the work and policy or services and achievements of Elizabeth. *Or,*

Q. What were the measures of Elizabeth which rank her as one of the greatest rulers of England? *Or,*

Q. What were the glories of Elizabeth's reign and why is her age considered to be one of the most glorious and brilliant periods in English history? *Or,*

Q. Elizabeth's reign is called "Spacious Days in English History." Justify. *Or,*

Q. What were the chief features of the reign of Elizabeth? (D.U. 1965)

GLORIES AND GREATNESS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

The following facts will explain the above:—

Establishment of Perfect Law and Order. By her wisdom, tact and courage she established perfect peace and order in the country. She established such a strong government in the country that there was very little possibility left for a Civil War in the country. She kept down her enemies with a strong hand and did not allow them to create any disorder or cause any disturbance in the normal life of the people. She took drastic steps against all those persons who were bent upon creating disturbance and lawlessness in the country. By her awe and strength she succeeded in giving law, order and peaceful conditions which the country very badly needed. The people felt grateful to the Queen for creating conditions in the country under which they could live peacefully.

Establishment of a National Church in England. She completed the work of the Reformation that had begun in the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI. She settled the religious differences and established a National Church in England. She did all this without much persecution. The Church established by her still exists. Her religious policy also known as Religious Settlement of the Church was a great success. The settlement proved lasting and satisfactory and thus a great problem of the country that had harassed Elizabeth's predecessors was solved in a very wise and peaceful way. England became a great Protestant Power. Her successful religious policy proved a blessing to the country in the long run. Protestantism was permanently established in England.

Growth of Trade and Commerce. She did her best to encourage trade, commerce and agriculture in the country. Several merchant companies were formed to trade with distant countries. She improved the coinage which had become debased in the time of Edward VI and Mary. Growth of trade and commerce added to the wealth of the country. People took active interest in the trading activities which improved their economic condition.

Improvement of the Social and Economic Condition. She passed the Law of Vagrancy, the Law of Apprenticeship, and the Poor Law to remove unemployment and to encourage arts and Industries. This improved the social and economic condition of the people and made them happy, rich and contented. There was a great improvement in houses, dress, food and means of recreation and amusement etc. This led to general rise in the standard of life. The problem of employment was practically solved. Growth of home and foreign trade, improvement in the methods of agriculture, conversion of pastures into cultivable land and progress of arts and industries made the people wealhy and prosperous and brought about a great change in the way of their life.

Beginning of Manufacturing Life of England. Elizabeth helped the Protestants of the Netherlands and France, with the result that many of them left their own countries and migrated to England. They brought with them the arts of manufacturing silk, lace-making, dyeing, etc. Thus started the manufacturing life of the country in right earnest. Her work lasted not only during her reign but permanently influenced the whole history of England. She procured the services of the experts and specialists to enhance England's industry and commerce. By following a very economical progress and by curtailing the expenses of her court and administration she saved a good deal of money and invested national saving in industry. The progress in the manufacturing life of the country was mainly due to her wise and patriotic policy.

Growth of Literature. The reign of Elizabeth was the golden age of English literature, and a period of great literary activity. The great reign of Elizabeth produced what is called the "Elizabethan School of Letters." "The supreme glory of Elizabeth's reign and its noblest contribution to the achievements of British people, was the dazzling outburst of great literature, and specially of poetry, by which it was distinguished." "The awakening was as sudden and as thrilling as the rejoicing of the woods when the sun rises on the May morning." (Ramsay Muir). Elizabeth herself was a great patron of Literature and Art. Many poets, dramatists, moralists and prose writers flourished during her reign who wrote many useful and valuable works. Ascham, Sidney, Raleigh, Bacon, Hooker, Spencer, Marlowe, Jonson and Shakespeare are some of the chief writers.

England Elevated to a Front Place in Europe. Elizabeth completely conquered Ireland and defeated Spain. She entered into clever friendship with Scotland. France feared and respected England. By her wisdom, tact and boldness she elevated England to a front place in continental politics and added to her prestige.

Elizabeth's personal character had a great part in elevating England to a high place. "With all her faults, Elizabeth was passionately devoted to the national interests. She lacked the religious temperament; she played at making love; her gift was for politics and in that she excelled. To put it another way—her religion, if she had any, was patriotism; if she loved anything, she loved England." (Carter and Mears).

Naval Supremacy of England. After the defeat of the Spanish (Invincible) Armada, the naval supremacy of England was established and she became the "Mistress of the Sea". The Power and prestige of England increased, and she began to take a leading part in politics of Europe. Spanish supremacy was destroyed. Spain, the only enemy of England that always obstructed England's progress, was defeated and crippled. The naval supremacy thus established added to the glory of England and was ultimately responsible for splendid victories on the sea.

Beginning of England's Colonial Greatness. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, England became free to carry out her schemes of colonization and building up an empire. The English sea-rovers displayed their full spirit of adventure and enterprise. Many English people took to sealife; most prominent among them being Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher and others. England had a wonderful and busy activity on the sea which helped England become a first-rate power.

Her Conception of Kingship. The secret of her success lay in the fact that her conception of kingship differed widely from that held by her predecessors, for she regarded herself as being, if not quite the servant of her people, at least their guardian. In her speech to her people on the eve of the Armada she said, "Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguards in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects". National interests and the good of her people were the dearest to her heart and she spared no pains to realize them.

"A New England Was Born in the Reign of Elizabeth". There was a new spirit of enterprise in the English people and they sailed far and wide. The English became a strong nation. The industrial life of England began. Old habits and customs disappeared. Feudal system died away. Improvements were introduced in houses,

food, dress, etc., and a new and fresh literature arose. In every sphere of life people showed new vigour and life.

To make England self-sufficient in foodstuffs, the Queen enacted the 'Enclosure Act (1580)' and 'Corn Law (1600)'. To see that even the poor people were properly fed, she passed a Poor Law in 1601 by which Justices were empowered to nominate overseers in every parish. These had the authority to tax the inhabitants in every parish in order to provide money necessary for the support of the poor people of the parish.

A United and Strong England. "Elizabeth found England divided and weak, she left it united and strong." When she ascended the throne she was surrounded with difficulties and dangers, both at home and abroad, but by her skill, wisdom and courage she surmounted them all, she left a united, happy and prosperous England. She made England great both at home and abroad. By her courage and wisdom she won for England a position in the front rank of European states. Mitra says, "when she came to the throne, England was divided within and in peril from without. She left it a great, free and united nation which has never ceased to think of her with gratitude and admiration." Ireland was conquered, Spain was defeated and Pope had no position in England. Union of England, Scotland and Ireland was ensured.

For the above reasons Elizabeth deserves to be considered as one of the greatest sovereigns of England. Her reign occupies a very important place in the history of England. She was popular during her lifetime, her subjects looked upon her with feelings of great respect and her memory is still recalled with pride. "In the affection of her subjects, and the good fortune of her reign, she may be compared with the greatest ruler of any age." (Mowat). Her reign was the richest, fullest, and most heroic period of English History. It is for this reason that Elizabeth's reign is termed as the 'Spacious Days' in English history and forms one of the brightest periods in the history of England. England on the whole was happy and contented with a growing fame on all sides. Elizabeth followed a wise and moderate policy throughout taking care not to offend any section of her people.

Q. Why is Elizabeth considered to be one of the greatest sovereigns of Engalnd? *Or,*

Q. "Elizabeth found England divided and weak. She left it united and strong." Explain. *Or,*

Q. What has made the reign of Elizabeth important in the history of England? *Or,*

Q. "The later part of the reign of Elizabeth is the most remarkable period in the history of England." Describe some of the achievements of the period which contributed so much to the glory of this reign. *Or,*

Q. "The age of Elizabeth is considered to be one of the most glorious periods in the development of the English people." Explain.

Ans. Please consult previous answer.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

Describe the religious or Anglican-Church system of Elizabeth. *"At the time of Elizabeth's accession, England presented to her a very difficult position." Discuss.*

Explain the difficulties and dangers to which Elizabeth was exposed when she came to the throne and how she overcame them.

"The settlement of the Church by Elizabeth was more of a politician than of an ecclesiast." Discuss.

State what you know of the Church Settlement of Elizabeth.

"The foreign policy of Elizabeth was full of important consequences." Explain.

Justify the statement that the reign of Elizabeth forms one of the brightest periods in the History of Engalnd.

Describe the contribution of Elizabeth to the national greatness of England, or show fully the greatness of Elizabeth's reign.

"Elizabeth must yet be counted one of the very greatest of our sovereigns." (Osbert Lancaster). Comment.

Why is Elizabeth's reign called the Golden Age of the Tudor Period?

How did Elizabeth secure her own personal greatness, the supremacy of the Royal power or the ascendency of the Crown?

Show that the character of Elizabeth was reflected in her policy both home and foreign.

"The manifold achievement of Elizabeth entitles her to the highest position among the English sovereigns." Comment.

Give an estimate of the home and foreign policy of Elizabeth dwelling mainly on (a) her relations with Parliament, (b) her dealings with the Puritans and the Catholics and (c) her attitude towards Spain and the Papacy.

Write a note on Parliament during Elizabeth's reign.

Mention the dangers arising from Roman Catholicism to Elizabeth's throne and the liberty of her subjects and summarise her policy and measures by which she overcame these dangers.

"The age of Elizabeth may rightly be regarded as the Golden Age of English literature." Justify.

CHAPTER VII

SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—TUDOR PERIOD

TUDOR DESPOTISM

Q. Explain the causes and conditions that enabled the Tudor sovereigns to establish a strong personal rule (New Monarchy or Popular Despotism) based on the support and loyalty of the people. *Or,*

Q. To what causes would you attribute the success of Tudor Despotism? (D.U. 1962).

Q. Why did the English people and Parliament tolerate the actions and policy of the Tudors and extended their willing co-operation to them? *Or,*

Q. Examine the statement "that Tudor monarchy unlike most of the despotisms rested on the willing support of the nation at large, a support of the deeply-rooted conviction that a strong executive was necessary to the national unity." *Or,*

Q. Why did the English Parliament generally accept the dictation of the despotic Tudor sovereigns? *Or,*

Q. "The Tudor sovereigns were nearly autocrats, but their autocracy depended upon their efficiency and upon the willing assent of the nation which was weary of factions." (Ramsay Muir). Explain.

CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF TUDOR DESPOTISM

This is a fact that the people during the Tudor period not only tolerated the actions and policy of their sovereigns but also willingly extended their support and co-operation to them and felt grateful for the many advantages and blessings that they received from the strong and enlightened rule of the Tudors. The establishment of successful Tudor despotism is considered a unique event in the history of the world because there never was a despotism that had the full support and willing consent of its people. The Tudors continued to rule for more than a century and yet there was seldom any rising of the people against them. Here are the main causes and conditions that enabled the Tudor sovereigns to establish a strong monarchy (despotism) in England:—

1. *A Strong and Stable Government Was the Immediate Need of the Nation.* In the first place, the quarrels and civil wars between the barons as the Wars of the Roses showed that peace and order could not be secured without the strong rule of an able King. The people were sick of the selfish barons who had seriously disturbed peace of the land. They fully trusted their Kings, who alone could

give them peace and security of life and property. A strong and stable government was the great necessity under the existing circumstances. Without a strong government England was sure to be torn into pieces by civil wars and mutual quarrels among the barons. The Tudor sovereigns were strong and tactful enough to restore peaceful conditions in the country which the people needed most.

2. *Decline in the Power of the Nobles.* Most of the nobles had been killed during the Wars of the Roses because it was a war in which the nobles were mostly concerned and the common people took very little part. So far there had been a constant struggle between the Kings and the nobles of England for supremacy, but with the destruction of great many nobles in the Wars of the Roses, the King's power increased and he had no cause to fear the nobility. Thus the royal power automatically increased.

3. *Complete Destruction of the Old Nobility.* This is true that most of the ancient barons had been destroyed in the Wars of the Roses but their power was not completely shattered. Some of the barons were still strong enough to defy the authority of the King and upset law and order of the country. To crush them thoroughly. Henry VII, besides adopting other measures, passed (1) the Statute against 'Livery and Maintenance', i.e., he refused to allow nobles to keep retainers (retainers were more like soldiers dressed in uniform who fought for their lord against any one even the King) and (2) established the Court of Star Chamber to punish any person, however strong, who defied the law of the land. The power of the barons was thus broken down and the King was left free to exercise his power in the way he liked. The barons were thus no longer a serious check on the King's power.

4. *Invention of Gun-Powder.* Gun-powder was invented in the beginning of the Tudor age. Henry VII forbade its use for everyone save the government. Before this the nobles in their strong castles had been able to resist the authority of the King, but now that the king possessed gun-powder, i.e., artillery, it became almost impossible for the nobels to challenge his authority. This very much strengthened the position of the Tudor monarchs against their rebellious nobles.

5. *Creation of a New Loyal Gentry.* Tudor Kings pursued the policy of depriving the great barons and the Churches of their land. wealth and power. The enormous wealth thus seized was deposited in the royal treasury while the land was distributed among the new ministers and officials who were chosen from the middle class of the society. Thus a new gentry or nobility came into being which was thoroughly loyal to Henry VII and the succeeding monarchs of the Tudor dynasty. Thus the shrewd Tudors were able to exercise their powers as they liked with the co-operation and assistance of these new nobles. The new gentry served the Tudor monarchs most faithfully and rendered them all sorts of assistance.

6. *Co-operation of the Trading Classes.* The traders extended their full co-operation to the Tudor sovereigns. The long-raging wars had drained the wealth of the country. The trade and com-

merce were most neglected. The traders longed for perfect peace and order so that their business might flourish. It was only a strong kingly rule that could ensure the chances of a prosperous trade. Thus the merchant classes offered their full co-operation to the Tudor sovereigns, because they knew that they alone could give them peace and security of life and property.

7. *Support of the People and the Parliament.* England had been engrossed in domestic and foreign wars since long whereby the general masses had suffered great losses. "England had been torn into pieces by the rival civil wars and quarrels." Besides, the long-drawn struggle for power between the kings and the nobles had inflicted untold sufferings on the people and seriously upset the economic set-up of the country. This had reduced them to a sad plight. England had many dangers at home and abroad. So the man in the street longed for the rule of a powerful king who might save him from further ruin and starvation. The masses thus showed every readiness to make any sacrifice to make the Tudors all powerful. The people and the parliament co-operated most loyally with Henry VIII when he wanted to get rid of the authority of the Pope over the Church of England. According to Marriot—"England tolerated the despotic sway of the Tudors, because the country had the need of a strong government in the sixteenth century."

8. *The Church Supported the Tudor Sovereigns.* The monasteries were no longer homes of purity and learning. They had grown corrupt and given to evil practices. Their wealth and the lands were confiscated. Their land was distributed among the new gentry created by the Tudors and the clergy who were thus reduced to poverty had no other alternative but to seek the favour of their ruling sovereigns and depend upon them even for their very existence.

9. *Enlightened and National Policy of the Tudors.* The Tudors were shrewd enough never to go against the wishes of the people and the Parliament. They knew how to deal with them in a way that was suitable to the spirit of the times. They strained every nerve to make their country great both at home and abroad. The authority of the Pope who was thought to be a foreigner was overthrown and a National Church established in England. The Church policy of the Tudors was a great success in the long run since it made the Church of England independent of the Pope. To raise national pride they encouraged navigation and foreign trade. Tudor monarchs were certainly motivated by the feelings of nationalism and the welfare of their subjects. They never lost sight of public good and they did their best to improve the condition of the masses.

10. *Observance of Constitutional Procedure.* The Tudors were wise enough to realize that if they did not observe constitutional formalities and did not respect the parliament, the people would take them for foreigners and challenge their claim to the English throne. This made them have full regard for the parliament and never to override it by neglecting the proper constitutional procedure in their dealings with it. This is known as the 'veiled despotism' of the Tudors in the constitutional form, i.e., they were despots without

doubt but they exercised their despotism by fulfilling the necessary formalities in the parliament as required by the law of the land. They succeeded in obtaining many special powers for themselves from their Parliament. Any attempt to set at naught the constitutional formalities would surely have brought the Tudors into conflict with the Parliament and weakened their position. The Tudors thus carefully avoided any conflict with their Parliament and tried to work with it in perfect harmony.

11. *Tudor Sovereigns Amassed Great Wealth.* To lessen their financial dependence on the Parliament, the Tudors amassed great wealth by benevolences, heavy fines, amicable loans, taxes, Morton's Fork, by seizing property of the monasteries and several other direct and indirect means. This made them in a great measure independent of the parliamentary control for parliament was the only body to exercise some sort of control over the king. But the Tudors never forgot to observe the necessary parliamentary formalities and secure its sanctions wherever necessary.

12. *Absence of the Independent Commons.* The independent Commons who offered resistance later on to their rulers had not as yet risen and come into prominence. It were they who fought tooth and nail to assert their rights and privileges. They were coming into importance by and by but the Tudors were wise enough to have exercised influence over the Commons to keep them favourably inclined towards them.

13. *Personal Character and Efficiency and Virtues of the Tudors.* The Tudors were wise, tactful and efficient rulers. They could know the wishes of the nation and acted accordingly. They knew when to be firm and when to yield. Besides, they had always the good of the people at heart and never gave them unnecessary cause of offence. When any of their measures was not liked by the people, they held their ministers responsible for it and punished them to please the people and the parliament. They not merely used their great power to enjoy but worked hard to look to the comforts and prosperity of the people and make England a great commercial, naval and colonial power.

As a rule the measure of the Tudor Sovereigns did not wound the feelings of the people, nor go against the traditions or interests of the nation.

Conclusion. The secret of the Tudor rule was that it was a popular "Despotism" resting on popular free will and consent. It had the backing of the people. Tudor dictatorship was a necessity. The people required strong rulers who could give them peace and security and they found them in Tudors. The Tudors felt the pulse of the nation, and the nation on its part trusted its sovereigns, who were every inch of them English. Tudor despotism was tolerated because it was popular and national and existed for the good of the country. Says Warner: "The Tudors were absolute because England believed in them, trusted them and was willing that they should be absolute."

The Tudors had a veiled despotism. It was so effectively veiled as not to make it appear unconstitutional. The Tudors maintained and respected legal forms and the constitutional formulae of government. They did not abolish the Parliament but they summoned it occasionally though with a view to use it as convenient tool to carry out their own purpose. The rights of the people and the privileges of the Parliament were never openly denied by the Tudors but they tactfully succeeded in evading as long as possible without exciting opposition. Whatever be the nature of the Tudor rule, it is quite clear, however, that it neither abolished the constitution, nor was it challenged as was done later on by the Stuarts. The Tudors may have preserved and observed constitutional forms as a formality but this formality gave the Parliament the necessary training to make it fit for a contest with the Stuart Kings which was soon to come.

Tudor despotism was benevolent in character, constitutional in form and invigorating in effect. It was a necessity and a blessing both. It rendered great services to the people and the Parliament and left a permanent mark on the history of the country.

Q. How do you account for despotic power which the Tudor Sovereigns were allowed to exercise? *Or,*

Q. "The Tudor despotism was popular for it had national or public backing." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. What do you understand by popular despotism and how far was it found in the Tudor period? *Or,*

Q. "Tudor despotism was based upon popular support and willing consent of the people rather than on force or fear." Discuss this statement. *Or,*

Q. "Tudor dictatorship was a necessity." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. Explain the circumstances which helped the growth of the power of the Crown under the Tudors. *Or,*

Q. "The Tudors came to the throne in an age of transition when the medieval feudalism was giving way before the modern State. Owing to temporary character of a number of circumstances the Tudor monarchs had a large measure of power." (Prof. Steward). Explain.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Were the Tudors despots or dictators? Is the term "Tudor despotism" a misnomer? What do you understand by the term—"Tudor Despotism"?.

Tudors were dictators and not despots in the strict sense. The term "Tudor despotism" is a misnomer (wrong term).

The Tudors were not despots; they may more correctly be called dictators. The Tudors enjoyed vast powers as the following examples will illustrate but these powers were willingly conferred upon them by their Parliaments:—

(i) In 1495 Parliament acknowledged the right of the King to levy arbitrary taxation in the shape of benevolences.

(ii) In 1504 Henry VII was given the power to repeal Acts of Attainder when Parliament was not in session.

(iii) Parliament gave power to Henry VIII to settle the sucessions to the English throne by will.

(iv) Henry VIII's 'proclamations' were given the force of law. The Act was, however, repealed shortly afterwards. These examples show that the Tudors enjoyed vast powers. But it does not mean that they were despots. They enjoyed these powers not as royal prerogatives but because these powers were conferred on them by a willing Parliament. The Tudors being wise and tactful rulers did not abuse the great powers conferred upon them but worked hard to make England a great country and it was the result of the strenuous efforts made by the Tudors that England became a great commercial, naval and colonial power towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. Their system of government was parliamentary and not despotic; they observed all necessary constitutional formalities and seldom did anything that was against the spirit of the law of the land. Tudor despotism is a unique event in the history of the world because there never was a despotism that had the full support of the people, i.e., thorough national backing. The Tudors continued to rule for more than a century and yet there was seldom any rising of the people against them.

The Tudors were not despots. Their government was popular. The Tudor government rested upon the consent and co-operation of the people and the Parliament. People were tired of anarchy due to the Wars of the Roses and internal strifes and struggles and thus they wanted a stable government which could be established only by strong kings like the Tudors. They had a strong faith in the ability and strength of the Tudors. The Tudors knew the necessity of the time and proved themselves equal to the difficult task of establishing a strong and efficient government. A. J. Grant says, "It is wrong to call the Tudor Monarchy a despotism, for there is every reason to think that it was popular—more popular than Parliament; and that the people at large saw in the monarchy its representative and protector".

The Tudor system of government had the backing of the nation and the Tudor sovereigns were entrusted by the people with great power for the purposes of:—

1. Keeping the nobles in check and under strong control.
2. Guiding England through the crises of the Reformation.
3. Guarding England from the danger of foreign invasion.
4. Developing trade and commerce, to bring about material prosperity in the country.

The Tudors did not act arbitrarily but ruled through the Privy Council, the Parliament and the Justices of the Peace. The Tudor period is also important from the constitutional point of view, because the Tudors increased the authority of the Parliament by carefully observing all parliamentary formalities.

Here are some more reasons which help us to believe that the Tudors were no despots in the strict sense of the term:—

1. It were the people who entrusted the Tudor sovereigns with great powers. The people, tired of misrule that existed before the Tudors and considering the dangers that threatened England if it remained disunited and weak, allowed the whole power to rest in the hands of their kings. Despotism means tyranny or oppression but the Tudors never acted as tyrants and they always respected the wishes of the people and the parliament.
2. The Tudor sovereigns seldom went against the wishes of the Parliament. They had all their laws and measures passed by the Parliament. The great historian Ramsay Muir is of the opinion that it would be wrong to call Tudor Rule 'Tudor Despotism' because the Tudor sovereigns did not rule without a parliament and every law was passed by the parliament according to the regular procedure. The Tudors increased the authority of the Parliament and particularly in the later part of Elizabeth's reign we find that it asserted itself and struggled for its privileges.
3. They ruled the country with the help of the Privy Councillors, the Parliament and the unpaid Justices of the Peace.
4. They yielded to popular demands, felt the pulse of the nation and never went against it. They were great patriots and always had the good of their country at heart. They found it divided, weak and poor but they made it united, strong and prosperous.
5. The monarch of the Tudors was national. They did not misuse the vast powers entrusted to them. Their powers were used for the good of the people and for the advancement of their country's position both at home and abroad as may be seen from the following:

(a) At home they restored order and good government. They encouraged trade and commerce and made the country rich. They founded a strong navy and encouraged voyages, discoveries and explorations. They brought about a peaceful, religious revolution by severing connection with the Church of Rome and laying the foundation of an independent national Church. The government became very strong and as the Tudors on the whole used their power for the good of the country and the prople were united and happy, knowledge and learning flourished and Elizabeth's age was a time of the growth of great learning.

(b) Abroad they strengthened the union with Wales and laid the foundation of a union with Scotland. In Ireland they enforced order and kept down all attempts at rebellion. They defeated Spain and destroyed its naval supremacy; France and other countries were anxious to seek their friendship. They increased England's prestige and raised her position on the continent. England was feared and respected.

6. There was perfect harmony between the Parliament and the Tudor Sovereigns. They understood each other and thus accommodated each other. The Tudor sovereigns wanted to establish a strong personal rule in the country for the benefit of the people and then a strong government was a great necessity of those times for the great lords and nobles were always on the look out of opportunities to disturb peace and order of the country and take advantage of the disturbed conditions. The Parliament also knew full well that a weak king was unfit for the purpose of keeping down the turbulent nobles. Under these circumstances the people and the parliament willingly co-operated with the Tudor sovereigns for otherwise peace, security and prosperity were impossible and the best interests of the country could not be served.

The above facts show that the Tudors were great patriots and though they wielded vast powers they used them for the interests of their people and the country. Their outlook was national and in everything they had the support of the nation. They were strong and self-willed but they always had the good of the people at heart. They were, therefore, more of dictators than despots.

Q. Discuss the main features or characteristics of Tudor despotism. *Or,*

Q. State carefully the nature of Tudor despotism.

MAIN FEATURES OF TUDOR DESPOTISM

1. *Tudor Despotism was Benevolent and Enlightened.* The Tudor Sovereigns, though despots, never forgot the welfare of their people. In all their actions and policies they carefully kept in view the best interests of their people. It was not a tyranny exercised by the rude and uncivilized rulers but it was intelligent exercise of power for the benefit of the people.

2. *It was Popular and National.* The people were tired of the evils of the Wars of the Roses. There was anarchy and lawlessness in the country which the turbulent nobles had caused during thirty years of the Wars of the Roses. People wanted strong Kings on the throne who could suppress the unruly barons and give peace and security to the country. Under these circumstances the people were prepared to lend every support to a strong king. The Tudor Sovereigns had the national backing, i.e., it was based on the willing loyalty and support of the people. A. J. Grant has very correctly said, "The rule of Henry VII was generally welcome because it gave the country rest from Civil War and the opportunity for industrial and economic progress." Practically the whole nation supported the

strong and personal rule of the Tudors because they gave what the nation wanted immediately, i.e., a strong rule which could crush the power of the barons and make them obey the law of the land. "The Tudors were popular despots for their power was based on the willing consent and not on the servitude of the people.

3. *It Reduced the Power of the Church.* The rebellious nobles who were bent upon taking the law into their own hands were severely crushed. The one great service that Henry VII rendered to the people of England was to break down the power of the nobles and make them amenable to the law of the land. The Reformation Parliament broke down the authority of the Pope in England and made the king of England supreme both in the state and the church. The church was no longer a powerful state within the state but it had been reduced to the position of a department in the state, i.e., it came under the control of the state. The church was no longer under the authority of the Pope; it was under the king of England; it was independent of any foreign interference.

4. *Tudor Despotism Was Veiled under Constitutional Forms.* The Tudor Sovereigns, wise and tactful as they were, did not go against the Parliamentary formalities. They did not levy a tax or enforce a law unless it had received the consent of the Parliament. The powerful Tudor sovereigns could have ruled the country even without Parliaments but they made it a point to seek sanction for all their actions and policies from the Parliaments. The fact that they sought Parliamentary sanction for all they did won them the hearty support and goodwill of the people. They never did anything that was illegal or against the spirit of the constitution. They scrupulously followed the law of the land and went through all constitutional proceedings in and outside the Parliament so as to avoid all adverse criticism.

5. *Tudors Did Not Defy the Wishes of the People.* Tudors felt the pulse of the nation and sympathised with the feelings and aspirations of the people. They knew when to submit and when to remain firm. They seldom defied the wishes of the people and often sanctioned their demands gracefully. "They never flouted the wishes of the people and the Parliament". Their practical wisdom and tact stood them in great stead and won them the good will and gratitude of their people.

6. *Tudors Took Active Interest in Sea Adventures, Trade and Commerce.* The Tudors encouraged seamen for sea ventures and maritime activities which resulted in the discovery of new trade routes. England achieved maritime greatness and became an important country in Europe. This led to the growth of English trade and commerce which made England prosperous. Successful efforts were made at colonisation and in course of time England became a great naval, commercial and colonial power.

7. *Union of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland.* At the accession of Henry VII the above four countries were separate from each other. By 1603 all the four were united together under a single crown, and formed a strong union in the time to come though Ireland was

slow to join England. Ireland remained a problem for England for a long time but at last its better sense prevailed.

8. *England Became a Very Important Power of Europe.* The discovery of new routes and the development of English navy made England one of the leading countries of Europe. The importance of Portugal and Spain decreased and England assumed a first-rate position in Europe. The fact that she followed the policy of 'Balance of Power' among European nations made England a powerful country. The object of the policy of Balance of Power was to so maintain the position of the European powers that none of them grew abnormally powerful and thus not to become a source of danger and menace to the liberties of other states on the continent. The defeat of the Armada gave a death-blow to the power of Spain and humbled her position.

9. *Rise of English Nationalism.* The power of the nobles was broken, the Reformation Parliament had led to the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome and England had made for itself a position of prominence on the Sea. All these achievements created their strong confidence in their own national institutions and they began to feel proud of them. A strong feeling of nationalism spread in England. This helped England to become a united, rich, powerful and prosperous country.

10. *Social and Economic Uplift of the People.* Social and economic life of the people was improved in many ways. Statute of Artificers was passed to better the lot of workers, wages were fixed and arrangements were made to provide relief to the unemployed and the poor. The famous Poor Law of 1601 made important provisions for the relief of the poor. Ramsay Muir says, "In every way it was the work of these years of peace that made possible the glories of a later period. The strength and unity of England had been secured."

Q. Explain the Tudor System of Government and indicate the place of Parliament in it. *Or,*

Q. Write a note on the Privy Council of the Tudor times. "The Privy Council was a pivot round which entire Tudor administration revolved." Explain.

TUDOR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Establishment of a Strong Government. The Tudor Sovereigns successfully established a strong monarchy in the country. The people were tired of anarchy and lawlessness that had arisen in the country by the Wars of the Roses. During this period people lost peace and security, their life and property was in danger, their business dislocated, trade and commerce was set back and the conditions were sure to get worse if the Tudor Sovereign had not occupied the throne. Henry VII and the succeeding Tudor Sovereigns established a strong monarchy with a powerful central government that conferred upon the country the blessings of an efficient and effective government.

The Tudors carried on the administration of the country with the help of the King's Council, the Privy Council, the Parliament and the Justices of the Peace.

(A) *The King's Council.* The Chief advisory body of the King was the Council known as the King's Council which always assisted him in every matter and which was very close to him. This Council consisted of the King's favourites, some lords and bishops, a few commoners, the members of the royal family and several high officials like the Lord Chancellor, Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Treasurer etc. In fact till 1540 the Privy Council and the King's Council were almost the same thing with the only difference that Privy Council comprised some select Councillors who met the King to discuss some special matters.

(B) *The Privy Council.* During the Tudor period the Privy Council was generally composed of the members chosen not from the nobility and the clergy but from the middle class. Some of the members of the Council were lawyers too. The result of this policy was that these people owing their importance to the King did not have the courage to go against him and thus served him quite loyally. The number of the Councillors varied from time to time and each of them received a salary of £ 100/- annually besides certain other facilities.

The Functions of the Privy Council. It had various Legislative, Executive and Judicial functions. These are briefly described as under:—

From Legislative point of view it discussed legislative measures. The ordinances and proclamations were also issued by it whenever the sovereigns directed it to do so.

As regards its executive functions, it framed and guided the internal and external policy of the state and received foreign ambassadors. It supervised the work of all departments of the state and applied to the parliament for money grants.

As for its judicial functions, it perfomed the duties of a court of justice in certain cases.

The Court of Star Chamber. This court was a part of the council mainly concerned with the performance of judicial work, in other words it was the judicial organ of the council. Generally it tried cases connected with theft, robbery, sedition and such other cases on which common law was not clear. The court as an important judicial body rendered valuable services to the State. The establishment of law and order and keeping under control the unruly nobles who were bent upon creating anarchy and mischief in the country was one of the wonderful activities of this Court. The Tudors broke down the power of the barons by permitting the Court of Star Chamber to enforce the Law against the powerful subjects. Other branches of the Privy Council were the Council of Wales and the Council of North which restored peace and order in Wales and Northern Counties respectively.

Since the Council was a powerful organ in the Tudor age and was entrusted with important functions which it performed with efficiency and restored peace and security in the country and without the help of which the Tudors could not have ruled with success and efficiency, the Tudor period is therefore called 'the Golden Age of the Council'. The importance of the Privy Council and the vast field of legislative, executive and judicial work which it controlled justifies the remark, "The Privy Council was a pivot round which the entire Tudor administration revolved".

(C) *Parliament.* It consisted of the Monarch, and the two Houses—the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Its duties were to pass laws, to impose taxes and impeach ministers found to be unjust and guilty. The Parliament was guided and controlled by the Privy Councillors. They sat in the Parliament and guided its proceedings. There was perfect harmony between the Parliament and the Tudor sovereigns. They understood each other and acommodated each other with a view to avoid conflict. This is true that the Tudor sovereigns exercised vast and dictatorial powers but they secured the consent of Parliament for all that they did. They levied no tax and enforced no law till it was passed by the Parliament. They never defied the wishes of the Parliament and the people. The wise and tactful sovereigns never offended the Parliament and the people for they carefully felt the pulse of the nation and adjusted their activities accordingly. The Parliament and the people had full faith in the ability and good intentions of the Tudor sovereigns. The Tudor sovereigns never overrode the authority of the Parliament and governed the country with its consent. The Parliament did not offer any opposition to them because it was convinced that they had general welfare of the people at heart. The Parliament which was so docile and accommodating in the beginning of the Tudor period began to assert itself in the end of Elizabeth's reign; but on whole there was smooth-sailing between the Tudor sovereigns and their Parliaments. The existence of the very cordial relations between them led the country to attain commercial, naval and colonial greatness.

(D) *Justices of the Peace.* The Privy Council acted through Justices of the Peace. They were appointed by the King not from among the great nobles and barons but from among the local gentry. They acted as the local chiefs of police and thus helped in the preservation of law and order. Relief was distributed by them among the poor according to the new Poor Law. They regulated prices of articles and wages of skilled and un-skilled labour so as to help trade and commerce of the country.

The Tudor system of government proved very admirable and successful. It not only made England great and prosperous but it gave parliament that political training which enabled it to fight a successful political battle with the Stuarts and thus protected popular rights and liberties.

TUDOR PARLIAMENTS

Q. Discuss the relations of the Tudors with their Parliaments. *Or,*

Q. Describe the constitutional significance of Tudor Period. *Or,*

Q. "Tudor despotism was constitutional and enlightened." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "English constitution was saved from destruction under the Tudors." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "Parliament grew in power and importance under the Tudors." Comment.

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT IN POWER AND IMPORTANCE AND THE TUDOR RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTION

It is sometime argued that the growth of the English constitution and Parliament was arrested under the Tudors and that the Tudors ruled the country in a despotic way by overriding the Parliament and the Constitution of the country. But this charge levelled against them is not altogether true. This is true that the Tudors did what they liked and ruled the country as they pleased and followed their own sweet will but in doing so they always observed certain principles most scrupulously:

Firstly, they aimed at public good, i.e., good of the nation as a whole. They never did a thing that went against the interest of the masses. If ever there was an act that displeased the people, they would punish their minister to win the favour of the people and the parliament. They tried their best to satisfy public demands. Elizabeth once said, "Nothing is so dear to me as the love and goodwill of my subjects." The same sentiment was expressed so many times by her predecessors.

Secondly, they observed all constitutional formalities most carefully. They would never do a thing unless they first obtained parliamentary sanction for it. Even for their proclamations they got the sanction of the parliament and levied no illegal tax. They were shrewd enough never to go against the constitutional procedure and in fact they were anxious to observe all parliamentary formalities. This is true that in its initial stages the parliament was not strong and it yielded to the will of the sovereigns but so far as the parliamentary proceedings are concerned they never infringed them.

Thirdly, they had a deep sense of respect for the parliament, showed every courtesy to it, and never encroached upon its privileges. If ever there was a clash of interests, the Tudors yielded and thus averted any serious conflict.

The Tudors did not deprive the parliament of its legislative power, rather suggested many interesting points of reform to it. The Tudor period was fertile in legislation dealing with social, religious and economic matters. Marriot is of opinion that no period as the Tudor period in English history down to the Victorian era was so fertile in legislation of an important character.

Fourthly, they had a great regard for public opinion and respect for old institutions. Being wise and far-seeing politicians the Tudors took care not only to give a constitutional form to their acts but they scrupulously cared never to offend public opinion or abolish any of the old institutions which protected personal and political freedom.

Fifthly, they maintained the tradition of contitutional or limited monarchy. In constitutional monarchy the head of the executive cannot levy taxes and pass laws. The same was found in the Tudor period. The Tudor monarchs who were the head of the executive had to ask their parliament to levy taxes and pass laws. The Tudors never levied a tax or passed a law by themselves. It was a function of the parliament or the legislature. They never encroached upon the rights and privileges of the parliament or assume powers that did not belong to them. By doing so the Tudor monarchs maintained a very healthy tradition of the constitutional or limited monarchy which serves as the foundation stone of personal and political freedom. This tradition bore fruit in the Stuart and subsequent periods and that is why England feels proud of its democratic set-up even to-day.

Sixthly, the Tudors made a valuable contribution to the constitution of their country. It is sure that but for the strong hand of the Tudors, the English constitution would have perished. The English constitution was saved from destruction because the Tudors scrupulously preserved its traditions. The parliament was allowed to preserve its privileges and none of them was attacked. They consulted Parliament in all important matters touching public welfare. "The Tudor monarchs took no important step in any direction without the consent and approval of their Parliament." They had a great respect for the constitution and while the tyrants abroad were overthrowing free institutions, the Tudors were showing the deepest respect to it and trying their best to preserve it in its original form.

The Tudors preserved the old medieval institutions—King's Council, Parliament, Common Law, and Justices of the Peace—but they were wise enough to use these institutions to increase the royal authority. Nobody objected to it because the Tudors gave law, peace and security to the country which it needed more than anything else. They never forgot that public welfare was their first concern. It was for this reason that the people lent support to their policy and co-operated with them.

Tudors Saved the Constitution from Destruction. The Tudors wanted to break down the power of the barons in order to restore peace and order in the country. They wanted to establish a strong and stable government to give their people full benefits of a peaceful rule. They also wanted to do away with the interference of the Pope in the religious affairs of their country. The Tudors wanted to finish the control of the Pope over the Church of England. To achieve this they cut off all connections of the Church of England with the Church of Rome; Pope was no longer the Head of the English Church; the Church was no longer a state within the state but it was brought down to the position of a department of the state under the control of the State. Henry VIII and his successors (with the exception of Mary) were the heads of the English Church and the Pope could no more interfere in the affairs of the English Church. England was now a full-fledged sovereign state. But all this was achieved by remaining within the Constitution and with the assistance of the Parliament.

As already stated, the Tudors carefully observed all constitutional formalities and they never did anything that was illegal or against the spirit of the constitution. They always sought the consent and approval of the Parliament for everything that was important. They had a deep sense of respect for the constitution and law of the country and ever tried to preserve the old institutions in their real form.

POSITION AND POWERS OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TUDORS

Rights and Privileges

1. Members of the parliament enjoyed freedom from arrest.

2. They enjoyed the right of freedom of speech.

3. They had the right of punishing those persons who used corrupt means at elections, or taking disciplinary action against a member for showing contempt or disrespect to it. They abolished the right of granting monopolies.

4. They claimed the right of discussing all important affairs of the State.

Powers. The parliament could levy taxes, pass laws, renew old laws and issue statutes. It exercised no direct control over the administration of the country. Unlike the modern parliament it did not control the executive. But in spite of all this there was perfect harmony between the Crown and the Parliament and the one was not opposed to the other. They co-operated and harmonised their activities so that there was perfect smooth-sailing between them.

The House of Commons. The House of Commons was fairly representative of such section of society as took any active interest in politics. The barons having been removed, the way for the coming middle classes was prepared. The House of Commons had begun to take initiative. So far there was no real parliamentary opposition and both parties worked in a spirit of compromise. Pollard says, "The growth of the House of Commons was reflected in the expansion of its numbers, the increase of popular interest in elections and in the proceedings of the House and in the development of its privileges and powers." Gradually it rose to an important position. When in 1601, the House of Commons raised its voice against the obnoxious monopolies which gave an illegal revenue to the Queen (Elizabeth), the latter cancelled them saying, "I have more cause to thank you all than you me, for had I not received knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information." She stressed her feelings of love and regard for the House with the result that some honourable members wept for joy. The House pulled on smoothly with Elizabeth, but later, when the Stuart Kings began to base their authority on 'Divine Right', the House also became

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more assertive and quarrelsome. Marriot writes: "The Tudor regime was not merely disciplinary but educative and the House of Commons emerged from the period neither crushed nor emasculated, but braced, stimulated, and invigorated, confident in its powers and eager to battle for its privileges with the Stuarts."

The House of Lords. It was a mere tool in the hands of the Tudors. It blindly followed their will and took no interest in the affairs of the state. It was weaker than the House of the Commons in many respects.

The numerical strength of the House of Lords had decreased on account of the destruction of the monasteries. Some representatives of the monasteries used to sit in the H. O. Lords but during the Reformation (1529—1539) in the reign of Henry VIII most of the monasteries were wiped out of existence. This made the House of Lords still weak. The Lords had no independence of views and were practically all 'yes men'.

Political Training of the Parliament. Members of the Privy Council were required to sit in the Parliament and guide its proceedings and watch its working. The object in doing so was to make the Parliament interested in the matters of administration. It was a sort of training that proved very helpful to it in the years to come. This is true that the Parliament had the power of taxation, legislation and administration, but the monarch's will always prevailed. During the last years of Elizabeth's rule the Parliament had begun to assert itself. Gradually, Parliament was gaining power. The Tudor sovereigns with the help of the Privy Council taught the Parliamentary men at Westminster and the Justices of the men in the countryside the work of real government which had been neglected in the previous century. An eminent student of English constitution has very correctly remarked that, "Without the training, prestige and the sense of self-importance conferred on it by a century of Tudor legislation, it could never have been styled by Pym, the soul of the body politic."

Southgate on the Parliament. This great historian says: But the greatest reason for the absence of friction between Crown and Parliament in the Tudor period was that neither wished it. In the Stuart period it was felt that the aims of King and People were not identical, and ultimately it became clear that they were sharply opposed. The Tudors and their people were not opposed. The people trusted their rulers. Henry VIII in his struggle against Rome had the nation at his back; Elizabeth in her struggle against Spain was leading the people. Crown and Parliament in the Tudor period did not quarrel because there was mutual trust; there was nothing to quarrel about.

Q. Tudor despotism was veiled under the forms of law or Constitution". Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "That it was an integral part of the Tudor policy to rule in and through Parliament is undeniable." Explain. *Or,*

Q. "You might call the Tudors 'Despots or Dictators' but they never overrode the Parliament or did anything unconstitutional." *Or,*

Q. Describe constitutional progress under the Tudors.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Discuss briefly the achievements of the Tudor sovereigns or their importance and glory in the history of England. *Or,*

In what way did Tudor despotism or dictatorship prove beneficial to the people of England? *Or,*

Q. What services did the Tudors render to the people of England?

Q. How far and in what ways did the achievements of the Tudor period contribute to the political and economic development of England? (D.U. 1956).

ACHIEVEMENTS OR SERVICES OF THE TUDOR SOVEREIGNS

The Tudor rule which lasted in England from 1485 to 1603 was a period full of progress, advancement and prosperity in every phase of life. When the first Tudor king Henry VII succeeded to the throne, England was weak, poor and distracted and when the Tudor rule ended in 1603 with the death of Elizabeth, the country was strong, rich and united.

Before the advent of the Tudors the history of England had been a story of foreign and civil wars without any marked advancement in the social, economic and political life of the country. But with the beginning of the Tudor period all foreign and civil wars stopped, the feudal system gradually disappeared and the beginning of modern life and conditions was made in various directions. The Tudors devoted their attention and energy to the making of a new and modern England. It is for this reason that Tudors are considered to be the founders of England's greatness both at home and abroad. Their efforts proved eminently successful and most beneficial to the people of England. Some of their achievements and their contribution to the internal and external greatness of England are:—

Establishment of Law and Order. The first thing and which the country needed most at the time of their accession was the establishment of peace and order. There was chaos and absolute lack of peace and order in the country when the first Tudor King ascended the throne of England. "They gave England internal order and peace, and saved it from civil war in their time." (Carter and Mears). The Tudors established a strong and stable government in the country by adopting suitable measures. The barons who had disturbed law and order of the country and whose only business was to create political troubles and indulge in civil wars were strongly suppressed. Their power was broken so that they might not defy the authority of the King and upset peaceful conditions of the country. They were not allowed to keep retainers (soldiers) and whenever a baron committed a crime he was immediately handed over to the Court of Star Chamber to be tried and punished. Many drastic measures had been adopted to weaken the power of the nobles and reduce them to the level of ordinary citizens.

2. *Material Prosperity and Social Reconstruction.* The Tudors passed a number of laws to check vagabondage and to improve social and economic conditions of the people. To make people prosperous and useful members of the community education was spread, improved methods of agriculture were introduced and Corn Laws and Enclosure Acts were passed to protect it; art and industries were encouraged, profitable industries like glass, wool, alum, salt etc., were started vigorously; pasture lands were converted into cultivable land; sailors were encouraged to undertake new expeditions so as to discover new places and centres of trade. Trade both internal and external received proper encouragement and it added to the wealth and prestige of the country. A number of Poor Laws were also passed to remove poverty and beggary prevailing among the people. All this led to the growth of material prosperity of the people.

3. *Equality Before Law.* The Tudors had crushed the power of the strong barons who had long been a source of extreme annoyance to the people. The Church also suffered a great deal and it was no longer holding the position which it had previously held. The Tudor Sovereigns were afraid neither of the nobles, nor of the Church. They had lost all influence and were no longer an obstruction in the way of the peaceful progress of the country. The nobles, the clergymen and the common people were equal before the law of the land. The same law was meant for all without any distinction of birth, caste, colour, creed and public position.

4. *Establishment of a National Church.* There had been great bloodshed in England in the name of religion. Horrible cruelties had been perpetrated to gratify religious fanaticism. At last the great work of establishing a National Church was accomplished during the Tudor Period. This was a great service not only to the people of England but to humanity as a whole for the example of England was followed by many other countries. The Pope was no more the head of the English Church but the English sovereign became the Supreme Governor of the English Church. Abolition of the control of the Pope in England was not a small achievement for the English people. The National Church as established by the Tudors still endures. It is the best example of the ability and wisdom of the Tudors who solved the most complicated religious problem so amicably.

5. *Spread of National Education.* Good citizenship is not possible unless there are satisfactory arrangements for the diffusion of education on national lines among the people sometime residing in the most distant nooks and corners of the country. Imparting of education on national lines is most essential if patriotic and loyal citizens are to be produced. Without sound and patriotic education England could not have ideal citizenship.

6. *Strong and Efficient Navy.* England is an island and has to

deal with sea-powers. The Tudors did their best to improve their navy so that they could defend themselves against their enemies and win victories on the sea. But for a very strong navy it would have been impossible for England to defeat the Invincible Spanish Armada. Spain was the greatest power of Europe. She could not have fought a long and successful war against Napoleon without a very efficient and reliable navy. It was with her powerful navy that she was able to establish her supremacy on the sea and earn the well-deserved title of the 'Mistress of the High Seas.'

7. *Tudors Encouraged a New Spirit of Enterprise.* The Tudors encouraged the people to sail far and wide and thus to make discoveries. Maritime spirit grew with immense speed and the peoples love for sea-life found every encouragement at the hands of the Tudor rulers. This led to the foundation of many colonies which made the English people prosperous. Manufactured goods were sold in abundance in the new colonies and in some of them English rule was established. Charters were granted to many new trading companies as for instance the East India Company, the Levant Company and Museovy Company. This led to the growth of English trade and commerce and the consequent prosperity of the people.

8. *Political Training of the Parliament. Constitutional Gains.* The Parliament received the right sort of political training under the Tudors. All laws were passed with full formalities in the Parliament. For some time the Parliament acted in the spirit of perfect obedience to the wishes of the Tudor sovereigns for political reasons but in course of time it gained strength, it knew its own position and as such it began to assert itself. It received its necessary right sort of training under the Tudors and thus it found itself quite fit for the long and hard struggle with the obstinate and tactless Stuarts. Ultimately the Stuarts had to yield and the Parliament came to have full powers in its own hands. It was after the century-old struggle that the Parliament secured its control over the Crown. It was decided that the ultimate sovereignty lay with the Parliament and not with the sovereigns of England. The King was only a theoretical and titular head of the country and the real power lay in the hands of the Parliament. The ultimate triumph of the Parliament in the Stuart period was largely due to its training that it had received under the Tudors.

9. *Growth of Literature.* Literature received a great impetus under the Tudors. It was the most brilliant period for the development of different branches of literature—poetry, prose and drama. The sixteenth century was perhaps the most fruitful epoch in the history of English literature. The most notable book produced before the days of Elizabeth was Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia.' During the last twenty-five years of Elizabeth's reign "the true Elizabethan literature burst forth with strange suddenness and overwhelming glory." The greatest of all writers of the age was Shakespeare. Another great poet was Spenser. Marlowe was a great dramatist. In prose literature the names of Bacon, Hooker, Holinshed and Hakluyt were prominent.

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10. *Greatness of England Abroad. Tudor Foreign Policy.* The Tudor sovereigns were wise, tactful and ambitious. They wanted to make England great both at home and abroad. England had confidence in herself. She took a vigorous part in international politics and wars of the world to enhance 'national glory' of England. Wolsey had wisely laid the foundation of the policy of 'Balance of Power', i.e., no country was allowed to grow so strong that its strength would be a menace to the liberties of other countries. Elizabeth played a great part in her foreign policy by her virginity. She extended false hopes of marriage to the princes of France and Spain and thus gained her object. She was successful in most of them and won great victories. This raised the prestige and position of England and made her great and respected abroad.

Thus we see that the Tudors played a very significant part in the history of their country and made her great both at home and abroad. At the end of Elizabeth's reign England was a most powerful country whose resources were so great and which had made a wonderful progress in every branch of life.

Q. What do you understand by 'Nationalism'? Give briefly the causes that were responsible for the rise of Nationalism in England under the Tudors. *Or,*

Q. Give reasons showing that England was a National State under the Tudors.

NATIONALISM

Meaning of Nationalism. Nationalism means the devotion of the individual or the society at large to the motherland. Under this sentiment the individual is always prepared to sacrifice his or her all on the altar of the motherland and value the interests of the country above everything else. Persons possessing the sentiments of nationalism are known as patriots. According to Socrates, "Love your country above everything else! Your country is the land of your elders and forefathers. If need arises, never hesitate to go to the battlefield for her sake. Live for your country and even die for her if her interest so requires."

CAUSES OF THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN ENGLAND

1. *The Hundred Years' War.* The Hundred Years' War (1338—1453) really, makes the dawn of nationalism in England. For the first time, the English people realised that they should have their own language, dress, literature, society and religion. Latin, the then prevailing language, began to fall into disfavour and hence into disuse and in its place was installed English.

2. *The Reformation.* Reformation gave an impetus to nationalism in England. This reformatory movement exposed and brought to light the outstanding evils of the society and a check was placed over the Pope's authority. The Pope lost all hold over the minds of the people and the King became the supreme head of the State. Now the people began to rally round their king for the welfare of

their own country and they ceased to respect the Pope. Reformation was a very important step towards nationalism.

3. *Personality of the Tudor Sovereigns.* The Tudor Sovereigns were shrewd and able rulers. They were sincerely interested in the welfare of the people. They left no stone-unturned to improve the condition and all-round status of the people. They succeeded in raising the country from a low position to rank with great countries of the world. England was great both at home and abroad. All this helped the people to strengthen the sentiment of nationalism and loyalty to their country.

4. *Practical Contribution of the Tudors.* The Tudors made a very valuable and practical contribution towards the growth of nationalism in England. They set up the rule of law by breaking the power of the nobles and the corrupt Church. They gave peace and security to the country by establishing a strong central government. They devoted their attention to the expansion of National Education so that English people might have a wider outlook of life and a sympathetic and intelligent understanding of things around them. They did their best to encourage trade, commerce, agriculture, industries, manufactures and navy. Parliament flourished under the Tudors for they never levied taxes and enforced laws without the consent of Parliament. They never went against the wishes of Parliament and the nation. All what Tudors did helped the development of nationality.

5. *Invasion of England by the Great Armada.* The wave of nationalism had sufficiently acted on the English mind by this time. The Spanish Armada made a huge preparation to defeat England and growing Protestantism. But the English people who had strong religious differences before the invasion forgot their differences when they heard of the invasion and fought like one man against their enemy. The Spanish Armada was defeated and crushed but it was more due to patriotism and nationalism of the English people than to any other factor. Their success against the Armada made them more devoted to their country and more jealous of its honour.

EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

Q. Describe the main causes of the growth of overseas interest in the Tudor period. *Or,*

Q. Give an account of the growth of English naval and maritime power under the Tudors.

(D.U. 1959)

FACTORS THAT MADE ENGLAND A GREAT SEA-POWER

England paid no attention to the development of her naval power during the middle ages. Countries like Spain and Portugal took great interest in the development of their sea-power and thus established their trade with distant countries which brought them huge gains. It was late in the fifteenth century that the Tudor King opened a school to impart training in shipping. The experiment proved a great success and the people began to take more interest in this new field.

The main causes which were responsible for the growth of English naval and maritime activities were the following:—

1. *Influence of Renaissance.* The Renaissance opened men's eye and widened their outlook of the world around them. It infused in the people a new spirit, life and activity. The spirit of adventure and enterprise had full play and inspired them to undertake sea-ventures. Their determination and interest in maritime activities led them from success to success and made them a successful sea-loving power.

2. *Influence of Reformation.* It filled men with new ideas and aspirations. Before the Reformation the trade routes and newly discovered parts of the world were more or less monopolies of the discoverers themselves and the Pope's decisions were considered an authority in all such matters. But after the Reformation the Protestant nations of Europe did not care for the Pope's decisions. English seamen freely sailed far and wide, found new markets of trade, discovered new Lands and laid the foundation of many settlements and factories.

3. *The Growth of Industries Led to New Trade Markets.* The Tudors established a strong rule in the country. This was very favourable to the growth of industries. The Tudor sovereigns encouraged British Industry, shipping and trade by welcoming and supporting the persecuted artisans and manufacturers from France and Netherlands into England. With the increase of manufactured goods, it was necessary to find out new markets for their consumption.

4. *Settlement of the Religious Question in England.* Elizabeth rendered a great service to the people of England by settling the religious question and establishing the National Church of England. The people being free from religious tensions could devote sufficient time and energy to the development of sea-activities for they began to realize that their future lay in the development of sea-power.

5. *The Invention of Mariner's Compass.* The Mariner's Compass proved very helpful in geographical discoveries and trade routes. It facilitated voyages and enterprises and proved immensely helpful. Without this invention the work of geographical discoveries must have taken a long process and thus the progress in sea-activity could not have been a marked one.

6. *Improvement of the Navy.* The Tudor sovereigns paid a serious attention to the improvement of the Navy. It was through her superior Navy that she was able to defeat the Spanish Invincible Armada. Many sea-voyages and expeditions were undertaken. The English navy formed a strong basis of English victories on sea and a source of her future commercial and colonial growth.

7. *Defeat of Spanish Armada.* The defeat of the Spanish Armada destroyed naval supremacy of Spain and made England the "Mistress of the Sea." Ever since this defeat, the sailors of England were encouraged and filled with a new spirit of sea-life. They showed a wonderful dash and spirit in the sea-life. After the destruction of the Spanish naval supremacy the path became clear for the English nation to build up a large empire slowly but gradually.

8. *A New Spirit of Enterprise*. There arose a new spirit of enterprise in the whole English nation. The English people were not prepared to remain secluded, they wanted to come into touch with the whole world. This spirit inspired them to face all risks in the sea and made them a great sea-faring nation.

9. *Rivalry with Spain and Portugal*. Seeing the Spaniards and the Portuguese deriving great benefits from trade and commerce, the English people followed their example and went out to all parts of the world and completed successfully with the rival nations of Europe.

10. *Inspiring Examples of English Sailors and Sea-Rovers*. The heroic examples of English sailors and sea-rovers like Cabot, Hawkins Frobisher, Drake, Gilbert, Raleigh, etc., filled the English people with inspiration and made them so bold and keen that great many sea voyages and enterprises were undertaken to explore new lands and find out new markets. Many new lands had been discovered where they established new markets for their lucrative trade. Naval tactics developed and sea-rovers became excellent fighters on the sea. England entered on her career as a sea power due to those venturesome Englishmen.

11. *The Growing Wealth of the English People*. The English people had grown wonderfully rich on account of the growth of trade and commerce. England was becoming a great manufacturing country and there was a great material prosperity in the country. The people could easily afford to equip new expeditions and undertake new voyages and enterprises with their wealth.

12. *State Encouragement*. But over and above all, it was the state encouragement that offered the greatest support to the seamen in their activities. These seamen were not punished for plundering the merchant ships of other countries, rather they were encouraged and supported by the state and helped in many ways to carry on their sea activities of every nature.

THE REFORMATION

Q. Discuss the various stages through which the Reformation passed during the Tudor Period. *Or,*

Q. Trace the growth of the Reformation movement in England during the Tudor period. *Or,*

Q. How did England become a Protestant country in the Tudor period? *Or,*

Q. How did the Church of England become independent of the Church of Rome and the Pope? *Or,*

Q. Compare the religious views of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. *Or,*

Q. What was the attitude of the Tudor Sovereigns towards the Reformation?

VARIOUS STAGES OF REFORMATION IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

Henry VIII. In religious matters Henry was a Roman Catholic. He broke with the Pope and the Church of Rome but not with the doctrines of Catholic Religion. When Martin Luther preached against the vices and corruptions of the Catholic Church, Henry wrote against his views and strongly in favour of the Pope and the Catholic Religion. The Pope was therefore much pleased with Henry and bestowed upon him the title of 'Defender of the Faith'. The Reformation had two aspects—(a) The denial of the authority of the Pope as Head of the Church of England and (b) the denial of the doctrines of the Catholic Religion. Originally he was a follower of the Pope as well as of the doctrines of the Catholic Religion. But when Henry wanted to divorce Queen Catherine and sought the sanction of the Pope for the purpose, the latter refused to comply with his request. This led Henry to discard the authority of the Pope in England. Henry's Parliament passed a number of Acts to separate the English Church from the Church of Rome and then Henry himself assumed the title of the "Supreme Head of the Church". (First of all Henry fined the clergy for acknowledging Wolsey as the Papal Legate. Then the clergy signed a document called the Submission of the Clergy. In 1532 Henry's Parliament passed the Act of Annates by which all payments made so far to the Pope were to be made to the King. Next it passed the Act of Appeals by which no appeal was to be made to the Pope. Then it passed the Act of Supremacy (1534) by which Henry became the Supreme Head of the Church). This is how the Reformation began in England. Had the Pope allowed Henry to divorce Catherine, there would have been no Reformation in England during the reign of Henry VIII. The Reformation was bound to come, this is true, but that could be conveniently postponed in the time of Henry VIII. It was neither a religious nor a national movement. It was purely a personal and political movement in England. From the above we see that Henry abolished the authority of the Pope in England simply because the latter did not allow the King to divorce his Queen. But had the Pope fulfilled the desire of Henry the latter would have taken no steps to remove him from his position as 'Head of the Church of England'. Henry did away with the control of the Pope over the Church of England and made himself the Supreme Head of the Church of England. Henry was now the Head of the Church as well as that of the State. As such it became easy for the King to get the sanction of a court presided over by the English Archbishop Cranmer to divorce Catherine. Henry favoured only the first stage of the Reformation, i.e., the abolition of the control of the Pope over the Church of England. Henry did not go beyond that, i.e., he continued to adhere to the rites and doctrines of the Catholic Religion and allowed no change in it.

Thus we see from the above that the Reformation in England during the time of Henry was not a religious or national movement. it was solely personal and political. On the other hand the Reformation in Europe and Germany where it started was a religious and national movement and it was neither personal nor political. In the

European Reformation the sole aim was to remove the abuses and corruptions of the Catholic Church and there was no personal or political aim. The followers of the New or Reformed faith were called the Protestants because they protested against the existing abuses of the Catholic Church.

Edward VI. He was a Protestant by faith. In his reign the Protector Somerset brought about the doctrinal reformation, i.e., radical changes were made in belief and worship. The first phase of the Reformation, i.e., the denial of the authority of the Pope was completed in the reign of Henry VIII and the second phase was completed in the reign of Edward VI. The Six Articles which formed the chief doctrines and rites of the Catholic Church were repealed. More lands of the Church were confiscated. The book of Common Prayer was published and an Act of Uniformity was passed by which the use of the Prayer Book was made compulsory in the churches.

The Catholics were subjected to severe persecution and every attempt was made to wipe out Catholicism. The Reformation, i.e., Protestant movement made a rapid progress.

Mary. She was a staunch Catholic and an enemy of Reformation; she undid the work of her father Henry VIII and her brother Edward VI. Henry VIII had abolished the authority of the Pope in England and made the English sovereign the Supreme Head of the Church of England; Edward VI had introduced radical changes in the doctrines and rites of the Catholic Religion and thus completed the Reformation. But Mary reversed the whole work of Henry and Edward. She once again made Pope the Supreme Head of the English Church and restored Catholicism in its full force. All signs of England being a Protestant nation were removed one after another—The Book of Common Prayer, English Church service, Forty-two Articles of Religion. She released Roman Catholic Bishops—Gardiner and Boner—from the Tower and sent in the Tower Protestant Bishops—Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer—instead. Mass was introduced, images were brought again and a large number of Protestants were burnt alive. The Act of Supremacy which abolished the authority of the Pope in England and made the English Sovereign the 'Supreme Head of the Church' was repealed. Thus she acknowledged the control of the Pope over the Church of England and made her submission to him. Being a thorough Catholic, Mary set back the Reformation and pushed forward the cause of Catholicism to the best of her power. She undid the work of her father Henry VIII and his brother Edward VI, by introducing religious changes favouring Catholic Religion.

Elizabeth. She did a great service to her country by her religious settlement. The religious settlement as affected by Elizabeth proved a grand success and the National Church of England as established by her exists even to-day with few minor changes here and there.

Elizabeth had no strong religious beliefs and prejudices in the sense of her brother Edward VI and her sister Mary. She was not a fanatic and carefully avoided extremes because one great object before her was to preserve peace and order in the country and to allow no religious strifes and struggles between the Protestants and the Catholics. She was also anxious that her position was secured as the head of the religious and secular affairs of the Kingdom.

She Did Not Allow Religion to Override Politics. Fortunately for herself and for England she was not personally interested in dogmas and creeds and she disliked the idea of playing the role of an extreme Protestant or an uncompromising Catholic. She was more of a politician than of an ecclesiast. Her main concern was the maintenance of peace in the country and the security of her throne. She had no religious conscience and her love to preserve her country from all dangers internal and external was her only anxiety. She was not prepared to allow religion to override politics like Mary, and Lord Protectors of Edward VI or Philip of Spain. She solved the religious question of her time as a tactful politician in the best interests of the country and consistent with time and circumstances like illustrious Akbar of India and the wise Henry IV of France.

The Compromise. Elizabeth followed the policy of the Compromise, i.e., she followed the Middle-way and avoided the extremes. Her aim was 'Moderation' or 'the Middle Path'. The extreme policy of Edward VI and Lord Protectors and the repressive policy of Mary Tudor were hated for they had caused great bloodshed and created great disaffection; but Elizabeth wisely followed the 'middle course' and introduced religious changes with moderation. Her religious policy was a sort of compromise between the two extremes.

Success of Her Religious Policy. 1. Peace of the country was the first and constant object before her eyes. Personally she had no strong religious beliefs and she wanted that there should be no religious and civil wars in the country. She, therefore, wanted to please all. It was more to safeguard the interests of her country as a whole and to save it from the dangers and civil conflicts that she solved the religious problems of her time.

2. The religious changes introduced by Elizabeth caused some offence both to the Protestants and the Catholics at the outset. While favouring Protestantism, she tried to make it as little offensive to the Catholics as possible. Her settlement was a half-way house which alienated the Catholics and did not fully satisfy the extreme Protestants for the time being. The compromises are generally looked upon with disfavour and disgust but Elizabeth's settlement of the church came to be appreciated as time passed. Her policy of middle course, wisdom and moderation saved the country from the horrors of a revolution or a civil strife and ultimately solved the thorny problem that had caused England so much of anxiety.

> "When Elizabeth was crowned in 1558 there had been many violent changes in the country's religious life........The religious settlement can be considered a successful solution of the problem........"
>
> (J. A. S. BIGGS)

Q. Describe the relations between the Church and the State during the Tudor Period. *Or,*

Q. Explain the principal changes which were made in the English Church under the Tudors. *Or,*

Q. How did England get rid of the domination of the Pope over the Church of England?

Ans. *Please Study previous Answer.*

Q. Describe the relations of the Tudor Sovereigns with their Parliaments or the Parliament under the Tudors. *Or,*

Q. Describe the position of the Parliament during the Tudor Period. How far is it true that the Parliament in the Tudor period was submissive and subservient? *Or,*

Q. How would you account for the growth and importance of the Parliament during the Tudor period?

RELATIONS BETWEEN TUDORS AND THEIR PARLIAMENTS

Perfect Harmony. The relations of the Tudor Sovereigns with their Parliaments were harmonious and based on mutual co-operation and good-will. There was no ill-will and conflict between the two. Technically, the Tudors did not act unconstitutionally and on the other hand they scrupulously observed all Parliamentary proceedings. They never imposed a tax or passed a law without the proper sanction of the Parliament. Both worked on well and smoothly for a long time. The Parliament acted submissively for the country needed a strong rule and did not stand in the way of the Tudors so that they could act as they pleased. The Tudors were wise enough not to do anything unconstitutionally and to keep appearances of a constitutional government or limited monarchy they got through the Parliament what they wanted. This is called "The veiled despotism of Tudors". They were tactful enough not to give any cause of annoyance to the people and the Parliament and still they would follow their own sweet will. The Tudors looked upon the Parliament as the sovereign legislative body of England and never called into question its position as such. Whenever they found that a certain action or policy was not liked by the people, they blamed and punished their minister for that in order to please the public and the Parliament. The Tudors were always careful to keep up good relations with the Parliament and the people and in fact it was the support and co-operation of the people that made 'Tudor Despotism' possible. Their despotism was not based on force or fear but on the people's backing and a submissive Parliament that would go even out of the way and do anything to please its masters. The Parliament was a tool and not a hurdle in the absolute way of government adopted by the Tudors.

Reasons of Support and Co-operation by the Parliament. The reasons why the Tudor Sovereigns received perfect co-operation and willing support both from the public and the Parliament may be briefly stated as follows:—

The new gentry which had been created by the Tudors and had been granted wealth, lands, offices and other favours and concessions willingly yielded to the wishes of the Tudor monarchs.

The masses and the merchants who had suffered great losses during the Hundred Years' Wars, Civil wars and quarrels and the weak government of the Lancastrians were anxious to have peace and order to secure their lives and property.

The Clergy who were open to the attacks of the Lollards sought the protection of the government. They felt themselves so weak against the Lollards that they had no other alternative but to request the Tudor Sovereigns to protect them against their onslaughts. Thus the Church was compelled to co-operate with the Government for its security.

For a long time Spain, France, Scotland and the Pope were bitterly against England. The danger from these enemies could be minimized when England was strong and could face them successfully. The nation and the Parliament, therefore, extended their willing co-operation to their Tudor rulers for the safety of their lives and property lay in a strong government.

GROWTH OF THE PARLIAMENT

Henry VII. He was shrewd enough to realize early that if he wanted to be strong, he should not depend upon the Parliament for grants of money. He amassed money by benevolences, fines, forced loans, Martons' Fork and other means direct and indirect and fair or foul. He broke down the power of the old nobility and created a new nobility from the middle class by granting them offices, lands, titles etc., and also recruited them in the Parliament. Thus he had a submissive Parliament which readily agreed to his wishes and did not stand in his way. The country needed a very strong ruler who could put down the nobles and broke their power so that they might not disturb peace of the country. For all these considerations the Parliament gave the King a free hand in the executive duties of the country so as to preserve perfect order which was the foremost need of the country.

Henry VIII. He protected the clergy against the attacks of the Lollards; he created bad blood between the Commons and the Nobles and thus both of them supported their royal master; he punished his ministers for every wrong. By these measures he won the goodwill and support of the nation and the Parliament.

Edward VI and Mary. During the reign of Edward VI the Protector Somerset was held responsible for the disturbances that had occurred in the country due to his religious changes. The Parliament which had gained some power impeached Somerset and removed him from his high office. Under Mary there was so much of terror and bloodshed that no person felt safe. This made the Parliament submissive once again.

Elizabeth. She summoned only ten Parliaments during her long reign of forty-five years. One of these lasted eleven years (1572—1583) but met only three times. Yet many good laws were passed and much was done through the council to solve social and economic questions of the time in order to improve the condition of the people. Elizabeth was not in favour of calling Parliament frequently for the following reasons:—

1. The House of Commons consisted of men of strong Puritan views who wanted the Queen to follow a more Protestant policy but Elizabeth was bent upon following 'middle-path' in religion and not to displease any party. She wanted to be guided by her own will rather than by others and she did not like to discuss religious matters in the Parliament and to be influenced by others.

2. She had decided not to marry for reasons best known to her but apparently for political reasons (if she married a Catholic that would displease the Protestants and if she married a Protestant that would displease the Catholics). To avoid the discussion of this question she wanted to call the Parliament as seldom as possible. "Even when Parliament met, she forbade all discussion on the question of religion and her marriage."

3. By observing a very careful economy in the expenses of the Government, Elizabeth did not feel the necessity of frequently calling Parliament for grants.

4. She was vain and haughty; she disliked the idea of being guided by others, though she did not want to lose the support of the Parliament. Elizabeth was exceptionally wise and tactful and she knew when to be firm and when to yield. When she found the House of Commons bent upon a certain course of action and policy she adopted an attitude of compromise so as to keep the House in good humour.

She had increased her influence by creating new boroughs which returned members of her choice. Such members could not venture to go against her wishes and give her any cause of displeasure. *She asserted or yielded as she thought expedient.* The Parliament often claimed its privileges but she was not always favourably inclined to them. She had more than once asked the Parliament not to discuss religious questions and the subject of her marriage. When the privilege of speech was demanded, she said, "Privilege of Speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have, not to speak to every one what one listeneth, or what cometh in his brain to utter but your privilege is '*aye*' or '*no*'." On the same occasion the queen asserted the royal prerogative in emphatic terms: "It is in me and in my power to call Parliament; and it is in my power to assent or to dissent to anything done in Parliament." The fact is that the members of Parliament did not object to what the old and honoured queen would do or say, out of regard for her personality.

Change After the Defeat of the Armada. But there was a change in the mentality of the members soon after the defeat of the Armada. They began to realize the importance of the defence of their rights as soon as there was a change in the domestic and foreign situation. The change was that England had no internal trouble and no foreign danger from outside after the defeat of the Armada. The people had out-grown the need of a strong and despotic government such as the Tudor monarchs had established and on the other hand they wanted a real share in the government of their country.

It had been Elizabeth's custom to raise money and reward her favourites by grants of monopolies (a monopoly was the exclusive right of trading in certain articles, such as salt, vinegar, coal, etc., which the Queen conferred upon her favourites to oblige them.) In 1601 a Bill was introduced by the Parliament declaring monopolies illegal. The wise Queen at once sent a message to the Parliament to say that she understood that monopolies were disliked by the people and that she promised to suspend them till it was found out that they were legal. She thus very cleverly met the wishes of Parliament, without admitting their right to criticize her action. When the commons came to thank her, she addressed them in a touching speech, declaring that her only wish was to govern in accordance with the wishes of her people.

B. Main factors and circumstances that led to the growth and importance of the Parliament during the Tudor Period after the Armada.

(1) *Influence of the Renaissance.* The Renaissance created in men the spirit of criticism. People were no longer satisfied with things as they were till they had studied them with a critical spirit. The Renaissance had also made the people politically awakened. So long as they were engaged in religious and political conflicts they could not pay their attention to anything else. But as soon as law and order was established and peace began to prevail, they not only criticied the powers of their sovereign but began to press the Parliament to take effective steps to check Tudor absolutism.

2. *Influence of Reformation.* The people having been critical-minded had seriously questioned the Papal authority during the course of the Reformation. They could distinguish good from bad and were fully conversant with what was harmful to them. Thus they could not afford to tolerate, in their monarchs, any sort of evil as existed in the Church officials or the Pope a few years back. By a change in their angle of vision they strengthened the hands of the Parliament against the monarchs.

3. *Growth of Trade and Commerce.* Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth the trade and commerce had considerably developed resulting in the prosperity of the people. They now did not worry at all for their living and devoted their time to the discussion of politics. They tried to criticise and control their monarchs through their representative body—the Parliament.

4. *Spirit of Puritanism.* Puritans were elected in the Elizabeth Parliament in great majority. These people wielded great influence in the towns. They believed in special powers for the Parliament to have a hold on the King.

5. *Growth of Education.* Gradually there was progress of education and illiteracy disappeared. The expansion of education widened the mental horizon of the people and made them think of their rights and duties as citizens. The spread of education played a great part in political awakening and making the people conscious of the value of their political rights and the evils of despotism. The people began to question the powers of their sovereign and their right use by them.

6. *Absence of External Dangers.* The English people had tolerated despotic powers of the Tudors because there was ever-present danger of external invasions. But the later years of the virgin Queen witnessed strong control of the British over the seas which did away with all external perils. The defeat of the so-called 'Invincible Armada' had raised the prestige of England. Her religious and social difficulties were almost over and the country enjoyed peace and prosperity. This made the people think of getting rid of royal despotism and the Parliament to secure more privileges and concessions to strengthen its position.

The result of this change of mentality was that the Parliament succeeded in securing a number of its concessions and privileges.

Q. Write a note on the Privy Council in Tudor Time.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Composition. The mainstay of the Tudor rule was the Council which in every matter assisted the monarch. This Council consisted of the members of the Royal family and the high officials like the Chancellor, Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Treasurer, etc. In fact, in 1540 the Privy Council and the King's Council were almost the same with the only difference that Privy Council comprised some select councillors who met the King to discuss some special matters while the King's Council consisted of all the favourites of the King who always and in every matter acted according to the orders of the King.

Tudor Councillors were always common. Dudlay, Fox Empson and Morton etc., were persons all belonging to the middle class of the society and experts in handling work connected with various branches of government. Powerful barons and clergymen were not taken in the Council. The new nobility thus created could exercise no check upon the King. So the Council was a mere puppet in the hands of the Kings and assisted them to exercise their absolutism. The Kings cared little for the decisions of the Council. Henry VIII and Elizabeth were, really, themselves their Prime Ministers. So the Tudor Council can be said to be a weapon by the monarchs to make their despotism a success. "They gave advice but in the long run they carried out the sovereign's will."

The leading members of the council were the Lord Chancellor to deal with law matters, the secretary of State to conduct foreign affairs and the Lord Treasurer to handle financial matters. Some members who possessed knowledge of special subjects were summoned only when special knowledge was required to deal with a particular matter as for instance the Archbishop of Canterbury's presence was required when a matter concerning religion and Church discipline was in hand.

Legislative Powers of the Council. Though the Council was given only executive powers, yet it enacted laws also. The laws enacted by the Council needed no sanction of the Parliament and were referred to as *Proclamations*. The Council put forth resolutions before the Parliament like the ministers today which were given out as laws. The Councillors sat in the House of Commons and assisted the Parliament in their work.

Judicial Powers of the Council. The Council had been also entrusted with judicial functions in early times. A bench of the Council known as the Court of Star Chamber started to hear the cases against landlords, barons and sherrifs. The Council of Wales and the Council of North were two other Councils that heard the cases of robbery, highwayness, piracy, etc. The Court of Requests considered the applications given by the poor for financial assistance. All these councils and courts were very prominent under the Tudors. But later on these courts became the weapons of injustice and cruelty to the people who felt tired of them.

Administrative Powers of the Council. The Council alongwith other powers enjoyed administrative powers also. It supervised the administration and kept an eye upon the judicial Baron, Sheriff and Justice of Peace. It patronised the important industries and offered solutions for the problems of unemployment and revolts. Its administrative functions have been described as under.

Thus we see that the Tudors conducted their rule and governmental affairs with the assistance of the Privy Council and the Parliament. The Council was, no doubt, the weapon of their despotism, yet none could venture to point out the absolutism of these monarchs.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Q. (a) Trace the relations of England and Scotland in the Tudor period.

(b) Also trace England's relations with Ireland in the Tudor Period. *Or,*

Q. During the Tudor period the relations between England and Scotland were one of enmity. Give an account of the relations of the two countries during the Tudor period. *Or,*

Q. Analyse the successive phases of Anglo-Scottish relations in the Tudor Period and explain the factors which determined those relations in each case.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

During the Tudor Period the relations of England with Scotland were unfriendly. Throughout the period Scotland followed a policy of friendship and alliance with France and a reverse one with England.

Henry VII. The early years of Henry were disturbed by revolts of Pretenders like Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. James IV of Scotland supported the claim of Perkin Warbeck to the throne of England. Perkin Warbeck pretended to be Richard Duke of York, the younger son of Edward IV who had been murdered in the Tower of London. James IV invaded he north of England in 1496 on behalf of Warbeck. The expedition was a complete failure and Warbeck with no hopes of success decided to leave Scotland and retire to Ireland. Meanwhile Henry made a treaty with James IV by which he promised not to support Warbeck. To make England secure from the north and to turn Scotland into a friendly neighbour, Henry married his elder daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland. As a result of this matrimonial alliance the relations between England and Scotland during the rest of Henry's reign were peaceful.

Henry VIII. The cordial relations between England and Scotland ended shortly after the death of Henry VII. War broke out beween England and France and Henry VIII won the Battle of the Spurs in 1513. James IV, a friend of France, was stirred up by the French to invade England. James was defeated and slain at Flodden in 1513. Scotland was now ruled by Margaret as Regent for her young son James V. Henry was anxious for the union of England with Scotland but James V was more under the influence of France (France was a traditional enemy of England). Henry wanted James to break with the Church of Rome, to end his alliance with France and to marry his daughter Mary, but James agreed to none of these proposals. England invaded Scotland but the attempt proved fruitless and the Scots now invaded England as a retaliatory measure. The Scots were completely routed at Solway Moss in 1542 but James could not survive the shock. He left behind him an infant daughter Mary (later on known as Mary, Queen of Scots) as the heir to the throne of Scotland. Henry who was still anxious to bring about the union of England and Scotland proposed that his infant son Edward (later on Edward VI) should marry the infant Mary but the proposal proved unsuccessful.

Edward VI. Henry VIII died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son Edward who was only ten at that time. A Council of Regency was formed headed by the Duke of Somerset to govern the country. Somerset, anxious to carry out Henry VIII's plan of bringing about a marriage between Edward VI and Mary, Queen of Scots, made a fresh proposal for the purpose, but the Scots refused the same. In a hurry Somerset invaded Scotland and the Scots were routed at Pinkie (1547). No useful purpose was served by this hasty action of Somerset—an utterly unpractical man who possessed no knowledge of human nature and who possessed no tact to handle delicate affairs like marriage-questions. The Scots got enraged and sent the little queen to France where she was brought up as a Catholic and French woman and she soon married the Dauphin Francis (Francis II). Everything was lost by the hasty and ill-considered plans of Somerset. The failure of Somerset's Scottish policy and religious policy and the fact that social and economic changes introduced by him caused great distress among the people made him unpopular and he was turned out from the Council of Regency. Somerset was succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland who made peace with Scotland and withdrew the English garrisons.

Mary Tudor. When Mary Tudor ascended the throne of England, the religious policy of England and Scotland was the same—it was the policy of vigorously persecuting the Protestants, i.e., undoing the task of the Reformation. The unwise Scottish policy of Somerset had strengthened the Catholic party and checked the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Persecution in both the countries led the English and Scotch Reformers combine together. Catholic religion was strongly favoured in Scotland.

Elizabeth. Scotland was a source of constant danger to England particularly in the first part of her reign till the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

When Mary Queen of Scots was in France, it was Mary of Guise, the Queen's mother, who governed Scotland as her Regent. Mary of Guise who possessed staunch Catholic views persecuted the Protestants and thus checked the progress of the Reformation. A National Protestant party was formed in Scotland to counteract the attempts of Mary of Guise and stop the progress of Catholicism. This party appealed to Elizabeth for help. She sent a fleet to help the party and it besieged the French at Leith. Mary of Guise, the Regent, died and soon the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560) was concluded by which the French withdrew from Scotland and acknowledged Elizabeth's title to the English throne. The National Protestant party organised the Scottish Church on the model of the Church of England and thus England and Scotland were drawn closer. So far the policy of Elizabeth in Scotland was a brilliant success. The French influence in Scotland had ended and all dangers from the quarter had almost disappeared for the time being.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was the grand-daughter of Margaret (daughter of Henry VII) and thus she was related to the Tudors. She laid a claim to the throne of England on the ground that Elizabeth was not the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII, as the marriage of her mother Anne Boleyn with Henry was not valid. Mary was zealously supported by Philip of Spain, Catholics of England and France.

Mary's husband, Francis II, King of France, died in 1560. She returned to Scotland where she promised religious toleration to the people. She had two great aims—she wanted to be recognised as the successor of Elizabeth and her second aim was to establish Catholicism in Scotland. (Most of the people in Scotland at this time were Protestants). In 1565 she married her cousin Darnley who soon grew jealous of Rizzo—his wife's secretary—and got him killed. A son was born to Mary who later on ascended the throne of Scotland as James VI (who succeeded Elizabeth to the throne of England as James I of England). Mary got Darnley murdered by Bothwell (a person whom Mary loved and whom she married). This act of Mary made her very unpopular with her people and led them to rise against her and defeat her at Carberry Hill in 1567 and at Langside in 1568. Mary was deposed and dishonoured and as a last resort she fled to England to seek refuge with Elizabeth. The Catholics of England welcomed her and began to plan plots to kill Elizabeth and raise Mary to the throne of England. Mary was made a state prisoner but even as a prisoner she was a source of constant danger to Elizabeth. She was the centre of Catholic plots and Elizabeth was not safe as long as Mary lived. Mary was tried and it was proved beyond doubt that Mary had a hand in the Babington Plot which aimed at assassinating Elizabeth and bringing Mary to the throne. She was tried by a commission found guilty of high treason and ordered to be executed. by Elizabeth in 1587. Scotland was quiet and Elizabeth had a peaceful time till her death in 1605.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND

Henry VII. The countries that tried their best to thwart the accession of Henry VII included Ireland also. They backed one Lambert Simnel in his rebellion as the rival claimant to the throne of England. But Henry VII could pay no heed to the affairs of Ireland before 1587. He tried to subjudge Ireland. The English had inhabited the Pale. a small piece of land in Scotland. but they kept quarrelling all the while. These Englishmen thought themselves independent of the jurisdiction of the English Parliament and had elected a separate Parliament. These people extended no co-operation to Henry and instead they troubled him a lot. At last Henry VII sent Lord Poynings to improve the situation in Ireland. He. without much difficulty. enacted a law there whereby Pale was declared a part of England and that Pale would have no Parliament independent of the English Parliament. The laws passed by the English Parliament were to have full effect in Pale also.

"He might have been tempted to undertake the costly business of establishing the royal authority in distracted Ireland. but he preferred to leave the government in the hands of leading Irish nobles." —Ramsay Muir.

Henry VIII. The reign of Henry VIII was also a time of Irish difficulties. The King of Ireland exercised untold tyranny over the Englishmen inhabiting Ireland. Consequently Henry sent his armies to Ireland and arrested Lord Deputy. After this an act was passed whereby the Englishmen in Ireland were to be meted out the same treatment as those in England. To obtain a more thick bond of relations with Ireland Henry created for himself the title of King of Ireland also but refrained from meddling with the Government of Ireland which was in the hands of landlords and chief feudal lords. But he demolished several monasteries and Churches and the wealth he got thus was distributed among the ruling chiefs. As a result they became loyal to Henry.

"But his principal method was that of inducing them to adopt English instead of Irish modes of land tenure. and distributing among those who adopted this method hereditary titles of nobility."—Ramsay Muir.

Edward and Mary. During this period also Ireland did not show any sense of accord but on the other hand broke out in revolts under O'Connors and O'Mores, though these revolts were suppressed successfully.

"The unrest and alarm caused by his violent dispossession was a source of trouble, for the rest of the century; whenever there was any disturbance, the O'Connors and O'Mores were in it."—Ramsay Muir.

Elizabeth. During the reign of Elizabeth, the efforts of Ireland were directed towards offering formidable resistance to the fast spreading movement of Reformation. She, in fact, became the stronghold of Anti-Reformation people. The Irish people did their utmost to stop the growing influence of England in Ireland. This resulted in the annihilation of English influence in Ireland. The Desmonds broke out into a rebellion against the queen but were put down severely. Their property was confiscated by the State. In the year 1598 took place the O'Neils' revolt. Essex was sent to crush it but he failed to do so and was consequently executed, In 1600 Mountjoy was sent to put down the revolt who suppressed it successfully.

Q. "The Tudor Period (15th and 16th centuries) was the age of discoveries, inventions and new ideas." Explain.

The Tudor period witnessed events of great importance which enlarged physical bounds of the world, broadened the human mind and extended human knowledge. Great revolutionary changes took place in this period. It was now that the Renaissance or the new birth of thought and learning took place. It was a time of great inventions, discoveries and new ideas. There was a new life and a new spirit, spirit of adventure and enterprise was a new feature.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

The invention of the Mariner's Compass gave an impetus to navigation and led ultimately to the discovery of America by Columbus, Labrador by Sebastian Cabot, and the sea-route to India and the east by Portuguese mariners. The scientific discoveries of Coperneius revealed to man the secrets of the universe.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth many important discoveries were made. In 1576 Frobisher discovered the Straits in Hudson's Bay. Sir Humphry Gilbert made voyages of discovery to America and took possession of Newfoundland. Sir Walter Raleigh introduced potato and tobacco into England and founded the colony of Virginia after the name of virgin queen, Elizabeth. Sir France Drake sailed round the world.

"The importance of the geographical exploration of this period is very great. A new way to India had been discovered which was to be the chief route until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. A new world had been found which would ultimately equal and perhaps excel, the old world in wealth and importance." (Southgate).

The invention of gun-powder revolutionised military science and gave a death-blow to military feudalism. The use of gun-powder by the kings alone strengthened the royal power and weakened the barons. Physical strength and personal bravery sank into comparative insignificance before artillery. The feudal nobles who used to defy the authority of the King from their castles now became powerless because of this new invention which made their bows, arrows and castles equally useless and unimportant. The Kings had an advantage in war which no rebel could compare. The result was that the royal power increased and strong monarchies grew up.

The invention of printing multiplied books and helped the wide diffusion of knowledge. The great religious revolution, known as the Reformation, was the most important result of the spread of knowledge.

New Ideas. New Ideas were due to the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Renaissance and the Reformation widened the outlook of the English nation.

The Renaissance or the revival of arts and letters brought a period of intense intellectual activity. The Renaissance created in people a spirit of criticism and inquiry. The people were not satisfied with established order of things, and they wanted to find out the truth for themselves. One effect of the Renaissance was to stimulate men to think for themselves. They were anxious to go critically into things. They were not prepared to accept them as gospel truths but they wanted to ascertain truth by their own efforts and arrive at their own and independent inferences. Men's minds were free from the bondage of authority and they believed in such things only as appealed to their reason and appeared to them just and rational. They were free to think for themselves unfettered, unchained and uninfluenced by any force or fear. It deepened the outlook of men. Their mental vision was altogether changed. Man's faith in mere tradition was shaken and the foundations of that openness of mind were laid which separates the Modern Age from the Middle Age. "In other ways people were tempted no longer to take old ideas for granted but to cast them, to find out where they were false, and so to extend knowledge".—Southgate.

The Reformation Movement filled men with new ideas. It led the people to deny the authority of the Pope and some of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. It led the people to reform the vices found in the Church and the evils prevailing among the clergymen. The tone of the Church was raised and the general standard of life and morality among the monks was improved. Schools, colleges and universities were founded on new models on a higher standard of morality and freedom of thought. Education became wider and affected large classes of society. The Reformation brought the spirit of enterprise and adventure into full and infused in the people new ambitions and aspirations. Englishmen freely sailed far and wide, found new markets for trade and laid the foundation of many settlements and factories. It led to the growth of England's maritime activity, commercial prosperity and industrial and manufacturing greatness.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

"Tudor absolutism was never opposed by the people". ***How would you account for this?***

Why did the English Parliament generally accept the dictation of the Tudor monarchs? Name the factors and circumstances that helped the Tudors in establishing strong rule in the country.

The Tudor Kings were very nearly autocrats. But their autocracy depended upon their efficiency, and upon the willing assent of the nation, which was weary of factions. Muir: *British History*). *Explain.*

"In fact the new Monarchy of the Tudors was a despotism veiled under the forms of law or constitutional forms". Discuss.

"Tudor rule was parliamentary in theory but in practice it was a strong personal rule". Discuss.

Discuss the importance of the Tudor Period in the History of England.

"The Tudor Period occupies a most significant place in the history of England". Discuss.

What were the effects and consequences of Tudor despotism or dictatorship?

"The accession of Henry VII is generally taken as the dividing line between Medieval and Modern Times". Justify.

How far was the reign of Henry VII responsible for ending the Middle Ages (Medievalism) and beginning the Modern Times.

"The reign of Henry VII marked the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern Times." Justify.

Write a note on the new ideas, discoveries and inventions with reference to the Tudor Period.

PART II

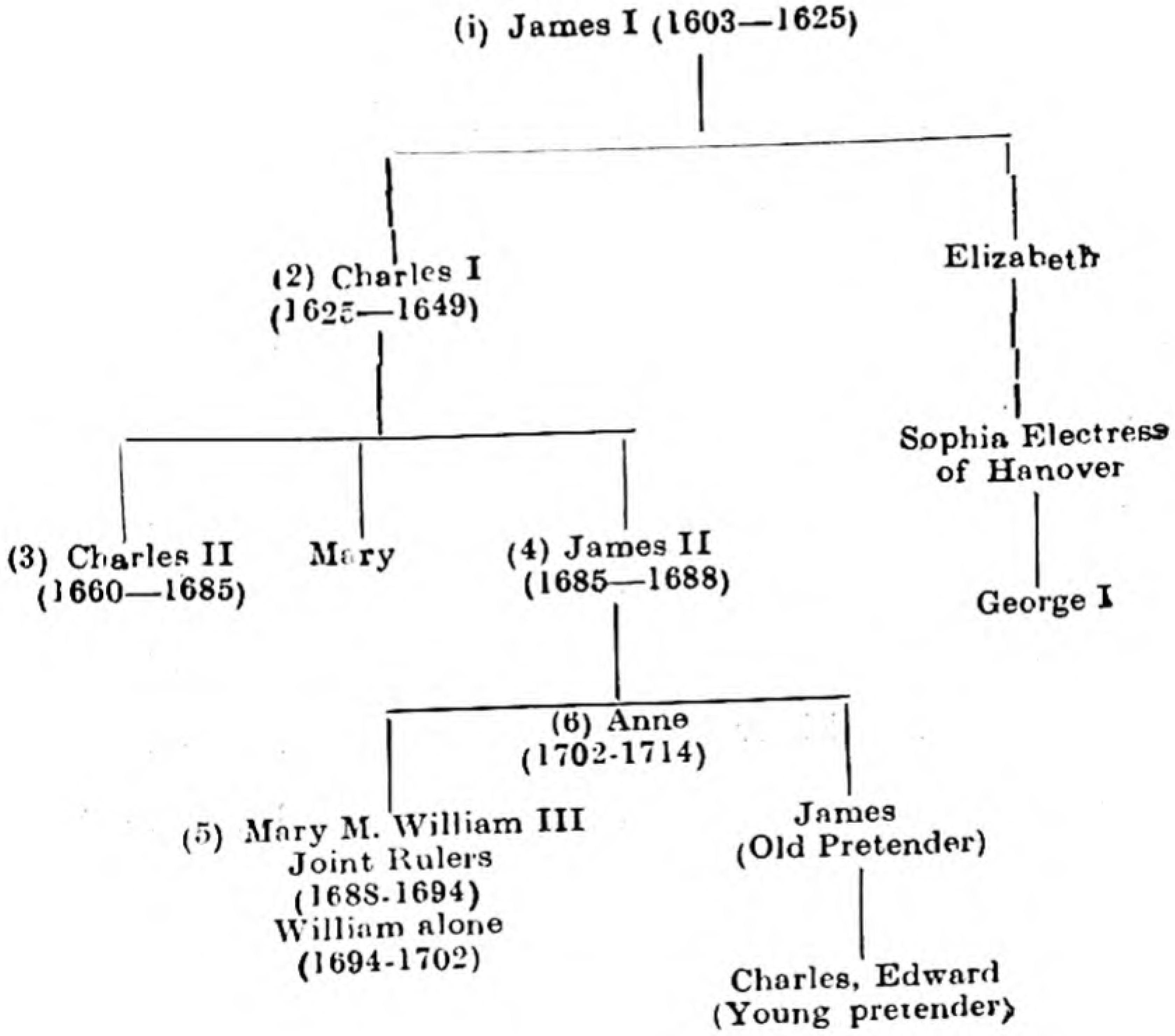
THE STUARTS

1603—1714

JAMES I	1603—1625
CHARLES I	1625—1649
THE COMMONWEALTH	1649—1660
CHARLES II	1660—1685
JAMES II	1685—1688
WILLIAM III AND MARY	1689—1702
ANNE	1702—1714

HOUSE OF STUARTS

GENEALOGICAL TABLE


(i) James I (1603—1625)
(2) Charles I (1625—1649)
Elizabeth
Sophia Electress of Hanover
George I
(3) Charles II (1660—1685)
Mary
(4) James II (1685—1688)
(6) Anne (1702-1714)
(5) Mary M. William III Joint Rulers (1688-1694) William alone (1694-1702)
James (Old Pretender)
Charles, Edward (Young pretender)

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION

The Stuart period (1603—1714) or the seventeenth century was a time of a keen struggle between the Stuart rulers and their Parliaments and the people. It was a century of very important constitutional conflicts between the Stuarts who claimed all power for themselves and the Parliament and the people who claimed the right to rule themselves without the interference of the Crown. The quarrel began with the accession of James I in 1603 and ended with the flight of James II who deserted by the army and the people (except the Catholics) had no other alternative but to run away and save his life. In one way he rendered a great service to his people for he saved them from the horrors of a civil war. The long struggle that had lasted from the accession of James I to the flight of James II (1688) ended in favour of the Parliament which became the supreme ruling body in the country after the Glorious Revolution. The King yielded and was deprived of his great claims, power and prerogatives. The Kings could no more boast of the theory of 'Divine Right of Kings' and their claim to the exercise of unlimited powers ended once for all. Henceforward the King was to be treated like a high official of the state who, like other officials, could be removed from office, if he made the wrong use of powers or refused to offer his full and hearty co-operation to the Parliament. There was to be no hereditary kingship. It was for the Parliament and the nation to appoint any suitable person as the King and to depose any ruler who was unfit for the job. Under these circumstances the Parliament began to grow in power and the King became weak and still went on losing his powers gradually.

Q. "What mainly characterised the Stuart period was the struggle between the King and the Parliament". Comment. *Or,*

Q. Discuss the causes of the struggle between the King and the Parliament during the Stuart Period. *Or,*

Q. Why did the first two Stuart Kings (James I and Charles I) quarrel with their Parliament? *Or,*

Q. Describe the questions at issue in the constitutional struggle between the Stuarts and their Parliaments in the 17th century?

CAUSES OF THE STRUGGLE

The causes of the struggle between the Stuart Kings and their Parliaments or the questions at issue during the 17th century struggle may be briefly described as follows:—

1. *Theory of Divine Right of Kings.* The Stuarts preached the theory of Divine Right of Kings, i.e., they were the representatives of

were drawn". The people now made up their mind to take active interest in the affairs of the State and fight for their political rights and liberties. People became more self-reliant and were eager for a greater share in the government of the country, and claim their rights.

11. *Absence of External Danger.* There was perfect peace in the country and England had no danger of foreign foes. The Tudor sovereigns had established perfect law and order at home and crushed the enemies of England abroad. The people were, therefore, free to fight for their rights and liberties. Plots against the English throne had finally stopped; the Spanish Armada had come to naught; the counter-Reformation had spent its force as far as England was concerned.

12. *Defects in the personal character of the first two Stuarts.* The greatest source of the Tudors' strength was their knowledge of national sentiment. They knew what the nation wanted and how much they could expect from it. They could rightly feel the pulse of the nation. Their strong common sense and unfailing tact helped them to conciliate the nation on all important occasions. The first two Stuart Kings were ill-suited by their character to deal with their subjects. James was proud and always boasted of his learning and openly expounded the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. At heart Scots, both James and Charles were entirely ignorant of the ordinary opinions of the ordinary Englishmen. "The Stuart Kings did not possess tact and practical wisdom of the Tudors. If they had liked they could have avoided the friction with the people and the Parliament, but unfortunately they were not wise and practical statesmen, and so they offended them in many matters and so often." The Stuarts never understood English ways and mentality and their open advocacy of Divine Right naturally provoked the English.

13. *The Stuarts were Foreigners.* The Stuarts belonging to a foreign race possessed less knowledge of English ways. Their sympathies with the English people were narrower than those of the Tudors and they were less intelligent than their predecessors. Charles was a bad ruler. Neither James I nor Charles I was a good judge of men whom they ruled. Prof. Trevelyan says, "James knew Scotland but not England and Charles knew neither". Charles could not think clearly and pursued simultaneously many contradictory plans. He was obstinate and unable to understand any one else's standpoint. he lived in a dream-world of his own.

Besides all this, the Stuarts were most tactless. they never felt the pulse of the nation, they never tried to study the demands and real needs of the people, they never came into touch with the people. They lived in their own dreamland and they had no practical experience of the stern realities of the world.

N.B. The above causes made the submissive Parliament of the Tudors assert itself vigorously in the time of the Stuarts.

Result of the Long Struggle. The struggle ended in favour of the Parliament. The struggle cost Charles I his life and James II his throne. The Glorious Revolution ultimately decided where the sovereignty lay, i.e., whether the Parliament or the King was to be the supreme power in the country and rule it. The Revolution settled once for all that it was Parliament that was to rule the country, guide its policy and mould its destinies. The King was simply to carry out the wishes of the nation and to act as an office holder. No person could be imprisoned without trial according to the law of the land. The king had to forget the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. He could no longer override the laws of the land. There was to be the 'Rule of Law' in the country—in other words all people were to be judged by the law of the land which was no respector of persons and position but which judged a person in the light of his merits. And to-day the British Parliament, or, rather, the House of Commons, chosen by the votes of nearly every man or woman in the country, decides what laws are to be made, and how the country is to governed. The King could be dismissed if he neglected his duties or attempted to rule unconstitutionally.

Q. How was it that the Parliament so subservient to monarchy in the time of the Tudors, asserted itself so vigorously under the Stuarts?

Ans. Please consult previous answer.

Q. How would you account for the conflict between the King and the Parliament in the seventeenth Century?

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. State Briefly the characteristics of the Stuart Period.

Or,

Q. The Stuart period was unique in many respects." Comment.

The following are the characteristics of the Stuart period. (Only hints are given here which are to be expanded by the students themselves).

1. *Period of Conflict.* The Stuart Period was a period of constant conflict between the King and the Parliament. The Stuart kings believed in the theory of Divine Right of Kings by which they meant that Kings were appointed by God and were answerable for their actions, not to their subjects, but to God alone. The people protested against the authority of the King. The gave rise to a serious conflict in which Charles I had to sacrifice his life and James II had to give up his Kingdom by running away to save his life in 1688. At last the king had to yield and the supremacy and final authority of the Parliament had to be accepted.

2. *Age of Experiment and Research.* The age of blind belief and dogmas had disappeared and the age of experiment and research had taken its place. Reason had become supreme. people were inquisitive and they were not prepared to believe in anything till it appealed to reason. Thus the age of reason became prominent and people were not prepared to take anything for granted.

3. *It was the Age of Toleration.* The more enlightened and

humane members of most ecclesiastical organisations began to champion toleration and thus challenged the right of the State to determine the religious worship of its citizens. There was a remarkable progress in the domain of religion for it was generally agreed that the State had no right to dominate the conscience of its subjects.

4. *England the Greatest Colonising Nation.* England had set up its colonies all the world over. It was in the seventeenth century that the foundations of the United States, the English West Indies and British India were laid.

5. *Abolition of Monarchy and the House of Lords.* They were both abolished, but the people did not like this revolutionary change. An experiment was made by the Commonwealth (1649—1660) to rule the country without the Monarchy and the House of Lords. The Commonwealth failed in the long run and the monarchy had to be restored.

CHAPTER IX

JAMES I (1603—1625)

> *"He strongly shared the current political doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, but he lacked the shrewd Elizabeth's sense of what was practical."*
>
> —RAMSAY MUIR.

His Accession. James VI of Scotland ascended the throne of England as James I of England. He was the son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, who had been beheaded by Elizabeth's orders in 1587 by taking part in a conspiracy that aimed at the life of Elizabeth; thus James was the great grandson of Henry VII. England and Scotland that had been in a state of hostility for so long a period were now ruled by the same King. In England's struggle with other nations, Scotland was a thorn by her side. From this time England and Scotland became friends. The union affected was merely a personal union of two Crowns, and the two countries were entirely different in matters of law, manners and customs. The time, however, was soon to come when the two countries were to unite in one kingdom.

N.B. The term Great Britain was introduced in 1603, when James I was styled 'King of Great Britain.'

Q. What do you know about the character of James I?

Or,

'The Wisest Fool in Christendom'. Is this a correct estimate of the character and work of James I? (D.U. 1964)

Or,

Form an estimate of the Character of James I and account for his unpopularity. (D.U. 1961)

HIS CHARACTER AND IDEAS

Bright Side. He was amiable, kind and peaceful by nature. He was a man of uncommon intelligence and highly developed literary tastes. In the early years of his reign he was popular and his learning and versatile talents won him the love of all but as time passed on, he revealed his real nature. He liked hunting as an outdoor sport but indoors he loved reading, writing and the company of learned persons. He was very learned; he wrote books on theology, on witchcraft and against the use of tobacco; he loved arguing, and had a shrewd and ready wit. But all his virtues and merits lost their value and sank into insignificance as compared to his defects and drawbacks which made him very unpopular as time passed and led to his failure as a ruler.

Dark Side. The Wisest Fool in Christendom. His Unpopularity. He was obstinate and conceited and vain of his being a learned man. He lacked tact and judgment and had no insight into practical affairs.

He loved flattery and had a weakness for favourites who proved to be one of the main causes of his unpopularity and failure. His flatterers called him 'BRITISH SOLOMON' but in fact he was the wisest fool in Christendom. His features were ungainly, his manners coarse and his dress and actions undignified, so that all these things looked unkingly in him. His rough and unpolished manners made him extremely unpopular. He was extravagant and wasted public money in useless pursuits. He was obstinate and conceited and did not care for public opinion.

He did not hesitate to employ unfair means to extort money from his unwilling subjects. He believed in the theory of 'Divine Right of Kings' and as such he ruled in the most irresponsible way, levying heavy taxes and punishing and imprisoning persons arbitrarily. He was timid, indolent, talkative, self-willed, and not open to conviction.

He never understood the temper and feelings and prejudices of the English people. He was a bad judge of men and failed to select men of real worth and merit who could serve him ably. He was tactless and devoid of all human sympathies. His worst fault was his incurable habit of distinguishing between his own interests and those of his subjects.

His faults and weaknesses made him universally unpopular. The most peculiar thing about him was that even though well-read and shrewd, he had no practical wisdom and he lacked that tact and judgment that made a man successful in life. He was always found boasting of his great learning and wisdom but the fact was that he was not a practical man and was devoid of sound common sense and judgment.

He was so cowardly that the sight of a drawn sword made him shudder with fear and he lost the little courage he had. He had a weak character and was altogether devoid of those qualities that make a person a successful ruler.

James's unconstitutional acts and despotic rule had caused great offence to the English people and the Parliament but there was no revolution in the country. In fact they had prepared a way for it to take place during the reign of his son Charles. The Chief Minister of the French King who had a thorough knowledge of James I, said of him that he was 'the most learned fool in Christendom.'

Q. What do you understand by the theory of the Divine Right of Kings? How was it instrumental in overthrowing the Stuart Dynasty? *Or,*

Write a short essay on the theory of Divine Right of Kings or the Stuart Theory of Kingship.

THEORY OF DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

Theory as understood by the Stuarts. All the Stuart Kings, from James I to James II, maintained that their power descended upon them from God by virtue of their divine hereditary kingship, and that the 'Divine Right' thus acquired involved the prerogative to 'dispense' as they pleased with the ordinary laws and customs of their people. They claimed 'dispensing' and 'suspending' power and maintained that the Parliament had no power to grant them money which they could raise on their own account. They said that the King being the shadow of God on earth, was responsible to God only for his actions, and his subjects could not call him to question for what he did in this world. They further said that the King had the power of life and death over his subjects for the people lived for the King and not the King for the people. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumptuous and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do. This was the celebrated theory of the divine right of Kings. But their theory brought the Stuarts into bitter conflict with their Parliament, the representative of the people. At its root lay a desire of the Kings to rule despotically as they pleased in utter disregard of the laws of the land. But could the nation be coerced into continuously submitting to any act of the King, however arbitrary it was, with the theory to support his act? The previous history of the nation could clearly show that the people had been constantly trying to bring the kings under Parliamentary control and it would not allow them to act as they pleased. This theory filled the Stuarts with an exaggerated notion of the prerogative and involved them in a life-and-death struggle with the nation. James I always irritated his Parliaments by lecturing them on it and thus provoked them to resist his demands.

Theory of Divine Right in Action

James increased the customs duties on currants without the consent of Parliament. Parliament protested and would not let go its rights to vote taxes. But the judges upheld the King when the question was tried in the Courts of law. Most but not all of the judges, under the earlier Stuarts, upheld the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, i.e., that Kings were appointed by God and were responsible to God alone and not to their subjects. It was this that led Charles I to impose Ship-Money and raise other illegal taxes and ultimately cost him his throne and his head; it was this theory which led James II to override the acts of Parliament by his 'Declaration of Indulgence' which led to the abdication of his throne. The conflict ceased only when William III gave up this theory and admitted the power of the Parliament to have control over King's actions and policy.

Q. What were the main points of dispute and controversy or constitutional struggle between James I and his Parliaments. *Or,*

Q. Describe the relations of James I with his Parliaments. *Or,*

Q. "James I's reign is called one long quarrel between the King and the Parliament". Elucidate. *Or,*

Q. The first Stuart King ushered in the era of conflict between the King and the Parliament. Describe briefly the causes of the conflict between them.

Ans. James was obstinate and a staunch Catholic. He was proud and tactless and a very poor judge of men. He was the king of England but he knew nothing about England and his people. He had no sympathy with the feelings, traditions and aspirations of the progressive English people. He had no knowledge of the fact that the English Parliament was no longer the Tudor Parliament but a Parliament which had learnt to assert itself, which had received the necessary political training and which was bent upon recovering its old rights and privileges and which thus became a supreme body in the country. The circumstances and times had changed but James was entirely ignorant of them.

MAIN POINTS OF DISPUTE AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN JAMES AND HIS PARLIAMENT

James's First Parliament, 1604—1611. His first Parliament met in 1604 and lasted for seven years. It spent most of its time on the legal limits of Parliamentary privilege and royal prerogative. Parliament held that it sat of its rights, while the King held that it sat not of its right but of his grace. Parliament criticised the king's unsympathetic attitude towards the Puritans, and the leniency shown to the Catholics. It condemned the King's right of forbidding the election of outlaws or bankrupts and asserted the privilege of Parliament to decide about the contested elections; it attacked the grants of privilege by the king to the trading companies and condemned the 'Book of Rates' issued by James I. The King and the Parliament were considering to put the whole financial system on a new footing on the contract basis but at the last moment religious and political misunderstanding prevented the financial agreement.

The Parliament made the customary life grant of Tonnage and Poundage to James. (It was so called because a certain sum was paid on every ton of wine and pound of merchandise imported). But James could not practise the severe economy of Elizabeth, so he tried to supplement his income by raising customs duties without the consent of the Parliament. A merchant called Bate refused to pay the extra duty on currants (dried fruit of a variety of grapes) but the judges decided against him. Encouraged by this, James imposed extra duties upon a whole mass of other articles as well. These extra duties known as 'Impositions' were opposed by the Parliament. It refused to grant supplies unless grievances were redressed. James dissolved it in 1611.

Second or Addled Parliament, 1614. Forced by financial needs James summoned his second Parliament in 1614 but it also refused to grant supplies till its grievances were redressed. It was dissolved as soon as it met and was called the Caddled Parliament, because it was dissolved without doing anything. It made no grants nor passed any Act.

James's Third Parliament, 1621-22. James summoned his third Parliament in 1621. It criticised James's foreign policy and expressed its strong disapproval of the marriage negotiations with Spain. It refused to grant any supplies before the redress of its grievances and condemned the King's granting of monopolies. It revived the old weapon of impeachment by impeaching Bacon who was sent for trial before the House of Lords. Not satisfied with its strong attitude, the King dissolved the Parliament.

James's Fourth Parliament, 1624-25. James's fourth Parliament was a little bit conciliatory because the marriage negotiations with Spain had broken. But it did not grant the whole of the supplies asked for, and even "that treasurers appointed by the Parliament should control the money, and only issue it for the purpose for which it had been voted." It impeached the Lord Treasurer and passed an Act declaring the granting of monopolies illegal. This Parliament came to a premature close by the death of James I in 1625.

Achievements of the Parliament in its struggle with James I or constitutional gains or the important things done by the Parliament. The relations between the King and his Parliaments were not sweet and cordial. The Parliament in its long and hard struggle with the King extending over twenty years made the following constitutional gains:

1. The Parliament severely criticised the theory of Divine Right of Kings as practised and preached by James. The Parliament was strongly opposed to this theory.

2. The Commons revived their ancient right 'impeachment'. (Impeachment is the act of accusing and trying some big officer of state in Parliament or a special court meant for this purpose). They impeached Bacon for receiving bribes. It impeached Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex and Lord High Treasurer of embazzlement (Misuse) of public money. Impeachment was a way to exercise control over the executive.

3. It declared monopolies illegal by passing a statute against them.

4. It maintained its right to control taxation by asserting that the King could not levy impositions. It was also decided that money should be only issued for the purpose for which it was voted by the Parliament. It could not be issued for a purpose other than that for which it was voted by the Parliament.

5. It asserted that it had the right to discuss all matters of public interest like religious policy, domestic policy, foreign affairs, etc.

6. It maintained its privileges like the freedom of speech, freedom of election, etc.

SHORT NOTES

"JAMES'S FOREIGN POLICY"

James wanted to act as the peace-maker of Europe. (1) He made peace with Spain in 1604 and made efforts to conciliate her by marrying his son, Charles to the daughter of the Spanish King. Parliament disliked the marriage alliance with Catholic Spain. It so happened that the Spanish Princes refused to marry James's son Charles. James still disregarding the feelings of the people married his son Charles to another Catholic princess' sister of the King of France.

(2) James I married his daughter, Elizabeth, to Fredrick Elector Palatine of the Rhine, a strong Protestant, but did not help him against Spain, when the Thirty Years' War in Germany broke out, even though he was turned out of his own Palatinate. Parliament wanted to take the side of Elector Palatine but James did not like to offend Spain and made useless efforts to restore Palatine to his son-in-law by a marriage alliance with Spain, but when the marriage negotiations failed in 1623, a small and poorly equipped army was sent to help the Elector Palatine but it could not affect anything and James died in 1625.

(3) James I continued friendly relations with France and after the failure of marriage alliance with Spain tried to gain the support of France for the Elector Palatine by marrying Charles to the French Princess. Charles I was married to Henrietta Maria in 1625. His foreign policy which was against the will of the people created a gulf between the King and the nation.

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

After the accession of James I, as many as one thousand Puritan clergymen sent an application to him to secure some facilities and concessions from him. The paper which bore the signatures of the applicants was referred to as 'MILLENARY PETITION'. To consider this application, the King called a conference known as Hampton Court Conference and presided over it. In the conference, Puritans' most important demand was that the office of the bishop should be abolished. James, a believer in Episcopacy, i.e., 'government by bishops', got enraged at this demand replied: 'No bishop, no king'. The King meant that if the Puritans did not want bishops to-day, tomorrow they would demand the abolition of the office of the King. The King who was already infuriated dissolved the Parliament and sent away the Puritans with a warning. Thus the conference resulted in nothing.

GUN-POWDER PLOT, 1605

James was personally desirous of peace and order in the country and he earnestly tried to make up the differences of the Catholics with the Crown. But at the same time he realized that it was harmful to grant many facilities to the Catholics. This led many Catholics to form a conspiracy to blow off the King along with both the Houses of Parliament. The plot came to be known as Gun Powder Plot for Guy Fawkes was entrusted with the duty of setting fire to the Gun-Powder exactly when the Parliamentarians, the Clergy and the Prince came to listen to the lecture of the King. The plot could be a success but one of the conspirators wrote to a member of the House of Lords not to attend the meeting that day. The letter was presented to the King who guessed that something was serious. A search was made and Guy Fawkes was discovered in a cell under the House of Parliament ready to explode. Guy Fawkes and other conspirators were arrested, tried and executed.

Pilgrim Fathers. After the accession of James I, the Puritans tried their best to secure some facilities from him which the King denied outright and consequently the Hampton Conference proved a failure. Later on, James imposed several restrictions on the Puritans, and they were not free even to perform their religious duties. They feared more ferocities at the hands of the King. Some Puritan Separatists left England and sailed to settle in Plymouth in a ship called May Flower. Many Puritans followed suit. These simple God-fearing Puritans, who left England in despair and settled in Plymouth, are called Pilgrim Fathers. They were the first colonists in the real sense whose bravery and hardihood inspired others and attracted other settlers to lay the foundation of other colonies. It was thus that the foundation of England's colonial empire was first laid in the reign of James I.

OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

"Stuart Age is marked by a long conflict between the King and Parliament". Or, "The struggle between the King and Parliament is the most important feature of English History in the 17th century". What were the causes of the conflict and how did it ultimately end?

"The Stuarts provoked a contest in which after several fluctuations, they were decisively worsted". State briefly the causes which provoked the Parliament and led to the ultimate defeat of the Stuarts.

"The great event of the Stuart Period was the Struggle between the King and the Parliament". Give briefly the causes of this struggle.

Bring out clearly the main issues in the controversy between James and his Parliaments.

How do you account for the change in the attitude of Parliament towards the Crown after James I had succeeded Elizabeth.

What were the reasons for the disagreement of James I with his Parliaments?

"The Wisest Fool in Christendom". Discuss the wisdom and folly of James I.

In what way did the power of the Parliament increase and that of the Crown decrease in the reign of James I?

"Though the reign of James I did not witness a revolution, it witnessed that loosening of the bonds of sympathy between the ruler and the ruled which is often the precursor of revolution." Explain.

(HINTS.—This is true that there was no revolution in the reign of James I, but his reign had prepared the way for the revolution in the next reign (Charles I). The relations had been so strained between the King and his subjects that the revolution became unavoidable in the reign of Charles I who was as bad and unfit as his father James I).

CHAPTER X

CHARLES I (1625—1649)

> *"Of no great ability himself, he (Charles I) lacked the ability to recognise it in others, giving his confidence to men because he liked them and not because of their wisdom."*
>
> —VERNON SIMMS.

His Accession. Charles I ascended the throne in 1625 on the death of his father James I. He was a youngman of twenty-five at the time of his accession.

His Character. Bright Side. Charles I had some advantages over his father. Charles was handsome, dignified and courteous. He was really good and pious in many ways. He was a thorough gentleman. His piety and devotion to his wife and children, his love of art, painting and good literature, won for him the attachment and admiration of those who came into personal contact with him. He was a tender husband and father and a man of spirit and courage. In private life he was all that a gentleman should be.

Weak Side of his Character. But he had grave faults as a ruler. He was a poor judge of men and failed to understand the aspirations and traditions of his subjects. He was proud and very reserved. He was obstinate and never open to conviction; he stuck to his own guns even though he knew that he would come to grief. He was never well-advised surrounded as he was by worthless counsellors and friends and favourites like Buckingham, Laud, Maria Henrietta and others. He was unlucky to have a French wife who was a Catholic and cared nothing for England and her people. The King and the Queen had no sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of their people for as foreigners they could not understand English ways, views and mentality. He was a poor financier and was always in need of money. He lived in a dreamland of his own, he had no practical experience of the world and never appreciated the viewpoint of others.

Like his father he believed in the Divine Right of Kings and was never willing to work in co-operation with the Parliament.

Charles who had many good qualities in private life proved a hopeless failure as a King. He never cared for public opinion. This brought him into serious conflict with the Parliament. He ruled for eleven years (1629—1641) without a Parliament which period is better known as 'Eleven Years' Tyranny'. His despotic rule, obstinacy and unsympathetic nature towards his people ultimately cost him his life. His is the one instance in the history of England who was hanged for his serious faults as the ruler of a great country.

Q. Describe the foreign policy of the first two Stuarts. Why was it a failure under them?

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

Ans. Foreign Policy of James I. Please see previous Chapter.

Foreign Policy of Charles I

War with Spain. The Thirty Years' War that began in the time of James I was still going on. Thinking that English people welcomed war with Spain, Charles sent an expedition to Cadiz under Sir Edward Cecil but it proved a failure.

War with France. Buckingham, a favourite of Charles, quarreled with Richelieu, the French Minister. Charles sent an expedition to France under George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in order to help the Huguenots (French Protestants) but it failed. The English people looked upon the failure of the expedition a great national disgrace and held Charles as well as Buckingham responsible for the failure. The nation was already in conflict with the government, the failure in France added insult to injury.

War with Scotland. The Scots were Protestants. The government of the Church in Scotland was in the hands of Presbyters or elders and in those of bishops. Laud and Charles wanted to introduce the principles of the English Church. There were riots and disturbances all over the country and the Scots signed a National Covenant by which they took a solemn oath to defend their religion at all costs and consequences. Charles wanted to introduce religious changes by force of arms. The Scots resisted and the war began between Scotland and England. These are known as the First Bishops' War and the Second Bishops' War. Charles failed for want of sufficient men and money.

Causes of Failure. The foreign policy of England during the first two Stuarts was a sad failure: the policy was inglorious and ineffective and the failure of that may be ascribed to the following causes:—

1. *No Standing Army.* James I and Charles I possessed no standing army and consequently there was no force behind England's diplomacy.

2. *Popular Opinion in England Against Foreign Policy.* The Parliament was strongly opposed to the foreign policy of the first two Stuarts. Popular opinion in England was hostile to the foreign policy of James I who was anxious to secure friendship of Spain. Equally sad was the fate of the foreign policy of Charles I. The Commons attacked his foreign policy. His foreign policy was weak and inglorious and consequently England lost all position and prestige in foreign affairs during the rest of his reign.

3. *Parliament Gave no Money for War.* The Parliament gave no money to James I and Charles I to prosecute the war for it seriously

differed with him in matters of foreign policy. Their foreign policy was weak and that of undue dependence upon others which made England a tool in the hands of others. The Parliament and the people were thus opposed to their views and their line of action.

4. *Serious Drawbacks in the Character of the Two Stuarts.* Last but not least, the failure of the foreign policy was in a large measure due to the character of the two rulers. James I was timid and indecisive. Charles I was vacillating, obstinate, intriguing, unable to lead nor to be led. Always in want of sincerity, he was always playing a game with his men. Never a man so fallible believed so honestly in his infallibility.

Q. Describe the relations of Charles I with his Parliaments. *Or,*

Q. Mention the circumstances which led to the meeting of the Long Parliament...Describe its measures, i.e., its work and importance.

CHARLES'S PARLIAMENTS

First Parliament of Charles I, 1625. Charles I summoned his first Parliament in 1625 to ask for grants for the prosecution of the Spanish War. The Parliament showed an uncompromising spirit and refused to sanction any substantial grant (it granted £ 140,000 which was only one-tenth of the amount which was actually required for the prosecution of war) unless Buckingham, the King's favourite minister, was dismissed. The Parliament also attacked the King's lenient policy towards the Catholics. It granted him Tonnage and Poundage only for a year. Enraged at its demand for the dismissal of Buckingham, Charles I dissolved it the same year (1625).

Second Parliament of Charles I, 1626. Charles continued war with Spain and sent an expedition to Cadiz which proved an utter failure. Faced with an urgent need of money, he called his second Parliament in 1626. This Parliament proved as uncompromising as the first. The opposition was led by Sir John Elliot, who wanted Buckingham to be impeached for his inefficient organisation that had led to the disaster of the English fleet at Cadiz. Charles who was anxious to save Buckingham refused to agree to his impeachment and dissolved Parliament in 1626.

Third Parliament of Charles I, 1628. After he had dissolved his Second Parliament Charles tried to collect money from the people by following the policy of 'forced loan'. Even his policy of 'forced loan' did not bring Charles sufficient money and he called his third Parliament in 1628. The Commons before granting supplies presented the Petition of Right which declared the recent acts of the King illegal. The main clauses of the Petition of Right (1628) were:

(1) The loans and taxes levied without Parliament and (2) all arbitrary imprisonments without cause shown were declared illegal. (3) It forbade the billeting of soldiers on private houses and (4) prohibited the exercise of martial law in peace times. The king had

to yield and accept the Petition of Right. The Commons granted supplies and the first session ended in their complete victory. In 1629 it met again for the second session. The King, though he had accepted the Petition of Right, continued to levy Tonnage and Poundage. (It had been granted to him for one year only. Thus it was a violation of the Petition). The Commons attacked the policy of the King and voted that all who introduced innovations in religion or paid Tonnage and Poundage without Parliamentary sanction were traitors and betrayers of English liberties. For eleven years 1629—1640 he ruled without a Parliament.

The Short Parliament, 1640 (*April-May*). The interference of Charles in Scottish Church led to the outbreak of the Bishop's Wars. To conduct the wars against the Scots, Charles was in urgent need of money. He called the Short Parliament for this purpose. The Parliament refused to grant supplies before redress of grievances. The King dissolved it. It was called the Short Parliament because it was dissolved only after a few weeks of its meeting. From 1629 to 1640 the King ruled without a Parliament. He called the Long Parliament in 1640. It was the fifth and the last Parliament of Charles.

The Long Parliament, 1640. The Short Parliament had refused to grant Charles supplies to conduct the Bishop's Wars. The Second Bishop's War had proved very disastrous and the King was in urgent need of money to meet the expenses of the army. Having no other source, Charles was constrained to call the Long Parliament (1640—1660) to grant him supplies. This was Charles's fifth and last Parliament. The most famous members of the Parliament who made an undying name in history were Hampden, Pym, Vane, Selden, Holles and Cromwell.

Its Work and Importance. Its Measures and Reforms. (a) *Execution of Charles's agents of Tyranny.* Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards made Earl of Strafford) was Charles's chief adviser whose system of government was known as 'Thorough'. By this system he trampled down all opposition by force and made the King's power absolute. The Long Parliament charged him with treason and passed a 'bill of attainder' by which he was beheaded in 1641.

Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, a great adviser of Charles in religious affairs, used stern and harsh measures against all those who opposed the King's religious policy. Laud was executed in 1645.

(b) *Its Remedial Measures.* The Parliament next touched the arbitrary measures of Charles.

(i) It abolished the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, the Star Chamber, and other prerogative courts.

(ii) It upset the unconstitutional decisions of the judges.

(iii) It declared Ship Money, Tonnage and Poundage, and the new impositions illegal.

(iv) It passed a Triennial Act, enacting that not more than three years should pass without a meeting of Parliament.

(v) It deprived the King of his favourite weapon of a dissolution forcing on him a law that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.

The King had no other alternative but to accept all these measures as he had no party to support him while his favourite ministers had already been removed. He was at the mercy of the Parliament. These measures of reform became not only permanent but part of the constitution.

(c) *Work on religious side.* The Parliament next took up the religious question and brought forward a bill, known as the Root and Branch Bill, which proposed to abolish bishops altogether and place the control of the Church into the hands of a commission of laymen. But this measure did not have the approval of the whole house and caused a split. People like Edward Hyde, Lucious Cary and Viscount Falkland strongly opposed this measure and the second reading of the bill was only carried by a small majority.

(d) *Grand Remonstrance.* The Parliament met again in the autumn of 1641. It drew up a long document, called the Grand Remonstrance, which contained all the evil and illegal deeds of Charles since his succession to the throne. It demanded that only such persons be employed ministers as possessed the confidence of the people. At last the Remonstrance was passed by the Commons, though by a very narrow majority of eleven. The last measure of this Parliament was the Militia Bill which transferred the command of the militia from officers appointed by the King to commanders appointed by the Parliament. Charles, however, refused to give his consent to this measure whereupon the Lords and the Commons ordered that it should be carried out as an ordinance of Parliament. Parliament then presented the Nineteen Propositions to Charles, the effect of which would have been to make him a ruler in name only. This measure completed the rupture between the King and Parliament and the King set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal that Civil war had begun.

Importance. The work of the Long Parliament is very important in the history of England. It ended the arbitrary rule of the King and forced him to part with his confidential councillors. Its remedial measures once more restored constitutional government in England. The abolition of the arbitrary courts weakened the power of the King and secured liberty and freedom to the people which had been completely destroyed by the Stuart monarchs. The King's obstinacy and love of power really resulted in the Civil War which secured the supremacy of the people once for all. The work of the Long Parliament shows that it commanded full confidence of the people who were very eager to do away with the arbitrary rule of Charles.

Q. Narrate the circumstances that led the Third Parliament of Charles I to draw up the Petition of Right (1628). What were its chief clauses. Discuss its constitutional significance.

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THE PETITION OF RIGHT

Circumstances Leading to the Petition of Right (1628)

1. Charles was proud, obstinate and a thorough believer in the Divine Right of Kings. He made promises with his Parliament and people but never kept them.

2. Foreign Policy of Charles was a sad failure. He was forced to send an expedition to La Rochelle under Buckingham to help the French Protestants (called Huguenots) who had been attacked by the French King. The expedition proved a failure, the Huguenots surrendered to the French Government. This offended the Parliament and the people.

3. The Parliament and the people disliked the King's unscrupulous favourites especially Buckingham.

4. Charles needed money but his second Parliament refused to grant him any money till he improved himself and redressed its grievances.

The House of Commons, with Sir John Eliot at its head, accused Buckingham (a great favourite of Charles) of wasting money, neglecting the interests of the country and abusing his powers and wanted to impeach him but Charles dissolved Parliament to save Buckingham.

5. Since his second Parliament had refused to grant him money, he decided to make use of illegal ways to raise money. He began to raise money by 'forced loan', a way which was noted by all. Respectable persons were imprisoned (five Knights who refused to pay the forced loans were imprisoned and Darnell was one of them) and ordinary people were seized and forced to serve as soldiers. Then he resorted to 'billeting', i.e., people were required to provide free food and shelter to the soldiers. To make the people more angry, the disputes between soldiers and civilians were not tried in the ordinary courts of the land before a judge and jury but by a military court headed by a military officer. Even the ordinary courts of the land were subservient to the King; the judges did what the King wanted them to do. Such courts could never be depended upon for justice. In spite of all unconstitutional means Charles could not get the money he wanted.

6. To meet his financial needs, Charles called his Third Parliament in 1628. The members of the Parliament would not grant him any money till he promised to carry on the government of the country according to the law of the land. They were determined to check the King's encroachment on the rights and liberties of the people.

The Parliament Drew up the Petition of Right (1628) with the Following Clauses:

1. The levying of taxes or 'loans' by the King without the consent of Parliament was illegal.

2. All arbitrary imprisonment of free men without cause shown was illegal.

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

3. There was to be no martial law in times of peace.

4. There was to be no billeting of soldiers and sailors in private citizens (i.e., private citizens should not be forced to provide food and shelter to soldiers and sailors). The Petition incorporated the four cardinal points—Arbitrary Taxation, Arbitrary imprisonment, Martial Law and Billeting. Charles hesitated to give his consent to the Petition, but he had no other alternative but to yield for he needed money very badly. The Parliament then granted him the supplies. He accepted the Petition and promised to abide by its clauses but he deliberately violated every clause of the Petition.

Its Constitutional Significance. The Petition stands as a great landmark in the constitutional history of England. It is a Second Great Charter of English liberties, the first was the Magna Carta and the third Bill of Rights. This great constitutional document limited the powers of the king and put definite checks on them so that the rights and liberties of the people of England might be safe. It deprived arbitrary government of illegal powers. This is true that Charles I levied Tonnage and Poundage and violated other articles of the Petition of Right, and ruled the country most arbitrarily between 1629—1640 but he had to pay for these violations with his life which was a very heavy price. No sensible person could have behaved so rudely and foolishly and risked his throne and life but as ill-luck would have it, he had inherited from James I (his father) a love of arbitrary power and exalted notions of the power and prestige of a King. He considered himself justified in using any means to defend and maintain his royal prerogatives. It is really a pity that he had to sacrifice himself for his foolish and false notions. Had he been a little tactful and less obstinate and conceited, he could have saved himself from the gallows.

Q. What do you understand by Charles's Eleven Years' Tyranny? Who were the chief agents of his Tyranny? What was the grand Remonstrance?

THE ELEVEN YEARS' TYRANNY OF CHARLES I OR HIS ABSOLUTE AND PERSONAL RULE OR HIS UNPARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT 1629—1640

Objects of the Tyranny. Main object of Charles was to make himself independent of the Parliament and then rule the country as he liked. To achieve this he decided to amass large wealth.

Secondly, he wanted no one to interfere with his policy and actions. There should be none to question his authority and stand in the way of his absolute sway.

His unconstitutional acts or his despotic and arbitrary rule may be described as follows:—

1. He broke all the provisions of the Petition of Right, dissolved the Third Parliament and imprisoned its leading members, including Eliot. Eliot died in prison after three years.

2. In the affairs of the government Charles followed the advice of Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. Wentworth introduced a scheme of government called 'Thorough' the object of which was to establish a military despotism by means of a strong standing army.

3. He collected money by illegal taxes, benevolences, monopolies and such other unlawful devices.

4. He exacted tonnage and poundage and imposed heavy fines on those who broke the long-forgotten Acts of Parliament. He imposed fines on holders of property worth £ 40 a year who had neglected to get themselves knighted.

5. He imposed a tax called 'Ship-Money'. It was opposed by the people under John Hampden, but to no use. Of all the taxes levied by Charles, the most hated was that of Ship-Money. In the early times it had been the custom to call upon the people living near the sea-coast to provide ships for the protection of the coast of England. To revive this old and forgotten custom, Charles first called upon the people living near the sea to pay the Ship-Money and in the following year people living in Inland countries were also required to pay the same tax. The people of the Inland countries objected to this but the King paid no heed to their protests and entreaties. The King's obstinate attitude created strong resentment among the people.

6. In the affairs of the Church, Charles followed the advice of Laud, who was raised to the post of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He enforced ceremonies hateful to the Puritans and tried to put them down but he treated the Roman Catholics with great leniency. Those clergymen who refused to follow the religious policy of Laud were expelled from posts. Fine, exile, imprisonment, dismissal, etc., were the means by which Charles and Laud imposed their religious policy. Laud tried to crush Puritanism with the help of the Court of Star Chamber and High Commission. Laud's religious policy was greatly responsible for driving Englishmen into the paths of revolution.

Arbitrary Courts of Charles

He imposed heavy fines arbitrarily, put men into prison with the help of his arbitrary courts. The Court of Star Chamber punished political offenders, the High Commission Court punished those who opposed Laud in his religious policy and the Council of North, whose president was Wentworth, made King's rule absolute in Northern England. These Courts worked as engines of oppression. The fact is that the Eleven years' Tyranny prepared the way for the Great Civil War of 1642 and a great contest became inevitable in which Charles was doomed to lose his all.

THE SUPPORTERS OF CHARLES'S ABSOLUTISM—WENTWORTH AND LAUD

Wentworth. Charles had three advisers—Sir Thomas Wentworth (Earl of Strafford), Laud and Weston. Wentworth was the chief adviser of Charles in civil matters.

Wentworth's aim was to make Charles quite independent of Parliament. At first he was a critic of the King's policy but he deserted his own friends and joined the Court Party. The grateful king raised him to the peerage in 1628. He advised the King to maintain a strong army to crush opposition with a strong hand. He was for seven years (1633—1640), The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His system of government was known as "Thorough' because it aimed at trampling down all opposition and to secure efficiency by using all sorts of methods—however crude and rough. His reign has been described by some as one of terror. "He aimed at protecting the royal prerogatives and organising despotism into a system." In 1641 the Long Parliament charged him with treason, passed a bill of Attainder against him and he was sent to the gallows. His last words were:

"Put not your trust in Princes,
Nor in the sons of Man,
For in them,
There is no salvation."

He meant to say that people on the earth are all ungrateful and we must not trust them.

Laud. Laud was the friend of Wentworth and became the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He was a man of vast learning and wonderful energy. He made many changes to please the Catholics thus offending the Puritans. He used the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission for punishing those who opposed his religious policy. Clergymen who refused to follow his religious policy were ruthlessly driven away from their posts and it is said that three men had even their ears cut off for writing pamphlets against Laud's Church policy. His oppressive church policy was to a very great extent responsible for preparing the way for the Civil War or the Puritan Revolution as it was called. Laud was accused of treason and a Bill of Attainder was passed against him by which he was executed in 1645 just four years after Wentworth. It was to a very great extent the religious policy of Laud that inflamed the temper of the opposition and prepared it for the great civil war.

N.B. The Bill of Attainder charged a person with high treason, did not judge him according to the merits of the case, gave the accused no opportunity of defending himself. The accused was sent to the gallows unheard and undefended.

The Bill of Attainder to be effective had to receive the royal assent alone. If it was given, the accused had to meet death without being given an opportunity to defend himself.

In a Bill of Impeachment the accused was given an opportunity to defend himself and the royal assent alone was not enough to send him to the gallows. He could be heard in self-defence.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE, 1641

The Grand Remonstrance also called the solemn Remonstrance was the famous document drawn up by the Long Parliament on November 22, 1641 A.D. It clearly made a mention of all the evil deeds, illegal actions of Charles I from the beginning of his rule. It also laid down a programme for the future.

It made two immediate demands:

1. The king should appoint only those persons as ministers who are approved by the Parliament.

2. The King should not interfere with the religious matters of the country and that a synod of Divines should look to the affairs of the Church.

In effect the Parliament claimed sovereignty both in Church and State but the king was not prepared to part with his powers and prerogatives. This led to a serious clash between the King and the Parliament. The King charged five members of the House of Commons (including its leaders Pym and Hampden) with high treason. He rushed to the House of Commons to arrest them but they had already left the House. This made the Civil War inevitable.

Q. Describe briefly the Puritan Revolution or the Rebellion of the Parliament or the Great Civil War of England from 1642—1649.

Q. Discuss the causes of the Great Civil War of England (1642).

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

The causes of the great Civil War or the Puritan Revolution have been divided into two parts: General Causes and Immediate Causes

A. General Causes

1. *Despotic Rule and Civil Oppression of Charles I.* Charles ruled the country most despotically with the help of his minister Wentworth from 1629 to 1640. This period is rightly known in English history as 'Eleven Years' Tyranny.' During this period heavy fines were imposed on the people through the Court of High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber and many persons were imprisoned without trial. He ruled without Parliament for eleven years. As a firm believer in the Divine Right Theory he ruled as a most absolute sovereign. During the eleven years there was no Parliament in the country and the king and his favourite ministers were the sole masters of the situation and ruled the country as they liked.

2. *Illegal Means for Raising Money.* He got money by reviving the monopolies, by imposing tonnage and poundage, by fines and illegal taxes. He imposed heavy fines on the qualified persons who did not take knighthood and who broke proclamations and old forgotten laws.

Charles I also imposed the 'Ship Money' tax. It was an old tax levied on sea-coast towns to arrange for ships in times of war. Charles imposed this tax not only upon coast towns but also upon inland counties. The people complained against this tax because it was levied without Parliamentary grant. John Hampden refused to pay this tax and was arrested. This created great discontent in the country and the people were so much excited that they were prepared to go any length against the king.

N.B. John Hampden, a member of the House of Commons, was brave enough to challenge that the 'Ship-Money' tax was illegal. He was a man of very great ability, very great power of persuasion, keen intelligence, ripe learning and a character pure and lovable.

3. *Ordaining Power*. Charles I issued frequent proclamations (the proclamations had the force of law) with the help of his Council and enforced them through the Court of Star Chamber. The Court of Star Chamber was a powerful instrument of oppression in the hands of Charles. The King could indulge in any illegal act and arbitrary measure with the help of this Court.

4. *Harsh Religious Policy of Charles I*. He favoured the Catholics alone and was very harsh to others, specially the Puritans and the Presbyterians. He tried to enfoce his own religious views upon the people and this brought him into serious clash with the people and the Parliament which consisted of majority of Puritans. Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King's favourite used the Courts of Star Chamber High Commission to inflict severe punishments on those persons who refused to follow the king's religious views. The King was a staunch Catholic but all people were not prepared to be Catholics. It caused general discontent throughout the country. There was thus a serious conflict between the King and the Parliament on the ground of King's religious policy.

5. *Lack of Political Insight*. Both the father and the son (James I and Charles I) lacked political insight. They were tactless and failed to understand the trend of times and the pulse of the nation. They did not know when to remain firm and when to yield to the popular will and the Parliament. They did not possess breadth of vision and a sympathetic mind that could attract the people towards them.

Their lack of political insight combined with their unwise religious policy and autocratic principles of government made them extremely unpopular. They had failed to see that a strange awakening of national consciousness had taken place in England after the defeat of the Armada and by the time Charles I ascended the throne this feeling had become deeply rooted among all the classes of the nation. If James and Charles were politically wise they should have made a compromise with the Parliament and carried on the government of the country in a spirit of mutual co-operation and acted on the policy of 'give and take.'

B. Immediate Causes

1. *Grand Remonstrance*. The Parliament had drawn up the Grand Remonstrance which set forth the King's illegal actions and arbitrary measures in which he had been indulging from the beginning of his reign. The Parliament also made two immediate demands —(i) The King can appoint only those ministers who are approved by

the Parliament; (ii) The King's interference in religious affairs of the people is an encroachment on their rights and liberties and that there should be a synod of divines for the reform of church. This enraged the King and he assumed a strongly revengeful attitude.

2. *King's attempt to arrest five members of Parliament.* A little before certain Royalist bishops had been imprisoned by the House of Commons. The King took it as a great personal insult. To avenge this the King impeached those members of Parliament, five in number, who had taken the most active part against the said Royalist bishops. Charles entered the House of Commons to arrest these members but they had already escaped. This was a fatal blunder that Charles could commit. The Commons took it as an insult of the House and strongly resented the King's action. There was widespread discontent against the King in the country.

3. *King's refusal to agree to the Militia Bill.* A rebellion broke out in Ireland and had to be put down. The Parliament did not wish that the army should be led and controlled by the King. A Militia Bill was introduced in the Parliament according to which the army was to be controlled not by the King but by the Parliament. The King did not agree. It enraged the Parliament and it began to think seriously of the war with the King. The Parliament still wanted to avoid war and so it offered certain terms to Charles for that purpose. Charles refused to accept these terms, brought mercenary soldiers into England and set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal for war. The Civil War began in 1642.

Parties. The North and West, the Roman Catholics, the country gentry, with their retainers and servants were for the King. They were called the Cavaliers because they were horsemen or gentlemen and were known for their finery and gallantry. The South and East, the Puritans and the industrial and trading classes (who were generally rich) supported the Parliament. They were known as the Roundheads because they wore their hair short.

The Royalist forces were commanded by the King, his nephew Prince Rupert, a brilliant cavalry leader and Falkland. The Parliamentary forces were under the command of Essex, Hampden, Cromwell and Fairfax.

The Great Civil War is divided into two parts—First Civil War 1642—1646, Second Civil War 1646—1649.

EVENTS OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR 1642—1646

1. *Battle of Edgehill*, 1642. It was a bloody but indecisive conflict though the king had some advantage over his opponents. The King's soldiers were better disciplined and Prince Rupert, in command of the Royal Army, was a born cavalry leader.

2. *Battle of Chalgrove*, 1643. The King's army won the victory and Hampden, a Parliamentary general, was killed. The same year the First Battle of Newbury was fought which was indecisive but the King had some advantage.

The Royalist success did not last King for Oliver Cromwell, the ablest and most successful leader of the Parliamentary forces, soon discovered the defects of the army. By the Self-Denying Ordinance passed by Parliament, all Parliamentary commanders had to resign except Cromwell, and he set himself to carry out reforms. He soon raised a well-disciplined army known as the 'New Model Army.' Cromwell's soldiers were called the Ironsides (because their sides were as strong as iron). They soon turned the tide of events. Besides, to strengthen its forces, the Parliament asked help from the Scots, to which they agreed. By the Solemn League and Covenant England agreed to adopt presbyterianism and the Scots agreed to give help.

3. *Battle of Marston Moor*, 1644. Cromwell and his brave soldiers Ironsides completely defeated the royalist army.

4. *Battle of Naseby*, 1645. It was the most decisive battle where the entire Royalist and Parliamentary forces met on June 14. 1645. The Royalists were completely routed with no hope to recover their position. Thousands of the Royalists were taken prisoners and all their guns, ammunition and weapons of war were captured.

5. *Second Battle of Newbury*, 1645. The King's forces were defeated. They suffered great losses and their war material was captured.

6. *Battle of Naseby*, 1645. The Royal army suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Parliamentary leaders like Cromwell and Fairfax.

After this the Royal army was defeated at several places and in 1646 Charles, thoroughly defeated and disappointed on all sides. surrendered himself to the Scots who handed him over to the English Parliament for a large sum of money.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR 1646—1649

Charles was put under guard and detained a prisoner in his own palace. Differences arose between the Parliamentary leaders as to the treatment of Charles. The Presbyterians and the Independents who formed the two main parties in the Parliament differed from each other on the point of treatment to be meted out to Charles. The Presbyterians were in favour of restoring Charles to the throne by placing such limits to his power as would not allow him to misgovern in future. The Independents wanted to deprive him of the throne and take a violent action against him. Seeing this state of affairs, Charles decided to run away to the Isle of Wight where he was kept a close prisoner.

Charles entered into a secret agreement with the Scots by which he promised to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years if the Scots succeeded in getting back the throne of England for him.

A Second Civil War, therefore, began wih the English Presbyterians and Scots on the one side and the Army on the other. The people of Kent and Essex rose in favour of the King but they were soon put down. Cromwell, at the head of the New Model Army, defeated the Scots and the followers and supporters of Charles at Preston and Warrington in 1648. All England was now at the mercy of the New Model Army with Cromwell as its chief Commander. The Army wanted to waste no more time in negotiating with the King and the Parliament and finish things once for all by punishing Charles for his intriguing activities. The army turned one hundred and forty three Presbyterian members out of the House of Commons by means of an armed force under Colonel Pride. This incident, i.e., forcible ejection of the Presbyterians is known as Prides' Purge. After this, the remaining members of the Long Parliament known as the Rump, brought Charles before a High Court of Justice which was specially created for his trial. The King was tried, found guilty of treason and condemned to death. After this mock trial Charles was executed on January 30, 1649, outside his palace of Whitehall in London.

Opinions are different about the justice or injustice on the execution of Charles. There was no wisdom in the decision of the Puritans to send Charles to the scaffold.

Q. (a) Describe the factors and circumstances that led to the ultimate victory of the Parliament over the Royalists in the Civil War. (b) Also describe the results of the Revolution or the effects and Constitutional significance of the Puritan Revolution. *Or,*

Q. Why did King Charles I fail in the Civil War? *Or,*

Q. How would you account for the success of the Puritan Revolution? How did it effect the future constitution of the country?

The Civil War was fought during 1642—49 in which the Royalits had the advantage over the Parliament at the outset but in the long run the cause of the Royalists was doomed to suffer and the ultimate victory was won by the Parliament.

CAUSES AND CIRCUMSTANCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ULTIMATE VICTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT

1. *Charles I had Forfeited the Sympathies of his Subjects.* Charles was a bad and unsympathetic ruler. He had no respect for his promises and the laws of the country. He was always quick to make promises but very slow to perform them and often he did not perform them at all. He raised money by illegal ways and levied heavy fines for the breach of old and long-forgotton laws and proclamations. Charles and his agents (Wentworth, Laud and others) ruled the country in the most despotic way. He had established three extraordinary courts (Star Chamber, Court of High Commission and Council of the North) to enforce the laws against his subjects as he liked and to punish the people as he directed them to do. The so-called courts of justice were in fact engines of oppression. The people had come to hate his tyrannical rule and they were anxious to get rid of it. He had thus lost sympathies, support and good will of his people. Majority of the people sided with the Parliament against the king Charles during the Civil War.

favour. There was a strong reaction in favour of monarchy. Cromwell himself said that the execution of King Charles was a 'cruel necessity.'

4. After the execution of Charles I the army and the Rump (the residue of the Long Parliament) forcibly seized much of the land of the supporters and the followers of Charles.

5. The English constitution broke down. Monarchy was abolished. It was voted that the House of Lords was "useless and dangerous and ought to be abolished." Thus the House of Lords was also abolished and a Council of State consisting of forty-one members was set up to carry on the government of the country. The Rump did not represent the nation.

6. The Commonwealth was established. It was an irregular and peculiar form of government since there was no monarchy, no House of Lords and no House of Commons like before. A Council of State consisting of forty-one members had been appointed to perform the duties formerly belonging to the King's ministers. The old order of things was quite upset by establishing this irregular system of carrying on the government.

7. Most of the members of the Rump and the Council of State consisting of fortyone members which had been now set up to carry on the government of the country were the same. The entire power, therefore, both legislative and executive came to rest in a close oligarchy (government by the few).

8. The rule of the army was established by Cromwell. It was a sort of military despotism which took the place of civil tyranny and oppression. Cromwell was forced to introduce rule of the sword though he had to do so under the force of circumstances. Military despotism was as much a failure under Cromwell as the royal tyranny of Charles I.

Kipling has thus described the situation: They abolished the House of Lords the day after they had murdered the King. In reality they had abolished Law, Order and the old natural constitution; and all their efforts for the next eleven years to put anything artificial in its place were hopeless failures. The one real fact left in England was the Army; this meant the 'Rule of the Sword', the worst of all conceivable tyrannies, however good the men may be who wield the Sword."

Permanent Effects of the Puritan Revolution

The permanent results of the Puritan Revolution were:

1. Restoration of Limited Monarchy.
2. Restoration of Parliament with increased powers.
3. Restoration of the old Church the control of which was completely in the hands of the Parliament.
4. Restoration of the confiscated property of the Royalists.
5. Restoration of the Social Life.

self-interest and he was constantly anxious ... whom he dearly loved. He

For details please study the effects or the Significance of the Restoration in Chapter X.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

Describe the character of Charles I. What advantages had he over his father? To what extent was his character responsible for the great catastrophe of his reign?

Sketch the history of the relations between Charles I and the Parliament up to the year 1640, *laying special emphasis on those aspects of his policy which hastened the Civil War.*

How far was the Eleven Years' Tyranny (1629—1640) *responsible for the Civil War of Charles I's reign?*

Describe the work and achievements of the Long Parliament.

Give the causes and effects of the Great Civil War of the reign of Charles I.

(a) How far was Charles I personally responsible for the Great Civil War (1642—1649)?

"The Great Rebellion that began in 1642 *was, as it were, brewing and germinating all through the reigns of James I and his son." (Mowat). Do you agree with the statement—Hints for Answer: The causes that were responsible for the Great Rebellion of* 1642 *had their beginnings in the reign of James I. The seeds of these causes were sown in the reign of James I. They developed and bore their fruit in the reign of Charles I.*

State the causes of the Victory of the Parliament over the King in the Great Civil War.

What part did religion play in hastening the Civil War?

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMONWEALTH (1649—1653) OR PURITAN RULE

> *"Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad."*
>
> —CLARENDON

(*The time during which the throne remained vacant*).

(i) The Rump, 1649—1653.

(ii) Oliver Cromwell, 1653—1658.

(iii) Richard Cromwell 1658-1659 (eighteen months).

(iv) Clash between Army and Parliament.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND ITS PRINCIPLES

Thus England became a "Commonwealh"—a form of government in which the power rests with the people for the common or public well-being—but, in fact, it was ruled by the army.

After the execution of Charles I, the Rump (consisting of the remaining members of the Long Parliament) abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords and established a Republic or Commonwealth. The Rump Parliament made the following announcements on February 6, 1649. "......The office of a King in this nation and to have the power thereof in any single person is unnecessary and burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interest of the people of this nation and there of ought to be aboished.

Regarding the House of Lords, the Rump Parliament said that it should be abolished because it was useless and dangerous. The Rump itself did the legislative work and it appointed a Council of State consisting of forty-one members to do the executive work, but most of the members of the Council of State were taken from the Rump. The Rump ruled for four years, i.e., 1649-1653. Its principles were:

1. Freedom of Speech. 2. No taxation without the consent of the Parliament. 3. Government of the people, for the people, by the people. 4. Equality. 5. Liberty of conscience.

EARLY PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES OF COMMONWEALTH

Problems and Difficulties at Home. The task before the Commonwealth was very difficult. The masses in England hated the Commonwealth. The Anglicans were displeased because their rites were abolished and their bishops were deprived of their livings. Discontent prevailed among the Presbyterians because their religious and political programmes remained unfulfilled; more than anything else were the differences among the ruling party. The Levellers were dissatisfied.

Suppression of the Mutiny of the Levellers. The Levellers were not satisfied with the form of government established in the country and wanted a government more 'democratic' in spirit. They instigated the soldiers to rise into mutiny but the mutiny was put down with great severity by Cromwell.

Problems and Difficulties Abroad. The Commonwealth was faced with equally grave problems and difficulties abroad. The foreign rulers refused to recognize the new government of England. Some of the dominions and territories of England actually rebelled against England and Ireland and Scotland declared Charles II, the son of Charles I. as their King. Holland was also jealous of England for commercial reasons.

Conquest of Ireland. Ireland favoured the cause of Prince Charles V, son of Charles I and threatened England with an Irish invasion. Cromwell defeated the Irish in the battles of Drogheda and Wexford and reduced them to submission.

Conquest of Scotland. The Scots also supported Prince Charles. Cromwell defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar in 1650. Charles then invaded England with the help of the Scottish army but he was defeated by Cromwell at Worcester in 1651. (Ultimately Cromwell united Ireland and Scotland with England).

Defeat of Holland. In 1651 a Navigation Act was passed which forbade foreign goods to be brought into England except by English vessels or those of the country which produced the goods. This led to Dutch War which ended in 1654. The Dutch were defeated who accepted the Navigation Act and recognized the supremacy of England on the sea.

It goes to the credit of Cromwell who ultimately established peace and order in the country and reduced to submission all rebellious elements.

Expulsion of the Rump, 1653. Cromwell expelled the Rump (the remnant of the Long Parliament) as it did not represent the nation and ruled tyrannically.

The government of the Commonwealth had lasted from 1649—1653. At last Cromwell quarrelled with the Rump and drove the members out of the House by force.

Q. Describe what you know about the Protectorate of Cromwell (1653-1658). *Or,*

Q. Describe briefly the career of Oliver Cromwell with particular reference to his policy at home (Home and religious policy).

PROTECTORATE OF CROMWELL (1653—1658)

Barebone's or Little Parliament. After the expulsion of the

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PROTECTORATE OF CROMWELL (1653—1658)

Barebone's or Little Parliament. After the expulsion of the

Rump, administration fell into the hands of a Council of Officers. The Council selected a number of Puritans for the purpose of governing the country. This was called the Little or Barebone's Parliament. Its members were more like saints and did not take any active interest in the affairs of the country. Cromwell did not agree with their policy and so dissolved it.

The Instrument of Government—1653

The Council of Officers drew up a scheme for the future government of England called the Instrument of Government. It provided: (1) England, Scotland and Ireland to be united into one commonwealth. (2) There was to be only one Parliament, the House of Commons, containing four hundred members from the three kingdoms. This Parliament was to have all the legislative power.

It was to meet only once a year. The life of the Parliament was three years, i.e., it was to be re-elected at the end of every three years. (3) The executive was to consist of the Lord Protector to be assisted by a Council of State which was to consist of not less than thirteen and not more than twenty-one members. The Protector had no power to dismiss any member of the Council. (4) A large army was to be kept permanently. (5) Toleration was to be extended to all except the Papists and the Prelatists. (6) Under the Instrument of Government, Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector and given the executive power. He was also given a fixed minimum revenue with which to carry on the government of the country. Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector for life. (7) Cromwell could only delay annual laws for twenty days.

Nature of the Instrument:

It had two main aims:

1. To give Cromwell a kind of limited monarchy for life;
2. To prevent a despotic government—The Council of State was to act as a check on the Protector and the Protector was to control the Parliament.

Cromwell and his Parliaments:

(1) In 1554 met the first Protectorate Parliament. There was a dispute between this Parliament and Cromwell as to the powers of the latter. Cromwell dissolved the Parliament.

(2) In 1556 Cromwell summoned his second Parliament as he required money for his foreign wars.

This Parliament drew up the Humble Petition and Advice. This was a scheme of government by which:

1. Cromwell was asked to take the title of King with the right to nomination of his successors;
2. Cromwell was also asked to nominate members of a House of Lords;
3. Cromwell was not empowered to exclude members of the Parliament.

4. A fixed revenue was to be granted for the army, the navy and the administration of the country; and
5. The Papists (Catholics, i.e., followers of the Pope) were not to be tolerated.

Cromwell refused to accept the title of 'King' though he agreed to other terms. Cromwell dissolved this Parliament as the Commons attacked the Upper House nominated by Cromwell.

Career and Rule of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was born at Hutingdon in 1599. He studied at the Cambridge University but he was not a brilliant student. He was, however, fond of sports and other physical activities. He belonged to a land-owning family which had occupied a good position for several generations. He spent his early years in farming and became a member of the Parliament in 1628 and was again elected member of both the Short and Long Parliaments in 1640. He was so much disgusted with the despotic and non-parliamentary rule of Charles I that he seriously thought of selling his farm and settling in America, but circumstances did not permit him to do so. He took no active part in political life during the tyrannical rule of Charles (1629—1640). When the Civil War broke out between Parliament and Charles I he felt very much delighted. He took a very active part in the Civil War as the most competent general on the Parliamentary side. He trained up a body of God-fearing soldiers, filled them with intense religious zeal called the new Model Army and Ironsides. He gained brilliant success at Marston Moor, Naseby and Preston. The successes in the Civil War were due to his courage, skill and iron determination. After the execution of Charles I the real rule of the country was in the hands of Cromwell. He conquered Ireland, subjugated Scotland, destroyed the naval supremacy of the Dutch and humiliated Spain. He successfully overcame the early difficulties and problems of the Commonwealth at home and abroad and became Protector in 1653 under the Instrument of Government.

His Home or Internal Policy. He ruled wisely and justly so long as no opposition was shown to him and no obstacles were thrown in his way. The three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland were united for the first time under a single Parliament under him. His first Parliament opposed him in many ways and so he dissolved it. He then ruled as a military despot. He divided England into eleven military districts and placed each of them under a soldier with the title of Major General with unlimited powers. He levied taxes without the consent of Parliament and turned out judges who criticised his actions and system of government. The Major Generals were withdrawn when he summoned his Second Parliament. He was asked to accept the title of the King but he refused to do so.

But the best thing about him was that he never forgot the good of his people. He wanted to improve their character and raise their moral tone in every possible way. This is however to be admitted that his domestic policy was despotic and this was unpleasant to many but he was never revengeful and had the best interests of the people at heart. The real difficulty was that some people had failed to form the correct idea of his worth for his ideals were very high and far in advance of time.

He gave his people peace and order which enabled them to pursue their vocations most peacefully and thus improved their economic condition. To give his people equal justice he reformed the law courts and removed their grave defects. To wipe off illiteracy and ignorance from among his people he founded a large number of schools and also the University of Durbam. Learning and literature were encouraged and great writers patronized. To improve the social condition of his people he removed evils prevalent in the society and thus raised the social and moral standard of his people. Every branch of life even the Church received his full attention for reform; a number of church reforms were introduced and the corrupt and morally degraded clergy who constituted a menace to the Church were removed from their posts.

In some respects Cromwell's rule was as despotic as that of Charles I but still there was no revolution in his time. The reason for this is not far to seek. Charles was all evil and vice. He was all despotism and had no good traits of character. Cromwell though despot was decidedly a far better ruler than Charles. Cromwell was a despot, no doubt, but his despotism was of a far nobler type, since he always aimed at the good of his people and the constant motto before him was 'to strive for the well-being of the people.' Cromwell was a great administrator, statesman and patriot and a person who had always the good of his people at heart and who did so much to improve the condition of his people.

It has been correctly remarked that his greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad. It is really true that Cromwell's foreign policy was most vigorous, energetic and successful and made England a great power and thus the glory and greatness which Cromwell achieved for himself and his country was far greater than his success and achievement at home. (For this please study his foreign policy in the next answer and it will help us to know that the greatness which Cromwell achieved at home was insignificant as compared to greatness he won abroad). Some persons consider his home policy a failure for he ruled like a military despot and cared neither for the wishes of the Parliament nor those of his people. He was well-intentioned and his ideas were so high and noble that the masses were unable to appreciate them.

His Religious Policy. He was a devout Christian and feared God. His two objectives were popular government and freedom of religion. A man of intense religious feelings, he looked upon all he did, due to God's providence. He prepared the ground for religious toleration. He gave liberty of worship to all religious sects except the Catholics. Practically all the Puritan sects were tolerated. The 'Society of Friends' also known as the 'Quakers' was founded under him and it made a nice contribution to the spiritual life of the country. Even the Jews were free to worship as they liked and were allowed

self-interest and he was constantly anxious to add to the
whom he dearly loved. He

to return to England. He ordered an enquiry to be made into the character of clergymen and turned out those who were vicious or in any way disloyal to the Commonwealth. This was really a great service to the cause of Christianty. His desire was to make the people lead strictly pure lives, and as such under him innocent amusements like singing, dancing, drawing painting etc., were forbidden for fear of corrupting the people. "Trust in God and keep your powder dry" is said to have been the advice he gave to his soldiers. He persecuted no sect on religious ground. He was liberal even in the age of persecution. He was sometimes misunderstood for his liberal religious views were far in advance of time.

Q. Give a brief account of the foreign policy of Cromwell. *Or,*

Q. "The Commonwealth had done something at all events to restore the prestige which England had lost in Europe under the first two Stuarts." Explain and substantiate. *Or,*

Q. The historian Clarendon says, "Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "England was more warlike during the period of the Commonwealth than she had been at any other time since the Hundred Years' War with France". Elucidate. *Or,*

Q. "Cromwell was not only a militant Protestant; he was imperalist." Discuss. *Or,*

Q. "Dazling as its immediate results were, the foreign policy of Cromwell, inspired purely by militarist ideas, was wholly mistaken." (Ramsay Muir). Comment.

CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY AND WARS

Cromwell was a great military General. He made England a first-class power. He followed a bold, forward, wise and vigorous foreign policy. He was a desperate soldier who met every-where with success.

Three aspects of his warlike policy may be noticed. In the first place, Cromwell had to oppose the Royalist enemies of the Commonwealth. Secondly, he had to undertake a commercial war with Holland. Thirdly, he had to attach the Spanish Colonies in the New World. Neither during the Tudor period nor during the reigns of the first two Stuarts did England engage in so many conflicts in different parts of the world.

The main points in his foreign policy are given as under:

War with Ireland. Strong man like Wentworth had kept Ireland under complete control but after his death, Irish affairs had got into a deplorable condition. Serious quarrels broke out between native Irish and English colonists. People rose into a rebellion to support the claim of Prince Charles (son of Charles I) to the throne of England. The Irish had strong sympathies with the Stuarts and wanted to secure the throne of England. Cromwell marched against them at the head of a strong army, lion and defeated them at Drogheda, Wexford, Killkenny and other places (1649). The unarmed Irish were killed in thousands, St. Peter's Church where many Irish had taken refuge was set on fire and destroyed. Many Irish were sent as slaves to Barbados. The rebellion was crushed with full force and in three months Cromwell was master of Ireland. Ultimately Ireland was united with England.

War with Scotand. Like Ireland, Scotland too supported the cause of Prince Charles and showed every practical sympathy for the Stuarts. After receiving the news of the execution of Charles I, the Scots at once proclaimed Prince Charles as the king of England. Charles II landed in Scotland in 1650 and the Covenanters were willing to fight for him and give him every support when he swore to uphold the Government and the Presbyterian religion. Cromwell was sent to Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men to control the situation. He defeated the Scots under David Leslie who were seized with great terror and panic. Many Scots were killed or taken prisoner and all their baggage and artillery seized in the battle of Dunbar. In 1651 a new army was formed by the Royalists and Covenanters, and Charles II was crowned at Scone after swearing to observe the League and Covenant. Cromwell gained possession of Fife, and cut Charles off from the north of Scotland. Charles marched southwards. Cromwell overtook and defeated him in the battle of Worcester. General Leslie was taken prisoner, and Charles fled in disguise to Normandy. Thus the royal cause in Scotland was destroyed.

War with Holland. In 1651 the English Parliament passed the Navigation Act which laid down that the goods imported to England were to be carried in English ships or in the ships of the country which produced the goods. The Dutch (the people of Holland) had been following the 'carrying trade' (carrying goods from one place to another) for some time and thus making great profits. The Navigation Act seriously affected the Dutch carrying-trade and caused them immense loss. 'Their shipping industry suffered a great loss, as the Dutch were the chief carriers from foreign countries.' This led to a war between England and Holland which lasted from 1652 to 1654. The Dutch fleet under Admiral Tromp was defeated by the English under Blake in the English Channel. The war continued with varying fortunes, but the Dutch were completely defeated in the end. Peace was made between the two countries and the Dutch agreed to the Navigation Act and acknowledged the English supremacy on the sea. The treaty with Holland proved highly advantageous to England.

Formation of the Protestant League. Cromwell made a league of the four Protestant countries known as the Protestant League. The League consisted of Denmark, Sweden, Holland and England. He was in the true sense a saviour of Protestantism and spared no opportunity to protect them. He concluded a treaty with France and thereby saved the French Protestants from persecution. The Protestants of the whole of Europe looked to him for protection him the 'Saviour of Protestantism.'

England and France. Cromwell was in the true sense a 'Saviour of Protestantism'. He asked the French King to stop his policy of persecuting the Protestants and give them a better treatment. The French King Louis XIV at once agreed to his proposal and this ready acceptance on his part brought the two countries nearer and helped to increase the prestige of Cromwell.

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England and Portugal. Cromwell who was always anxious to increase the prosperity of England made a commercial treaty with Portugal by which he secured a number of trade-concessions for England. The concessions thus secured proved highly advantageous to the English people.

England and Spain. On the continent, Spain and France were fighting each other. Cromwell made an alliance with France and defeated the Spainsh fleet at Santa Cruz and took the Island of Jamaica from the Spaniards. A little after, an Anglo-French army attacked the town of Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands. Dunkirk was captured and the French King handed it over to Cromwell.

Criticism of Cromwell's Foreign Policy. Cromwell made a mistake in siding with France against Spain. Spain was already a declining power. By helping France against Spain, Cromwell made the King of France a formidable monarch who could upset the balance of power and thus disturb the peace of Europe. Thus helping France against Spain was wrong in principle. In siding with France Cromwell rendered a disservice to England for it enabled Louis XIV to lay the foundation of his enormous power which afterwards proved so dangerous to the peace and harmony of Europe. His foreign policy would have been considered still more successful if he had helped the weak and declining Spain against a powerful France for that would not have upset the balance of power.

Results of Cromwell's Foreign Policy. Cromwell's foreign policy which was bold and energetic proved very successful. It won England a position she had not had since the days of Elizabeth. It raised England from a low to a position of prodominance in Europe. The power and prestige of England were enhanced and she became a very important nation on the continent. Cromwell won for England a maritime supremacy which she has ever since retained.

"Cromwell was eminently successful in making England a great power. The defeat of the Dutch in the Dutch wars and the humiliation of the Spaniards made her the greatest commercial power in the east. He thus greatly increased England's colonial possessions and considerably enhanced her prestige in the eyes of the European powers. He really laid the foundations of the future greatness of England. He made England supreme on the seas as well as on the land."

The brilliant results of Cromwell's foreign policy lead us to conclude that the Commonwealth had done something at all events to restore the prestige which England had lost under the first two Stuarts.

Cromwell upheld the honour of England by his wise and powerful policy and made England a great country. Thus we see that his foreign policy was so successful that Cromwell's greatness at home appeared to be a mere shadow of his greatness abroad. This is true that Cromwell's policy brought greatness to him but his foreign policy bore greater fruit and brought Cromwell greater honour.

Ramsay Muir's criticism of Cromwell's foreign policy is exaggerated. Who can deny that his foreign policy strengthened England's position on the whole by adding immensely to its power and prestige? Again, who can deny that England gained strength and influence on the sea and that Cromwell had done at all events something to restore the prestige which England had lost in Europe under the first two Stuarts (James I and Charles I), who can deny that Cromwell made England formidable and respected abroad? Cromwell deserves credit for all this and England is grateful to him for his efforts to make it a great country. In 1649 after the execution of Charles I the situation at home and abroad got so worse that only a person of the calibre of Cromwell could control it. It goes to the credit of Cromwell to have controlled this difficult position with success.

Q. What is your estimate of Cromwell. *Or,*

Q. Describe Cromwell's character, work and achievement. What is his place in history? *Or,*

Q. Discuss the importance of Cromwell's political career in the history of England. *Or,*

Q. Describe Cromwell's contribution towards making England a powerful country in Europe.

AN ESTIMATE OF CROMWELL OR HIS WORK AND ACHIEVEMENT

IMPORTANCE OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER

A Man of High Aims and Ideals. He was brave, dutiful and devout. He was ambitious yet patriotic. In private life he was generous and cheerful, frank and amiable. His aim in life was to save Protestantism and make England formidable and respectable abroad. Cromwell never lost sight of the high ideals that occupied his mind. He was energetic and always anxious to improve the condition of England both at home and abroad. His first anxiety was to do away with the anarchy and chaos that prevailed in the country in 1649. His speeches reveal that he always carefully remembered his ideals. He never wanted personal gain but his constant anxiety was to seek the welfare of England.

A Great Military Genius. He was a great military genius and one of the ablest generals that England had ever produced. He was the greatest soldier of his age, a man who was expert in military tactics and one who could inspire his followers with extraordinary zeal and courage. He was a daring fighter who minded no danger and who cared for no fears.

A Great Patriot. Cromwell never looked to any personal advantage or self-interest and he was constantly anxious to add to the power and position of his countrymen whom he dearly loved. He was really one of the greatest sons of England who made every sacrifice to promote the well-being of his countrymen. As one of the greatest sons of England, he was given the honour of burial in West Minster Abbey; it is an honour which is conferred only upon the chosen few.

His Successful Foreign Policy Made England a Great Power. A great historian has remarked as follows:

> "He was always anxious to further the interests of his own country and his despotic rule saw the establishment of English supremacy over the seas as well as in the continent. He was completely successful in making England a great power. What he did at home was very insignificant as compared to what he achieved and accomplished abroad. That is why it has been said that his greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad. He enhanced the glory and greatness of England by his foreign policy, and thus added much to its significance.. The defeat of the Dutch and the Spaniards made her the greatest commercial power in the East. The last years of Cromwell are marked by the splendid achievements of English arms abroad, on both sea and land, in a war against Spain, during which the important prizes of Jamaica and Dunkirk were taken by the English. He thus greatly increased England's colonial possessions and considerably enhanced her prestige in the eyes of the European powers. He really laid the foundations of the future greatness of England."

The prestige that England had lost in Europe under the early Stuart kings was restored under Cromwell. It is undoubtedly true that he was a great general and can compare favourably with the greatest that England has produced in her history. In no single campaign was he ever defeated, and the discipline that he imposed on himself and his army testifies to his self-control and capacity to command.

A Great Statesman. Union of British Isles. He was also a sound statesman. He foresaw that the future of England lay in her union with Scotland and Ireland and he laboured to unite both of these countries on the basis of economic equality. As a far-sighted statesman he could clearly judge that the permanent union of England, Scotland and Ireland was the only road of the strength and prosperity of the British Isles and that as long as they worked in co-operation and with a good will, they could successfully face even the greatest danger.

Improvement in the Navy. He also put the English Navy on a sound footing because he could see a brilliant future of England in becoming a strong sea-power. It was with this view that he strengthened the navy and made it very efficient. It was with her strong and efficient navy that England in Cromwell's time and long after him could win her great and memorable victories on the sea and thus make her a great naval, commercial and colonial power. It is rightly said that to Cromwell belongs the credit of the revival of English sea-power and the establishment of the navy on a basis of permanent efficiency. During his reign English seamen began to establish their influence.

Tolerant from Religious Point of View. He had granted religious liberty to all except the Roman Catholics. A man of intense religious feelings, he thought that whatever he did and achieved was through God's will and grace. He persecuted no religious sect, for he was God-fearing. He was large-hearted and his ideas of toleration were far more liberal than those generally prevalent during his own life-time.

His Place in History. Cromwell is entitled to a high place in the first row of great soldiers, administrators and statesmen of England who mould the destinies of nations. The success in the Civil War was mostly due to his courage, determination and organisation of the army known as the New Medel.

At the outset, the Commonwealth was faced with a very difficult task on all sides. The people themselves were bitterly hostile to the Commonwealth. With a firm hand he prevented lawlessness and anarchy caused by the unruly element. He had also to prevent the disruption of the British Empire. In 1649 on the whole the position of England was very critical and it was universally thought that either the British power would be destroyed and dissolved into various parts of which it was composed or Prince Charles would become the King of England by the sword and aid of foreign soldiers. But Cromwell by virtue of his great qualities allowed neither the dissolution of the British Empire nor left a chance for Prince Charles to reconquer the throne of his father. He bravely stood the test of the time and ruthlessly crushed those who stood in his way to give peace to the land that had been long sick of the war conditions.

His home policy was based to a certain extent on military despotism but that was for the nation's good. From the accession of James I (1603) to 1649 the country had been subjected to a tyrannical rule. Cromwell who was always anxious to promote the best interests of his people ruled wisely and justly so long as no opposition was shown to him. He secured best trade facilities and concessions for his people from other countries. He built many schools to spread education and reformed the law courts to give better justice. In his private life he was never fond of any gains or greedy of wealth. He hated shams and insincerities.

He was a true Christian and God-fearing. Though wedded to the cause of Protestantism he gladly extended liberty of worship to all except the Catholics. He had intense religious feelings and looked upon himself as an agent in carrying out the will of the Almighty God. He introduced many reforms in the Church. He was extraordinarily liberal even in the age of persecution. He was above fanaticism and adopted a policy of toleration. He was religious and honest. He even treated politics as a part of religion.

By his bold and vigorous foreign policy he made England a powerful nation in Europe and the credit that it had lost under the first two Stuarts (James I and Charles I) was restored. He raised the prestige of England to the highest point and made her respected and feared in Europe. He saved England when her safety was imperilled and always remained calm and unperturbed in moments of crisis.

Thus Cromwell rendered most valuable services to England by improving its domestic and foreign position and giving it a place of honour among the nations of the world. "Oliver Cromwell was more powerful abroad (as at home) than the preceding Kings of England had been; and his admirals and generals won victories in various parts of the world. He was feared throughout Europe." (Lethbridge). His rule was marked by efficiency, both at home and abroad. He is, sometimes, accused of ruling unconstitutionally. To this the supporters of Cromwell's policy reply that he found his Parliaments less tolerant than himself. His Parliaments would not allow to carry out the policy of 'healing and settling.' When he is charged with the execution of Charles, he said about this charge that Charles's execution was a cruel necessity, i.e., as long as Charles lived there could be no permanent peace and tranquillity in the country. For all this Cromwell deserves the hearty thanks of the English nation and entitles himself to a place of great honour in history.

"His character and exploits have indeed been bitterly criticised, but it is now generally agreed that he is one of the noblest figures in English history, and one of the greatest men of action. But for his military genius, England might have been subjected to royal despotism and the United Kingdom disrupted." (Mukerji). He was one of the greatest of Englishmen and he was honoured and feared to the last.

Q. Examine the various schemes for the governance of England from 1649 to 1660. *Or,*

Q. Describe briefly the various constitutional experiments made during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate between 1649 and 1660. *Or,*

Q. "Cromwell tried one constitutional experiment after the other but each one of his experiments proved to be a failure". Discuss the various constitutional experiments made by Cromwell.

The various constitutional experiments made by Cromwell during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate may be briefly mentioned like this:—

1. Abolition of Monarchy and the House of Lords. Cromwell's rule with the help of the Rump and a Council of State (1649).

2. The Instrument of Government. It was an experiment to try a written and thus a rigid constitution in England. Before this England's constitution was unwritten and flexible. The instrument of Government was the first attempt to change the nature of the English

Constitution, i.e., from unwritten and flexible to written and rigid (1653), respectively.

3. A new scheme of government known as 'The Humble Petition and Advice (1656) was tried last of all.

For all these constitutional experiments and schemes please consult answer previously given.

Q. Discuss briefly the internal administration of Cromwell. Account for the fact that his rule though arbitrary was tolerated by the people whereas for the same defects Charles I lost his life. *Or,*

Q. "Cromwell was but Charles I writ large". Do you agree with this statement? *Or,*

Q. Cromwell's rule was a military despotism for the nation's good". Do you agree with this statement?

Cromwell and Charles I resembled each other in certain important respects and their mentality appeared to be the same. It appeared as if both of them were persons of the same type and one was the exact copy of the other but the minute study of facts shows that it was not so. A superficial observer might easily say that one was as bad as the other and that one failed as much as the other but a careful examination leads us to conclude differently. Charles became very unpopular and his rule was so much hated and he was so obstinate and unyielding that his absolutism and utter disregard to the wishes of the people and the Parliament sent him to gallows but it did not happen so in the case of Oliver Cromwell. The despotic rule of Cromwell was tolerated by the people and they did not rise against him and there was no Civil War in his time as we find in the reign of Charles I. The main reason for this was that Cromwell possessed certain qualities of head and heart which Charles did not. Cromwell's rule though despotic was purely meant for nation's good. Some of Cromwell's actions were meant solely for the well-being of his people as he was a great reformer but Charles lived in a dreamland of his own and had no high ideals. Charles was a thorough believer in the divine right of Kings and as such he had no sympathies with the feelings and aspirations of his subjects. Besides there were several other factors which were responsible for creating a situation favourable for Cromwell.

A. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN OLIVER CROMWELL AND CHARLES I

1. Both of them ruled England as despots, i.e., their government was not based on the consent of the people. Both levied taxes without the consent of Parliament. Under both the burden of taxation was heavy.

2. Both of them could not tolerate opposition and whenever there was anything like an obstruction to thwart their will that was at once removed.

3. Both of them did not co-operate with their Parliaments and

dissolved them when they found that they stood in their way. The relations between them and their Parliaments were far from cordial.

B. DISSIMILARITIES OF THE TWO OR THE FACTORS WHICH MADE THE RULE OF CROMWELL TOLERATED BY THE PEOPLE

1. *Cromwell, a Great Patriot, Administrator and Statesman.* Cromwell is considered to be a great patriot and statesman who rendered great services to his country. His services to his country were praiseworthy. Far more than any body else, it was Cromwell who was responsible for the victories which destroyed the Royalist cause. It was for the first time in history that he created a Parliament to which the English, the Scots and the Irish sent their representatives. On the other hand Charles I was neither a patriot nor a statesman.

2. *Cromwell's Domestic Policy or Reforms.* In the matter of internal government of the country both Charles I and Cromwell were despotic but Cromwell tried to introduce several reforms in the country whereas Charles made no attempt for the benefit of his people.

(i) *Establishment of Peace and Order.* Cromwell suppressed all those elements that were likely to disturb peace and order in the country. People immediately needed a strong man on the throne who could give them the blessings of an orderly government to enable them to follow their vocations with perfect ease and lead a life of peace and security and who could administer even-handed justice to his people.

(ii) He appointed a Commission to bring about a reform in the Law and Law Courts of the country so that people could receive better justice.

(iii) To extend the advantages of education to his people, Cromwell founded many new schools and the University of Durban for the extension and efficient control of education. In this way education received great impetus. Cromwell patronized literature and great writers like Milton and Marvell were duly encouraged by him.

Charles had no such interest and did not bother about introducing reforms in the country or patronizing men of letters and learning. Letters and literature had no attraction for him.

(iv) To improve the social condition of the people, Cromwell forbade by law gambling, theatre-going, dueling, dancing, races, cock-fighting and other such activities as adversely affected the character of his people. Some people looked upon it as undue interference with the private and innocent activities, but he wanted the people to lead a highly pure, noble and natural life so that the foundation of the coming generations might be built on the bedrock of purity and high character.

Charles took no interest in the social activities of the people and let them alone. Charles was selfish and greedy and had no sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of his people.

3. *Cromwell's Religious Policy of Toleration.* Cromwell followed the policy of religious toleration in those days of religious fanati-

cism when religious toleration did not exist in name in other countries of Europe and in England. Except the Papists (extreme followers of the Pope) all other religious sects were granted toleration, i.e., freedom of worship. Even the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans who were opposed to the Commonwealth were allowed to enjoy considerable toleration. The Jews too who had been expelled from England long back were allowed to return and enjoy the right of private worship. The Quakers were also treated leniently. He also introduced a number of important reforms in the Church particularly by driving away the currupt clergy he did a great service to it. This is true that he wanted to protect Protestants but at the same time he did not like to persecute others for religious reasons. Gifted with a liberal mind, Cromwell would have gone even further in granting freedom of religion but his followers did not allow him to go that extent. It goes to the credit of Cromwell that he was found to be tolerant in an age when there was fanaticism and religious persecution alround.

Charles had appointed Laud to protect and advance the Anglican religion. He did not know what toleration meant. He introduced a number of ceremonies and practices which were highly offensive to the Puritans who formed the majority party both among the people and in the Parliament. The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were set up to act as active engines of oppression and injustice and they strongly put down Puritan preachers and publications and all those persons who did not agree with the views of Laud and Charles were most severely punished. There was no religious liberty worth the name.

4. *Bold and Successful Foreign Policy of Cromwell.* It is very correctly said that Cromwell's greatness at home was only a shadow of his greatness abroad. Cromwell defeated the Scots, the Irish and the Dutch. Navy was strengthened which led to the increase of trade and commerce and the expansion of colonial possessions. He made an alliance with France against Spain. (It was a mistake on the part of Cromwell to have made an alliance with France for it strengthened France very much). On the whole his foreign policy made England a powerful country and raised its dignity in Europe. He obtained a wonderful success in his foreign policy and made England a great commercial, colonial and naval power.

5. *Cromwell's Despotism was of a Nobler Type.* There is no doubt that Charles and Cromwell were both despots but Cromwell's despotism was of a nobler type for he never forgot that the end of the government was the well-being of the people. This good trait was missing in Charles's despotism. "Cromwell never sought personal gain or advancement but sincerely worked for the good of his country." Besides, there was efficiency in his government though it was a military despotism. Charles's despotism was found wanting in this.

On the other hand in the time of James I and Charles I the position of England was lowered in the eyes of foreign nations. England played in the hands of France and it had no international position.

Charles had no independent foreign policy and to serve his personal ends he allowed it to be controlled by France. Cromwell never sought personal gains but always had the good of the country at heart. Charles was devoid of all such high ideals.

From the dissimilarities between Cromwell and Charles I it is very clear that Cromwell had always at heart the welfare of his people and was anxious to promote their character and prosperity. He never cared for any personal advantage. He gave to his people peace, order and security. Cromwell was a great patriot, administrator and statesman who took all pains to improve the condition of his people. He granted them religious toleration and freedom of conscience. His greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad. By following a bold and vigorous foreign policy, he made England a powerful country in the world from commercial, colonial and naval point of view. The people could appreciate what Cromwell had done for them. Under these circumstances the people saw no wisdom and sense in rising against their ruler and they tolerated his arbitrary rule. On the other hand Charles's policy had weakened the country and resulted in the Civil War which did incalculable harm to the people. He took no interest in the welfare of his subjects. His rule was arbitrary and they had no bright future in it. That is why they could not tolerate his rule and there was the great Civil War which ultimately resulted in his death.

Q. Why did the attempts to set up a stable form of government during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate fail? *Or,*

Q. Describe the causes to which you would attribute the downfall of the Protectorate. *Or,*

Q. Account for the impermanence of Cromwell's work.

UNPOPULARITY AND FAILURE OF PURITAN REVOLUTION

The following were the main causes that were responsible for the unpopularity or failure of the Puritan Regime or the impermanence of Cromwell's work:—

1. *Too Fast and Too Far.* The promoters of the Puritan Revolution went too fast and too far. At one stroke they abolished the Kingly office, the House of Lords and the Episcopal Church. The masses were not prepared for these revolutionary changes. Their speed was very great and the people could not travel at this rate.

2. *Stern Puritan Rule.* "A pleasure loving nation like the English were anxious for release from the grim constraint compulsory godliness." The people hated the stern Puritan rule, wherein even simple and innocent pleasures were placed under a ban. Harmless amusements, horse racing, bear-baiting, singing, dancing, drawing, painting, etc., had been prohibited. Even theatres and entertainment houses were ordered to be closed. Cromwell wanted to make the English people better and more virtuous by magistrates and soldiers but the people were not prepared to welcome it. Puritan restrictions placed upon the amusements and entertainments of the people made the government unpopular.

3. *The Ideals of Commonwealth Far in Advance of the Time.* The ideals of Commonwealth such as religious toleration, reformed Parliament and strict morality were not liked by the people as these ideals were much before time. The Puritans who controlled the government in the days of Cromwell wanted to create a heaven on earth. They tried to make the English people a nation of saints. Godliness was considered the chief qualification for any service. Even most innocent amusements were prohibited to the people. Cromwell's ideals were far in advance of the time. Cromwell's speed was too fast to be appreciated by the masses. He travelled much faster than his contemporaries.

4. *Unrepresentative Character of Cromwell's Parliament.* Cromwell's Parliaments did not consist of the representatives of the nation. He did not treat his Parliaments properly. He expelled all those members who did not agree with him or stood in his way.

His over-bearing conduct was intolerable to the people. He twice called his Parliament but could not pull on with it. He had to dissolve it.

5. *Cromwell's Military and Despotic Rule.* He ruled with the help of the army. His whole system of government was based on military strength. He had divided the whole country into eleven (twelve according to some) districts and placed each district under a Major-General with unlimited powers. Cromwell dominated everywhere in the country during the years 1653-58. The Extremists, the Irish, the Scots and the Long Parliament (the Rump) had all been suppressed. He imposed greater restrictions upon individual liberty and freedom of speech. Cromwell did not rule the country with the help of Parliament. He ruled like a despot. He imposed taxes and imprisoned and fined persons arbitrarily. Merchants were particularly subjected to heavy taxation and were severely punished when they failed to pay.

Edicts having the force of law were issued on the Protector's sole authority. People found that monarchy had been abolished only to be followed by a Government of the sword. Hence it excited opposition of the masses.

6. *Lack of Experience.* Commonwealth had no experience in the work of government. It had neither tact nor that spirit of accommodation which serves a very useful purpose and often acts as a soothing balm. The spirit of accommodation and adjustment is the highest specimen of remedial measure. The spirit of 'give and take' works wonders and even most complicated and difficult problems are sometimes automatically solved without conscious effort.

7. *No Attempt at Religious and Political Liberty.* The execution of Charles I was not followed by any attempt to establish religious or political liberty. In fact a resolution in the name of liberty became an instrument of tyranny in the hands of the successful minority.

8. *Discontent of the Republicans.* The republicans were discon-

Act which excluded all

tented because the republic was crushed and absolute rule of Cromwell was established. This rule could not satisfy the Republicans whose ideals were quite different from those of the prevailing system of government.

9. *Half-hearted Measures of Cromwell.* Most of his measures were half-hearted and he seldom cared for the wishes of his people. Sometimes he would not hear even his own partisans and advisers. His religious toleration was also incomplete. He was intolerant to Papists and the adherents of the Church of England.

10. *Cromwell's Personal Defects.* Cromwell had certain personal defects which stood in his way of introducing a system of Government based on the good-will of the ruled. "His nature was fiery, rough and reserved. Usually he could not tolerate opposition from any quarter. The Chief defect of his administration was that he failed to create harmony between his personal rule and Parliamentary institutions. His government was not based on the good-will of the ruled. It was the rule of the sword". He had failed to win the confidence and loyalty of his people and thus deprived himself of their willing co-operation.

11. *Hatred of the Royalists.* The Royalists hated Cromwell and regarded him as a usurper in the place of the King. People silently put up with his despotic rule and arbitrary measures because they were afraid of his great powers.

Important Note. This is true that Cromwell's government was despotic but it had its good side too (for this please see his home, religious and foreign policy). Had Cromwell's son and successor Richard Cromwell been a competent and tactful ruler, the Protectorate would not have collapsed so suddenly. He had none of his father's genius, little force of character and was devoid of ambition. He quickly retired into private life giving up his office. After his retirement into private life, the Rump and the army quarrelled as a result of which there was general anarchy in the country. As the people were tired of long despotism since the advent of James I (1603) they therefore welcomed general Monk who called a Convention (1660) whose members, in accordance with the wishes of the people, passed a resolution to restore the old Government of King, Lords and Commons and to invite Prince Charles to govern the country as Charles II. The immediate causes of the sudden termination of the Protectorate were the incompetence and tactlessness of Richard Cromwell and the quarrel between the Rump and the army which led to general anarchy in the country.

OTHER IMPORTANT AND UNIVERSITY QUESTIONS

"The Commonwealth was faced with several difficulties at home and abroad". State the difficulties. How did the Commonwealth meet them?

Describe the character of Oliver Cromwell the "Great Protector" and the importance of his political career.

How did Oliver Cromwell try to rule England after he came into power? What was his foreign policy?

Give an estimate of the work and achievements of Cromwell.

Why did the Commonwealth or the Republican Government fail?

Write a note on Cromwell's internal and external policy.

Test Act which excluded all

CHAPTER XII

THE RESTORATION (1660)
AND
CHARLES II (1660—1685)

> *"The Restoration of 1660 was the restoration of the King, the Lords and the Commons and the Church. But the Kingship restored differed from the Kingship by Divine Right of James I and Charles I and again from the personal rule of the Tudors; the new Kingship governed in the presence of a Parliament which maintained all the privileges won from Charles I before the beginning of the Civil War".*
>
> —CARTER AND MEARS.

Q. Account for the Restoration of the Stuart Monarchy in 1660.

Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver Cromwell, succeeded him as Protector. He was easy-going, sluggish and religious-minded. He had none of his father's genius and was unable to maintain balance between the army and the Parliament. He was not strong enough to control the situation with efficiency. He had no interest in politics. He would please neither the army nor the Parliament. The army was not satisfied with him, as he was a civilian. The Commons protested against his weakness and he dissolved Parliament. The officers then recalled the Long Parliament, which Oliver Cromwell had dismissed. It was called the Rump or hinder end of a Parliament. The Rump, too, did not want Richard, so he resigned and retired into private life, in 1659. Richard Cromwell made no attempt to keep power in his own hands but quickly retired into private life, saying, "I will not have a drop of blood spilt for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me". Thus did the Protectorate come to an end, May 1659.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II

After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, the Rump and the army quarrelled. There ensued a general anarchy in England. A Royalist rising took place. The soldiers under General Lambert subdued it. Then they took the power into their own hands, and elected a 'committee of safety' from among the officers. General Monk, the Commander of the Sottish army, who was against the English army and wanted that it should be under civil authority, entered London. The Rump Parliament was dissolved and a new and freely elected Parliameint (1660) met which was called a Convention because it was not called by a royal writ. Its members passed a resolution to restore the old Government of King, Lords and Commons and to invite Charles II to govern them. Thus Parliament was restored. Parliament began to consider the terms on which they should recall Charles. But before their arriving at any decision a messenger came from Charles, bringing with himself a document called "The Declaration of Breda." In the Declaration, Charles promised (1) pardon to all who, within forty days, should express their loyalty, with the exception of those who were excluded by Parliament, (2) liberty of conscience, (3) all questions regarding the land settlement were to be decided by Parliament and (4) payment of all arrears to Monk's army and to take them into royal service on the same pay and conditions.

The Convention approved of all these conditions and sent a fleet to Holland to bring Charles to England. He was proclaimed King on 29th May, 1660. Monarchy was thus restored in England amid universal rejoicings. Charles's journey to London was a march of triumph, all parties and order of men joining to welcome him back.

General Monk

He was a general of great repute under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II. He played an important role in the Civil War and fought like a brave soldier. Cromwell left him in Scotland where he followed a most vigorous policy and succeeded in completing the work assigned to him. After the death of Oliver Cromwell his son Richard Cromwell succeeded to his father's office but he found himself unfit to maintain peace and order in the country, so he resigned and retired into private life. Now ensued general chaos and disorder in the country, and seeing this pitiable plight of England, General Monk marched on London with a view to restore order. English soldiers under Lambert marched against Monk. But so great was the joy of the people at the attitude of Monk that he entered London unopposed. He declared a free Parliament and very skilfully dispersed the turbulent army. It was mainly the result of his efforts that Restoration was made possible. When Charles II came to the throne Monk was rewarded with a pension of £ 7,000 a year and was created Duke of Albemark. He also fought in the Dutch Wars in the reign of Charles II.

Q. What were the lasting effects of the Restoration or the permanent results of the Puritan Revolution? Or what was the significance of the Restoration. *Or,*

Q. Why was the monarchy restored in 1660? *Or,*

Q. Discuss the nature and effects of the Englisn Restoration in 1660. *Or,*

Q. "The Restoration of 1660 was the restoration of the King, the Lords and the Commons, and the Church. But the Kingship restored differed from the Kingship by Divine Right of James I and Charles I and again from the personal rule of the Tudors; the new Kingship governed in the presence of a Parliament which maintained all the privileges won from Charles I be-

fore the beginning of the Civil War." (Carter and Mears). Explain this statement fully.

The following were the chief effects or results of the Restoration or the permanent effects of the Great Civil War or Puritan Revolution.

PERMANENT EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

(i) *It was a Restoration of Limited Monarchy.* After Cromwell's death, his son Richard Cromwell took charge of the office but he was so weak and incompetent that he found himself unfit to maintain peace and order and balance between the army and the Parliament. As a result of this there was general anarchy and disorder in the country and Richard Cromwell seeing this pitiable state of affairs into which England was plunged resigned his office and retired into private life.

After his resignation, extreme lawlessness and chaos prevailed in the country and the army and the Parliament quarrelled with each other. People were tired of this state of affairs and the Republican Experiment or the Rule of the Commonwealth which was not very successful. People wanted monarchy and consequently the Convention Parliament sent an invitation to Charles II who accepted the invitation and returned to the throne of England. The people welcomed their new monarch amidst shouts and rejoicings. But the new king had to observe certain definite limits and checks on his powers. He was not to override the authority, nor levy taxes without Parliamentary sanction or raise money by illegal means. The Court of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission which the previous kings had been using as instruments of oppression were abolished. "There were to be no prerogative courts, no irresponsible government and no rule of the King's favourites". There was to be Rule of Law through Parliament and properly constituted authority. "The reign of the Sword was over, the reign of the Law had begun". The position of the restored king was much changed, i.e., he had to rule the country constitutionally and it was not possible for him to defy the authority of Parliament or go against the wishes of the nation. The theory of the Divine Right of Kings had totally ceased to exist and exercise its influence. He had to rule the country like a constitutional monarch. The Restoration thus brought limited monarchy in the country.

(ii) *It was the Restoration of Parliament with increased powers.* The Restoration brought back the Parliament as well. The Restoration was not only the restoration of monarchy but it was a restoration of the Parliament as well. Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the House of Lords had been abolished but now the Parliament was to consist of two Houses—the House of Lords and the House of Commons with all its ancient privileges. Henceforth there was to be a freely-elected Parliament. The restored Parliament gained in power and importance. The new Parliament possessed greater powers than before and it was no longer possible for the restored king to override its authority or defy its wishes. The settlement of all important affairs was in the hands of Parliament. The king could not impose any tax without the Parliamentary sanction. The Parliament further secured the right of auditing accounts. Feudal dues, forced loans, Ship Money and any other tax that was imposed without the authority of the Parliament was to be considered illegal and against the constitution of the country. The members of the Parliament enjoyed the right of freedom of speech, and several other important rights and privileges, so that the position of the new Parliament was supreme in the land. It was all powerful in the country. With the Restoration, the supremacy of the Parliament revived and the king was made a tool in the hands of the Parliament.

(iii) *It was a restoration of the old Church the control of which was completely in the hands of the Parliament.* The Restoration brought back a church the control of which was no longer in the hands of the king but it was completely controlled by the Parliament. The Cavalier Parliament passed a number of Acts which were collectively known as the Clarendon Code. The Clarendon Code restored the Church of England, i.e., it enabled the Anglican clergy to recover their livings and destroyed all chance for Puritanism to regain its ascendancy. The Clarendon Code brought back Anglicanism which was the established religion of England before Civil War.

(iv) *It was a Restoration of the Royalist Property.* The Royalist squires had suffered immensely under the stern and despotic rule of Cromwell who had confiscated their estates. The confiscated lands were given back to the Royalists, and thus the social rule of the upper class was restored.

(v) *It was a Restoration of the Social Life. Ideals of the Nation were Lowered.* With the return of Charles II a great reaction began. There was again the splendour of the court. The Royal Court of Charles became notorious for its licence, corruption and for the evil influence exercised by women of easy virtue. The sober and stern rule of the Commonwealth was forgotten. Theatres, revalries of all kinds and orgies took the place of the sermons and prayers. Gambling, drinking and dueling were the order of the day. It is, therefore, rightly said that the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 was followed by consequences of far-reaching importance.

The various changes introduced by the Restoration in England amply justify the truth of the statement: "The Restoration brought Charles II to Whitehall; and in an instant the whole face of England was changed".

Q. "The Restoration was not only the Restoration of the Parliament and before long it meant the bringing back of the old Church". *Or,*

Q. Discuss carefully the importance of the Restoration of Monarchy in 1660. *Or,*

Q. 'The Restoration brought Charles II to Whitehall and in an instant the whole face of England was changed". Comment.
Or,

Q. **"The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 was followed by consequences of far-reaching importance." Discuss.**

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Describe the constitutional results of the Restoration.

Ans. Please study first three points in the previous answer.

CHARLES II'S ACCESSION, CHARACTER, AIMS AND OBJECTS

Accession. He was the son of Charles I and after his father's execution he had run away from the country. He issued the Declaration of Breda which was approved by the Convention Parliament and so it restored him to the throne.

Character, Aims and Objects. Charles had been trained in the school of adversity, and so he had acquired knowledge of human nature and capacity for intrigue and concealment. He possessed great natural capacity and tact but he was indolent, pleasure-loving and immoral in private life. His immorality had passed into a proverb and he was shamefully licentious. He was known by the popular title of 'Merry Monarch'. He well remembered the fate of his father and the hardships of exile, so he took great care not to displease Parliament. He said so often, "I do not want to go on my travels again." He was a Catholic at heart and wanted to restore Catholicism in the country, but he was prudent enough not to declare himself openly as such for that would have created popular opposition. Apparently, he tried to maintain good relations with Parliament but he anxiously awaited the day when he would become absolute in the Kingdom. Charles carefully felt the pulse of the nation and would do nothing that would arouse popular indignation. Charles II and his successor James II both wished to rule as absolute monarchs but Charles II succeeded and James II failed. Charles II succeeded in retaining the throne even as a despotic ruler but James lost it. Like his father Charles I and his brother James II, Charles II was equally determined to make himself despotic and to be independent of Parliamentary control. While Charles II and James II were obstinate, foolish and tactless, Charles II was open to conviction, he was tactful and far-sighted, kept up appearances and speedily yielded whenever he found that there was a strong opposition to his measures. Though appatently ease-loving, he concealed great capacity for intrigue which even a very able statesman could not understand. He avoided extremes and sagacious as he was, he never allowed the differences to go so far as to result in a War or Revolution. He was much wiser than his father Charles I and his brother James II. Unlike them he was a successful ruler though his private life was scandalous.

Q. Give a brief account of the Foreign Policy of Charles II.

The foreign policy of Charles II deserves our notice in two respects—(i) Relations of Charles II with France and (ii) The Three Dutch Wars.

Charles II's Relations with France. There was a great friendship between Charles II and Louis XIV., the King of France. For the next sixteen years, the chief points in Charles II's foreign policy were his friendship with France and enmity with Spain (France had unfriendly relations with Spain, thus it was more to please France that Charles II followed a policy of enmity towards Spain). Charles's greed for money converted his friendship with Louis XIV into his subordination to the will of the French King. Louis freely used Charles II as his tool to serve the interests of the French policy.

It was on the suggestion of Louis XIV that Charles II married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese Princess (Portugal was a bitter enemy of Spain. France wanted to strengthen her cause against Spain by uniting with Portugal). The Portuguese also gave to England, as Catherine's dowry, two colonial possessions named Tangier and Bombay.

Again, it was to win the favour of Louis XIV that Charles was influenced to sell Dunkirk to him.

Triple Alliance. Louis of France attacked the Spanish Netherlands to get hold of it. People of England raised a strong voice against this attack. An alliance was soon concluded between the Dutch, England and Sweden, known as the Triple Alliance (1661). Louis withdrew his forces from the Spanish Netherlands but his enmity against the Dutch continued to be as strong as before.

The Treaty of Dover and the Secret Treaty of Dover (1670). Charles was extremely anxious to get financial help from France to make himself independent of the Parliament and maintain a standing army. He made a treaty of Dover with France which consisted of two parts—the open treaty and the secret treaty. By the Secret part of the Treaty of Dover—

1. Charles II promised to help Louis XIV of France against the Dutch.

2. England was to conduct Naval War and to get Zealand.

3. Charles promised to support Louis's claim to the Spanish throne.

4. Louis promised to pay Charles a sum of £ 300,000 a year as a sort of economic aid.

5. Charles promised to embrace Roman Catholicism and convert England into a Catholic country.

6. Louis promised to help Charles with men and money to put down any opposition to the royal authority in England. All these clauses of the Secret part of the treaty of Dover were known only to two members of the Cabal (Clifford and Arlington). The first three clauses formed the open part of the Treaty of Dover and were known to all the five members of the Cabal.

To favour the Catholics and the Dissenters, Charles issued the Declaration of Indulgence and set aside all the laws that had been passed against them but the people of England expressed a strong sense of hatred against the Declaration and the Secret Treaty of Dover. This made Charles unpopular who soon withdrew the Declaration and also ceased to be friendly with France. The Parliament disapproved the Declaration, passed the Test Act which excluded all Roman Catholics from holding any government post and married Princess Mary (daughter of James II) to William of Orange, the Chief Protestant King of Europe.

THE DUTCH WARS

FIRST DUTCH WAR, 1664—1667

Causes. 1. There was strong commercial and colonial rivalry between the English and the Dutch.

2. The passing of the Navigation Act made the relations very unpleasant between the English and the Dutch.

3. Quarrels that were still unsettled among the sailors of England and Holland in several places embittered the relations between the two countries.

4. The French influence over Charles II was responsible to a great extent in bringing about the War between the English and the Dutch.

Events. The Dutch were defeated at Lowestoft and the English captured New Amsterdam and new Jersy. Later on the Dutch ships attacked the English soil, gained some success and burnt some English ships. The Dutch policy of Charles II became unpopular.

Results. Peace was at last made between the English and the Dutch by the Treaty of Breda. The English got Amsterdam (New York) and Jersy from the Dutch. The Dutch got Surinam from England in South America.

SECOND DUTCH WAR, 1672—1674

Louis XIV was a determined enemy of the Dutch. He attacked the Dutch but according to the Secret Treaty of Dover, Charles II was bound to help Louis in his attack on the Dutch. Hence England helped France. The war was very unpopular in England because the people knew that England had no direct interest in the war of Charles who was acting as a tool of Louis. Hence England withdrew from the war though it went on till 1678 between the French and the Dutch. The Dutch were saved by the shrewdness and genius of William of Orange who was strongly opposed to France and who had made it his life mission to check the growing ambition of Louis.

Thus Charles II's foreign policy was weak and undignified, and unpopular in England for it made England serve as a dishonourable weapon in the hands of France for a few loaves of bread.

A NOTE ON CHARLES II'S MINISTRIES

A. *The Ministry of Clarendon,* 1660-1667. The Cavalier Parliament (1661—1679) brought about the settlement of the Church by a series of Anti-Puritan Acts collectively known as the Clarendon Code.

1. *Corporation Act,* 1661. By this only those members of the

Municipal Corporation could hold a post of trust who agreed to receive communion according to the rites of the Church of England.

2. *Act of Uniformity*, 1662. By this the Clergy were required to read the revised Prayer Book. Two thousand Puritan clergy who refused to read the revised prayer book were expelled from livings in the Established Church of England (Anglican Church).

3. *Conventicle Act*, 1664. By this any meeting of more than five persons for religious purpose except according to the practices of the Established Church of England was illegal and could be punished.

4. *Five Miles Act*, 1665. It forbade all those clergy who had been ejected to teach in schools to come within five miles of a town which had a municipal corporation.

The Clarendon Code thus restored the old Church, i.e., the ecclesiastical system of Laud and Charles I.

Clarendon, whose relations with Charles I were not cordial, was impeached and dismissed. He went over to France where he spent the rest of his life.

B. *The Cabal Ministry*, 1667—1672. It was formed after the fall of Clarendon. It included five ministers—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale and is known from the initial letters of its members. This ministry was opposed to the foreign and religious policies of Charles II; hence the relations between the King and the Ministry were strained.

The Test Act, 1673. It was passed by the Parliament in 1673. It forbade the holding of any civil and military office by those who refused to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church of England. It was at last dismissed.

C. *Danby Ministry*, 1673—1678. After the fall of the Cabal, the Earl of Danby was made Chief Minister; main events of this period were these:—

1. Charles made another treaty with France promising not to join any power against her without her leave.

2. Danby arranged the marriage of James II's daughter Mary with William of Orange, a deadly enemy of Louis XIV of France.

3. The Popish Plot was formed in 1678 with the object of killing Charles II and placing his brother James, a zealous Catholic, on the throne. The plot was disclosed by Titus Oates. Many innocent Catholics were put to death.

Danby was impeached and fell from power in 1678.

The Exclusion Bill, 1679. The object of this Bill was to exclude James, Duke of York, (brother of Charles II) from succession to the throne of England. It was passed by the H.O. Commons but rejected by the Lords.

Habeas Corpus Act, 1679. The Act was passed in 1679 providing that no one could be imprisoned without a warrant showing the charges against him. It also secured the early trial of the accused.

Q. (a) What attempts were made by Charles II to establish royal absolutism? *Or*, **How did Charles II try to revive what is known as the Second Stuart or Catholic Stuart despotism?**

(b) What constitutional progress was made in his reign?

(a) ATTEMPTS OF CHARLES TO ESTABLISH ABSOLUTISM

Charles had two chief aims—to restore Catholicism and to establish absolutism. He wanted to restore Catholicism not for his religious convictions but because Catholicism was suitable to the growth of his despotic power. His attempts to establish despotism may be briefly described as follows:—

1. *Secret Treaty of Dover.* Already mentioned.

2. *Declaration of Indulgence.* By this Charles claimed the right of using dispensing power in order to give religious toleration to the Catholics and the Dissenters, but this measure raised such a fierce storm of opposition that Charles withdrew the Declaration.

3. *Resistance to the Exclusion Bill.* The Exclusion Bill aimed at excluding James, Duke of York, Charles's brother, from succeeding to the throne, but Charles dissolved the Parliament thrice and did not allow the Bill to pass. He did not care for the determination of the Parliament to pass the Bill, but he exerted his own will and gained his object by defying the Parliament and over-riding its authority.

4. *He drove out the Whigs from power.* He turned out the Whigs who were his political opponents. He so cleverly overhauled the Charters of London and other big towns that the Whigs were driven away from power and the Tories, the supporters of the king were brought in place of the Whigs.

5. *He ruled without a Parliament.* He ruled the country without Parliament during his last years, particularly after the Exclusion Bill. The judges became puppets in his hands and the courts of law were used by him to crush all those who stood in his way or opposed his policy. He was even more fond of absolutism than Charles I, but while Charles I was obstinate and foolish, Charles II was wise and tactful and acted according to the occasion.

(b) CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

1. *The Principle of Ministerial responsibility was established.* The king had to select his ministers from the party that enjoyed the confidence of the Parliament. It was the result of Parliamentary opposition that Charles had to dismiss Clarendon, the Cabal and Danby. The principle of ministerial responsibility was established, i.e., henceforth the ministers were to be responsible to the Parliament and not to the king. The principle was particularly established by Danby's impeachment. Marriot says, "Towards the theory of ministerial responsibility, the seventeenth century made a large and important contribution." The Parliament had gained control over the executive and as a natural result of this the ministers were answerable to the Parliament for their actions and policy.

2. *The system of Appropriation of the Supplies was established.* The system of Appropriation of Supplies was definitely set up, i.e., the Parliamentary grants were limited for specific purposes. A grant was to be used for the particular purpose for which it was made and for no other purpose.

3. *Personal Liberty was secured.* Personal liberty was secured by the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1679. The Act provided that no one could be imprisoned without a warrant stating the charges against him and it secured the early trial of the accused before a proper Court of Law. Habeas Corpus meant "That you have the body."

The Act made it difficult for the government to evade or delay the action of the Habeas Corpus Writ. The Act was an effective instrument against the king.

4. *System of Party Government.* System of Party Government began and it was to follow a definite political programme. It was the Exclusion Bill that gave birth to the system of Party Government. Parliamentary parties with definite political programmes were formed, and thus was foreshadowed the system of Party Government in England. Those who were in favour of the Exclusion Bill were called the Whigs and those who were against it were called the Tories.

5. *Recording verdict against the King.* The jurors secured the right of recording verdict against the King for the first time. So far the jury did not enjoy the right of giving a decision against the King.

6. *Abolition of Feudal Dues.* A statute was passed which abolished feudal dues and in their place granted to the King permanent excise duty for life. With the passing of this statute the feudal land law was permanently abolished in England.

Q. Describe the growth of the Party System under Charles II and Queen Anne.

Ans. For the growth of the Party System under Charles II please consult previous answer, and for the next part please consult the reign of Queen Anne.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

Explain the causes and the nature of the English Restoration in 1660.

Describe the circumstances which led to the Restoration of English Monarchy in 1660.

Briefly state the means adopted by Charles II to obtain royal despotism.

"Charles II was in no way less despotic than his father." Do you agree with this view? Discuss.

Describe the growth of the Party System under Charles II and Queen Anne (For Queen Anne please consult her reign).

CHAPTER XIV

JAMES II (1685—1688)

AND

THE GLORIOUS OR BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

> *"The whole object of his (James II's) reign, after the first few months, was to bring the country back to the Roman Catholic faith and to make himself absolute".*
>
> —SOUTHGATE.

His Accession and Character. James, Duke of York, the second son of Charles I, ascended the throne of England on the death of his brother Charles II (1685) as the latter had no issue.

James was not well educated and was one of the most obstinate men. When he ascended the throne, he gave a promise to Parliament in very clear, unequivocal terms to preserve the government in Church and State as by law established but he did not keep his word and his very first act showed his determination to set up despotic rule and overthrow the English Church. As a foreigner (James II was the grandson of James I) he could not appreciate the strong attachment of the English people to their Constitution and the Church and this lack of perception was mainly responsible for his downfall. "James II was a bigot, a man given to extremes in all things. His temper was obstinate, harsh and unforgiving. He inherited his mother's arrogance, and his father's obstinacy and narrowmindedness. He was not intelligent and tactful and could not foresee consequences of his actions. He was an ardent Roman Catholic and a strong believer in absolute monarchy. He had two great aims—to restore Roman Catholicism and to make himself an absolute ruler.

Q. Briefly describe the causes and factors or the unconstitutional measures of James II and other circumstances that brought about the Glorious or Bloodless Revolution of 1688-89. *Or,*

Describe the causes which led to the unpopularity, downfall and flight of James II. *Or,* **Why was James II driven from the throne?** *Or,*

Give an account of the events that led to the abdication of James II. *Or,*

Q. "The Revolution of 1688 was the natural culmination of the Stuarts." Explain.

James II strongly believed in the theory of Divine Right of Kingship and 'Passive Obedience'. The Divine Right theory meant that a king was the representative of God on earth and as such he was not responsible to any earthly tribunal for his actions and policies.

By 'Passive Obedience' he meant entire submission of the people to the will of the king, without regard for any existing laws. The Glorious Revolution was the result of unconstitutional measures and arbitrary acts of James II. As a result of this James had to run away for his life from England and was succeeded by his daughter Mary and his son-in-law William of Orange. The unconstitutional measures and arbitrary acts that were responsible for the Revolution may briefly be examined as follows:—

CAUSES OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

1. *James's attempt to repeal the Test Act*. James was bent upon showing every favour to the Catholics. He was a religious fanatic. He asked the Parliament to repeal the Test Act so that he could appoint any Catholic to any Civil and Military post without his undergoing the necessary test. But the Parliament refused to do so. This embittered the relation between Parliament and Crown and made a strong ground for further tension between them. The King dissolved the Parliament in anger.

2. *Use of Dispensing and Suspending Powers*. The dispensing power was the power claimed by the crown of exempting individuals from the operation of particular laws. It was based on the old theory that the king made the laws and could therefore grant exemption from their operation. James claimed the power of dispensing with the execution of laws in the case of particular individuals and of suspending the operation of the laws in the case of a particular class or the community as a whole. Use of these powers, though illegal and unconstitutional, was supported by subservient judges who acted as of tool of James's will. His object in making use of these powers was to remove the disabilities and restrictions so as to enable the Catholics to hold responsible posts. Consequently, many Catholics were appointed to civil and military posts and those in prison were released. Catholics were appointed even ministers; a Catholic became Viceroy of Ireland.

3. *Increase in the Catholic Army*. James increased the standing army from 6,000 to 30,000 mainly composed of the Catholics. The army was meant to be used to overwhelm the people and suppress their rights and liberties. The people strongly resented the presence of any army in the country designed to establish military rule with the help of the Catholics and strengthen the hands of an irresponsible King.

4. *Appointment of Catholics to high offices, Civil and Military*. Many Catholics were appointed to high civil and military posts, and the army and the navy were practically officered by Roman Catholics. They were appointed even ministers and members of the Privy Council; a Catholic became Viceroy of Ireland. James dismissed many persons from offices because they refused to declare their faith in Catholic religion.

5. *Appointment of Catholics in Universities*. Massey, a Roman Catholic, was made Dean of Christ-Church, Oxford; Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was dismissed for refusing to admit a Benedictine monk,

Alban Francis to a degree; the Fellows of Magdalene College, Oxford, were expelled for refusing to elect a Catholic as their President.

6. *Establishment of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.* In order to establish royal supremacy over the Church, James re-established the Court of High Commission under the name of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. The Court of High Commsision had been abolished in 1641 by Parliament but he re-established it by his own authority. This Court severely punished all those persons who questioned the King's policy and stood in his way. The Court was an Engine of oppression and a most unpopular institution.

7. *The First Declaration of Indulgence.* In 1687 James issued the First Declaration of Indulgence which suspended all penal laws and annulled all religious tests. This removed all disabilities so far placed on the Catholics and Dissenters, now they got full freedom of worship, and the right to hold even the highest offices in the State without any religious test.

8. *The Second Declaration of Indulgence.* In 1688 James issued a Second Declaration of Indulgence and ordered it to be read in all churches. These Declarations seriously offended the people, but James unmindful of popular feelings went on appointing Catholics and Dissenters to any offices he liked. He did so in order to influence the next elections and get members of his own choice in the Parliament.

9. *Undesirable changes in the local Government.* The existing Justices of Peace were removed and Non-conformists and Roman Catholic magistrates appointed in their place. After he had done this, he tried to introduce Roman Catholics into the Privy Council—a step which was most undesirable.

10. *Trial of Seven Bishops.* The Clergy refused to read the Second Declaration of Indulgence as ordered by James II and "Seven Bishops" petitioned the king to withdraw the said Declaration. The king charged them with a 'false, malicious and seditious libel', and tried to arrest them but this could not be done as the bishops were the members of Parliament. His attempt to arrest and punish them caused great excitement among the people and their fury knew no bounds. The whole nation was filled with anxiety as for the issue of the trial. The king prosecuted the bishops including Sanchroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the charges against them but the judges declared them 'not guilty' and they were honourably acquitted. The people greatly rejoiced at the verdict. This was a severe blow to James II and all England began to distrust him.

11. *Harmful Economic Policy.* James II being in alliance with France allowed his home industries and trade to be controllled by the French minister Colbert. Economic interests of the English were neglected in preference to those of the French and consequently the English people suffered immense losses. Besides, James exacted illegal customs, levied taxes, and resorted to many other unconstitutional methods to exact money without the consent of Parliament.

extract

By resorting to most unconstitutional measures like the above, James wanted to establish a worst sort of despotic government in the country. It led to great excitement among the people and made James most unpopular. James alienated his people altogether and lost their confidence and sympathies. His subjects lost all faith in him?

12. *Birth of a Son (Immediate cause*). Matters came to a crisis when a son was born to James. James II had two daughters Mary and Anne but no son and the people had patiently put up with his lawful acts and arbitrary measures in the hope that he would soon die and after his death his daughter Mary would ascend the throne and thus the misgovernment would end. Mary herself a Protestant by faith was married to William of Orange, the Protestant ruler of Holland. But the birth of the prince (June 10, 1688) who was afterwards known as James III or the 'Old Pretender', and who was to be a strong Catholic, frustrated the hopes of the people who were looking forward to a Protestant successor in Mary. The people were deadly against having a Papist (A Staunch Catholic) king on the throne of England.

Events. Discontent in the country was so universal that all sections were anxious to invite a Protestant to occupy the throne. Seven leading men representing different sections sent an invitation to William of Orange (son-in-law of James II married to Mary, daughter of James) to come to their rescue and save the liberties of the English people. William accepted the invitation, crossed over to England at the head of an army, and entered London where nearly every citizen welcomed him. Meanwhile James tried his best to please his people by repealing all harsh laws and made a promise to call Parliament but all in vain. James found himself deserted by his friends, followers, and even his daughter Anne (second daughter of James). "Heaven help me," the poor man exclaimed, "even my own children have deserted me." James fled to France (X'mas 1688) with his queen and infant son, where King Louis received the fugitives with royal generosity and gave them the palace of St. Germains to live in and a pension of £40,000 a year. Here James lived till his death in 1701. James's reign was believed to have come to an end when he left the country. This change of rulers in England was known as the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION and it ended the long struggle between the king and Parliament. "Perhaps never in the history had there been so swift and so bloodless a revolution." It was "the least violent and most beneficent of all revolutions." The Revolution aimed at (1) maintaining the Protestant religion and State; and (2) ending the efforts of the Stuarts to rule arbitrarily.

The Declaration of Rights. It was drawn up by the Convention —an Assembly called by Prince William and they (William and Mary) accepted the throne of England on the promise to follow scrupulously the terms of the Declaration. The Declaration proclaimed William and Mary, King and Queen of England; when one of them died, the other was to continue to govern the country; after their death the crown was conferred first on the children of Mary, then on those of her sister Anne, and, these failing, on the children of William of Orange by any other wife. The son of James II and his posterity were thus shut out entirely from succession. The Declaration then set forth and reaffirmed certain rights of the nation that had been violated by the Stuart sovereigns. The terms of the Declaration gave it the form of an important contract entered into between the ruler and the ruled. It confirmed the principle that kings shall rule only according to the law through their ministers and a free Parliament.

The Declaration denied the claims of the English Sovereign without the consent of Parliament:—

1. to make use of suspending or dispensing power;
2. to levy taxes;
3. to keep a standing army in times of peace; and
4. to institute ecclesiastical commissions.

The Declaration claimed for the subjects the right—

1. to elect members of Parliament freely;
2. to have freedom of debate in Parliament;
3. to petition the sovereign; and
4. to have fair justice.

Q. Analyse the issues involved in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. How far were the natural objectives realized on the conclusion of the Revolution?

Ans. Hints for Expansion.

Issues Involved:

1. Theory of the Divine Right of Kings or the Claim of the Stuarts to rule as absolute monarchs.

2. Claim of the Stuart monarchs to enforce their own religious views.

3. Claim of the Stuart monarchs to regulate the foreign policy of the country according to their own sweet will.

4. Claim of the Stuart monarchs to impose taxes and raise money without parliamentary sanction.

5. Claim of the Stuart monarchs to interfere with the rights and liberties of the people (individual liberty) and imprison them arbitrarily.

N.B.—For expansion please consult the causes which brought about the Revolution. All these have been thoroughly discussed.

Realization of National Objectives. The national objectives were realized to a great extent. The king's powers were limited. The supremacy of the Parliament—the representative of the nation—was established. In the long confiict for supremacy and sovereignty between the Crown and the Parliament, it was decided once for all that th

Parliament was to be supreme and sovereign in the country and the king had a subordinate position and he was always to offer his full and hearty co-operation to the Parliament. The Parliament was to rule the country and not the King. The position of the King was just like that of an official who could be dismissed whenever found inefficient or neglectful of his duties. The Revolution permanently put an end to the theory of Divine Right of Kings.

The King could not any more force his own religious views on the people. Englishmen were to have the Anglican Church. Catholic religion was considered to be anti-national. Common Law became supreme and equal justice was ensured to all by an independent judiciary. Thus the Civil Liberties of the people were ensured. James II had subordinated England to France and he was solely guided by the French King in his policy. But William III acted quite differently and adopted a bold policy against France: this was exactly the policy that the English people wanted.

Q. Why is the Revolution of 1688 termed "Glorious"? What was the nature of the Revolution? *Or,*

Q. "The Glorious Revolution is said to be the least violent and the most beneficent of all revolutions." Comment.

WHY THE REVOLUTION WAS CALLED GLORIOUS

The Revolution was Glorious. The Revolution of 1688 is termed "Glorious" because it was peaceful in its methods and good in its ends. There was a peculiar beauty and glory both in the means by which the Revolution was accomplished and the results that followed the Revolution. The results were beneficial both for the Parliament and the Nation at large.

(*i*) *The Revolution was accomplished by peaceful means.* James II wanted to establish Roman Catholicism in England and his rule was despotic. His extreme pro-Catholic policy and his theory of Divine Right of Kings brought him into conflict with Parliament and the nation. Unable to tolerate his despotism seven leading men of England sent an invitation to William of Orange (James's son-in-law) to occupy the throne and save England from a Popish and arbitrary ruler. William accepted the invitation and landed in England with an army. James, deserted by his friends, followers and subjects, fled to France. The crown was then offered to William and Mary. It was nothing short of a Revolution because James lost the throne and another person purely of the choice of Parliament was offered the crown. The true 'glory' of the British Revolution lay in the fact that it was bloodless and there was no civil war. Not a single drop of blood was shed and not a single shot was fired but still it was a Revolution for it changed not only dynasty of kings but also the British Constitution.

The Revolution secured the triumph of the Parliamentary over kingly despotism. The long struggle for supremacy king and Parliament ended. Parliament won the victory. of Divine Right of Kings was finished. The sovereigns could no longer claim themselves to be the deputies or the lieutenants of God on earth. The Revolution of 1688 definitely established that the nation could depose a king who flouted its wishes and could give the throne to any competent person it liked. The power of kings henceforward emerged from the people and it was in the people that sovereignty resided. The king was bound to obey the law of the land and he could no longer exercise 'dispensing' or 'suspending' powers. The king could not make or unmake any laws or impose taxes without the consent of Parliament. He could not maintain a standing army to do any illegal or unconstitutional act. He was to choose his ministers from a party that commanded majority in the House of Commons and the ministers were henceforward responsible to Parliament and not to the king. He was to rule like a constitutional ruler. His position was like that of an office-holder who could be dismissed any time when he neglected his duty. It decided once for all that the monarchy of England was constitutional or limited. Parliament became supreme and all-powerful in the land and the king was merely a creature of the law and an instrument in the hands of Parliament.

(iii) *The Revolution brought good results and gains to the Nation as a whole.* The Revolution safeguarded the liberties of the nation. The nation's right to justice was secured. The judges could no longer be influenced in their decisions by the king. Their position was independent for they could not be dismissed at the will o the sovereign. They could be dismissed only where they were guilty of some wrong action or when both the Houses required their dismissal.

Freedom of the Press was secured. Censorship was abolished Books and newspapers so wonderfully increased and were of such a high quality that the Press became a political force in the country.

Religious freedom of the country was secured to a large extent The Toleration Act of 1689 gave freedom of public worship to al except Catholics and Unitarians.

The law of Treason was so amended that it allowed persons accused of treason to have a lawyer to defend themselves and to have a copy of the accusations brought against them. The guilty persons were to receive all facilities to prove their innocence.

(iv) *The Revolution united the whole Nation.* The nation learnt to work together for the common good of all. The ruthless dealings and despotic policy of James united the various sections of the people (except the Roman Catholics who were the favoured children of James but who were in a very narrow minority). The Whigs and the Tories accepted the principles of the Revolution Both of them recognised the principle that the title of the English sovereigns to the throne of England was no longer based on heredity but on the choice of Parliament.

(v) *The Revolution Brought to England Glory Abroad.* The Revolution of 1688 gave England a new turn in her foreign policy. Henceforward William employed the whole power of England in the ficent measure the liberty of the subjects was finally secured against the power of the Crown.

5. *Growth of party system and cabinet system of Government.* William III who owed his throne both to Whigs and Tories chose his ministers from both parties. This system proved unworkable as the political principles of the two parties were different and the Tories disliked the war policy of the king and the Whigs. Then on the advice of the Whig leader—Sunderland, King William chose all his ministers from the Whig party in 1696. This ministry, composed exclusively of the Whigs, worked well. This Whig ministry was nicknamed the Whig Junto. By accident the Whigs then formed the majority in the House of Commons. This gradually led to the formation of the constitutional principle that the king must choose his ministers from the party which commanded majority in the House of Commons.

6. *Preparation of the way for Democracy.* The Revolution of 1688 placed the political power in the hands of Parliament which was composed of big landlords and aristocrats who in no way represented the nation. The Revolution did not bring democracy to the country all at once. The one great reason for this was that the masses were ignorant and illiterate and they could not be expected to work satisfactorily in a democratic set up. The aristocratic elements remained predominant till 1832, the year in which the First Reform Act was passed. Later attempts like the Reform Acts of 1867, 1884, 1918 and 1928 ultimately transferred political power from a landed aristocracy to the common people.

N.B.—The above are the constitutional principles settled by the Glorious Revolution. By introducing the above constitutional principles, the Glorious Revolution laid the foundation of the Limited Monarchy in England.

B. RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE AND EFFECTS

1. *The Revolution established religious Toleration.* The Toleration Act passed in 1689 gave freedom of conscience and worship to all except the Roman Catholics and Unitarians. National religion of England was to be Anglican. "The Anglican Church was to be recognized as the State Church". It marked the beginning of that spirit of religious toleration which is widespread to-day.

It marked the Triumph of Protestantism. Throne of England was given to the Protestant Rulers and the Stuarts were permanently driven from the throne of England. The Bill of Rights (1689) clearly provided that no Roman Catholic or a person who had a Roman Catholic wife could occupy the throne of England. Again, the Act of Settlement (1701) laid down that all future sovereigns of England must belong to the Church of England, i.e., they must be Protestants. The Catholics ceased to exist as a Power. All attempts made by them to strengthen their cause and restore Stuarts to the English throne ended in failure.

3. *Firm establishment of the Anglican Church.* The Anglican

Church of England was firmly established as the State Church. It was decided once for all that Roman Catholicism had no chance to come into power or to be recognised as the State Church.

C. POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND EFFECTS

1. *Change in the position of the Sovereigns.* James II deserted by his friends, relations and officers fled with his wife and child to France. William of Orange and his wife Mary, who were Protestants were invited to occupy the throne of England. This brought about the end of the direct descendants of the Stuarts. William and Mary (son-in-law and daughter of James II) owed their position to the choice of Parliament; their title to the throne was purely parliamentary. The position of the sovereigns was very weak for their powers were very much curtailed and handed over to the Parliament. They were now tools in the hands of the Parliament which was henceforward the ruler of the country in the real sense.

2. *Change in the Foreign Policy of England; England became a great power.* The Revolution brought a significant change in the foreign policy of England which ultimately made her a great force in continental politics. "Greater interest was created in continental affairs and the long isolation of England from European politics came to an end". So far the Stuarts had followed a weak and ineffective foreign policy which proved inglorious for the country. William III, a resolute statesman, was a sworn enemy of France and had fought for twenty years to prevent her from occupying Holland and Belgium and becoming a formidable power in Europe. The war between England and France became inevitable in 1689 when Louis, who looked upon William as usurper, secretly tried to restore James II to the English throne. Louis was defeated and by the Treaty of Rsywick (1697) he acknowledged William as the rightful king of England and ceased to support James II.

Again, Louis of France violated the Second Partition Treaty and wanted to unite the crowns of Spain and France under the same ruler. William formed the Grand Alliance and won brilliant victories over France in the War of the Spanish succession (1702—1713). The Treaty of Utrecht made England the greatest maritime power in the world and brought her vast possessions and commercial advantages.

The same policy of checking the growing power of France and limiting her ambitious schemes was followed by England till 1815, the year of the Battle of Waterloo when France was finally beaten and Napoleon sent in exile to St. Helena where he died in 1821. The defeat of France restored the 'Balance of Power' on the continent.

3. *It taught the nation the value of union.* It taught the nation a very valuable lesson to guide is destinies. It learnt how to unite and stand together to resist a common enemy. The people learnt to act unanimously for the common good and to overcome their common difficulties. All the various sections residing in the country, with the exception of the Catholic minority, were united to gain common ends.

A close study of the results and the significance of the Glorious Revolution clearly shows the victory of the 'Parliament over the king' and of 'Constitutionalism over Despotism'.

Q. Describe carefully the constitutional, political and religious aspects of the Revolution of 1688. *Or,*

Why was the Glorious Revolution of 1688 regarded as a landmark in English History or the beginning of a new era?

Ans. On account of its very great significance for constitutional, religious and political aspects the Glorious Revolution is regarded a landmark or an epoch-making event in the History of England. (For details please see previous answer).

Q. The Glorious Revolution marks the final victory of the Parliament over the king and of constitutionalism over despotism. Discuss.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. "The Revolution of 1688 marked an epoch of immense significance in constitutional development." Explain.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Describe briefly the characteristics or chief features of the Glorious Revolution. *Or,*

Q. Discuss the nature of the Glorious Revolution.

The Glorious or Bloodless Revolution was an event of exceptional importance and unprecedented constitutional and political significance in the history of England. Some of its characteristics are:

(a) *Its Non-violent Character.* It was one of the most important Revolutions of the world, but not a drop of blood was shed or a single shot fired. The king silently left the throne and fled away with his wife and child and another king was invited to occupy the throne. There was a change of kings but the change took place in a calm and silent way and the peace of the country was not disturbed.

(b) *Its Beneficent Character.* On account of its very great significance for constitutional, religious and political aspects the Glorious Revolution is regarded as a landmark or an epoch-making event in the history of England. The struggle between the Stuarts and their Parliaments was a fight for the principles of liberty and constitutionalism. The Stuart monarchs wanted to rule autocratically without any sense of responsibility but the Parliament wanted them to respect the law of the land and individual liberty. At last the Parliament came out victorious and its supremacy was permanently established. Despotism gave way to liberty and constitutional monarchy. The Bill of Rights and a number of other Acts seriously restricted the power of the king and it became impossible for him to exercise his powers arbitrarily. It was a great constitutional achievement. The Parliament became so powerful that it could make and unmake kings and change the order of succession. William and Mary owed their position to the choice of Parliament. Real sovereignty lay with the Parliament.

Besides supremacy of Parliament, freedom of the Press, and independence of the Judiciary were secured and foundation was laid of the Cabinet system of Government in England. Were not all these boons for the nation?

(c) *Its Unanimity of Opinion.* The whole country with the exception of a small minority of Catholics was one in its aim and that was a political aim. Different sections in the country—Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters, all combined against James II. James was left alone. The one aim before the nation was to limit the powers of the king, so that he should rule in a constitutional way and respect the wishes of the Parliament. If the nation had been divided in its aim, it would have given rise to two hostile camps as in the Civil War of 1642. The best results were achieved at a minimum cost because of the unanimity of opinion in the country.

(d) *Its Parliamentary Character.* This is true that the invitation to William was sent by the leading men of England but the Bill of Rights and a number of other Acts that completed the Revolutionary Settlement were all enacted within the four walls of Parliament.

(e) *Its Practical Character.* But the most important aspect of the Revolution was its practical character. While a king was expelled from the country and a natural heir disowned, no attempt was made to find justification for the act on broad abstract principles defining rights of man. The Bill of Rights is eminently a practical document. The terms of the Bill of Rights were like those of a contract. The king could continue his office only when he abided by the terms of the contract. It was a practical bargain between the ruler and the ruled.

(f) *Its Revolutionary Character.* What had happened was revoluntionary. James had been deposed and his own son disinherited. Who did this? It was done by a Parliament that met without royal summons and therefore legally it was no Parliament at all. In this sense the whole happening was nothing short of a revolution.

Q. The Revolution of 1688 was as important an event in European as in English history. Discuss.

Discuss the results of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in Britain and in Europe.

There is no denying the fact that the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was an event of importance not only in the history of England but also in that of Europe. A brief examination of historical facts will help us to know its significance both in English and European history.

(a) *Importance of the Revolution of* 1688 *in English history.* The political struggle between King and Parliament ended by the establishment of a limited monarchy. The theories of Divine Right and Passive Obedience disappeared once for all. The supremacy of Parliament was established by the Bill of Rights, the Mutiny Act and the Appropriation of Supplies. The era of monarchical despotism was over and the era of constitutionalism had started. Henceforward the title of the kings of England to the throne was to be Parliamentary and not hereditary. The Parliament had already set up William III and Mary on the throne of England on the flight of James II. William and Mary did not ascend the throne in the due course of succession, but they were made to occupy the throne because the Parliament wished them to do so. In future, too, the Parliament could dethrone a sovereign who neglected his duties or did any thing unconstitutional and the right lay with the Parliament to bring a more suitable person to the throne. The position of the new King in relation to the Parliament was clearly defined. The King's position was now decidedly subordinate and that of the Parliament definitely supreme. The century old constitutional conflict at last brought the final victory to the Parliament which was the representative body of the people of England. The King had to co-operate with the Parliament and if he refused to do so or defied its wishes he could be deposed and another better qualified person installed on the throne. He was more like an official who could be dismissed for the neglect of his duties or for doing a thing that was against the law of the land. The rise of the Party System and Cabinet Government hastened the advent of constitutional government.

The Toleration Act gave liberty of conscience and worship to all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians. Repeal of the Licensing Act secured the liberty of the press. The amended Law of Treason and the Settlement Act secured individual liberty. The Act of Settlement secured the Protestant succession to the throne and the independence of judiciary. It was not possible for a Catholic king or a king with a Catholic wife to occupy the throne of England. The revolution safeguarded Protestant religion and State and made it impossible for future kings of England to rule arbitrarily. No event in the English history had even gained such constitutional and political significance. Law of the land was strengthened and the future Kings of England had lost power to break the law.

The final settlement of the constitutional issue between the king and Parliament gave the country unique strength and solidarity. England was in a position to devote her resources to the building-up of her vast colonial Empire which made her a first-rate power in Europe. In this connection Trevelyan, the great historian, has very rightly remarked that 'The Revolution gave us strength as well as freedom'.

(b) *Importance of the Revolution of* 1688 *in European history*. The course of events in the history of Europe was greatly influenced by the Revolution. The Revolution ended the Stuart dynasty of despotic rulers and brought William III, a great Protestant, leader of Europe, to the throne. With the accession of William, England witnessed a great change in her foreign policy. "Greater interest was created in continental affairs and the long isolation of England from

European politics came to an end." The Revolution added to the dignity and strength of England and raised it to the position of a first class power in Europe.

Wars with Scotland, Ireland and France were the results of the Revolution of 1688. James II had still some support in these countries and those who favoured his cause rebelled against the authority of William, but William defeated them everywhere. France too refused to acknowledge William as King of England and tried to restore James II to the English throne. At last Louis of France was defeated, he acknowledged William as King of England and agreed not to support James II. His defeat also put an end to his growing power and aggressive designs. His defeat helped to restore the 'balance of power' in Europe which thus saved the liberties of the weaker nations. Before the Revolution of 1688 England was more like a province of France and Charles II and James II appeared to be the viceroys of the French King. Foreign policy of England under the Stuarts was controlled by France. But the Revolution entirely changed the position of the continental affairs. The strong attitude taken by England after the Revolution frustrated the French King's ambitious schemes and brought him to his normal position. He was no longer a danger to weaker nations and popular liberties. But for the Revolution and the determination of William, a sworn enemy of France, to break her power, England would have remained a dependency of France and the latter would have been free to crush the liberties of the weaker states that were unable to resist her tyranny.

Politically, England came to assume the position of a first-rate Power. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) England was triumphant on the Continent. The power of France and Spain was broken and the 'balance of power' was restored. England ended the ambitions of France.

Another respect in which the Revolution proved of great importance in the history of Europe was a severe blow it dealt to the cause of Catholicism. The Catholic supporters of James II, in Scotland, Ireland and France were crushed and Catholicism gradually ceased to be a force. Protestantism became stronger. In course of time France and Spain that were strongholds of Catholicism became weak.

OTHER IMPORTANT AND UNIVERSITY QUESTION

Show that James II was a bad king.

How did James II alienate his subjects?

Why was James forced to resort to flight from England?

Discuss the importance of the year 1688 *in the history of England? Why is it called an epoch-making year?*

"The year 1688 *marks the beginning of a new epoch in English history." Comment.*

(*Hints—Write a short essay on the Glorious Revolution of* 1688 stating its causes, consequences and the reasons for which it was called 'Glorious.')

Give an account of the series of events that are responsible for the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

"The Glorious Revolution has been said to be the least violent and the most beneficial of all revolutions". Explain.

How did the Revolution of 1688 bring about 'limited monarchy' in England?

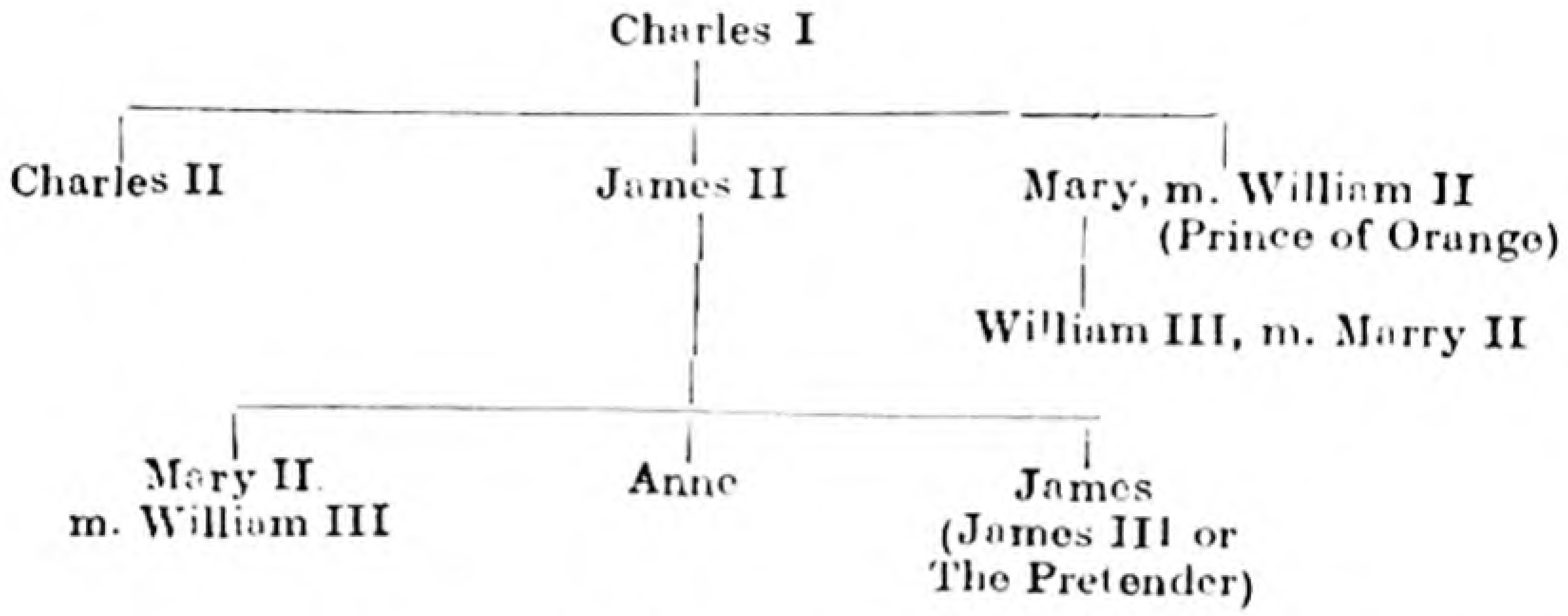
Burke remarked that it was not a revolution made but a revolution prevented. Comment.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 is a turning point in English history. Discuss.

CHAPTER XV

WILLIAM III AND MARY II JOINT (1689—1694)
WILLIAM ALONE (1694—1702)

> *"But England cannot but honour the memory of the monarch (William III) who established and respected the supremacy of Parliament and extended the liberties of Englishmen while fighting a dead foe".*
>
> —I 'TENAN.



Accession and Character. After the flight and abdication of James II, the throne having been declared vacant, was offered jointly to William III and Mary. William III was the husband of Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II. William and Mary were both Protestants. William and Mary were proclaimed joint sovereigns in England and Scotland. William III was the son of William II of Orange. William's title to the throne was not hereditary but elective and henceforward the title of the English sovereigns was solely based on the will of the Parliament.

William III was a shrewd politician. He understood foreign politics very well. His chief aim in life was to protect the Dutch Netherlands against the political ambitions and the aggressive attitude of France.

William was a patient, reserved, well-educated and ambitious man, trusting only a few intimate and personal friends. Though weak in body, he possessed great military and political ability and a strong will-power. He had great courage and boldly faced all difficulties and misfortunes. "He was calm in times of crisis and was very hard-working in matters of foreign affairs." His political ability was of the highest order and among the statesmen of Europe he occupies a place in the first rank. In religion a Protestant, he favoured toleration.

William's unpopularity in England. William III the son of William II of Orange was a foreigner in England. He did not understand and speak English well. Besides, he was cold, silent and reserved. He never tried to understand English likings, dislikings, prejudices and traditions. He was a silent Dutchman, deep in policy, heroic in his courage. Even in his childhood he was reserved and quiet, he loved simplicity and hated pomp and show. He strongly favoured his Dutch friends and left England very often to visit Holland, to which he was intensely devoted. He took very little interest in the domestic affairs of England.

Non-Jurors. Non-jurors were those clergy and bishops who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III because they considered him a usurper and regarded James II as the rightful king of the English people.

Jacobites. The Jacobites (from Jacobus, Latin for James) was the name of a party comprising the Non-jurors, the Catholics and the friends of James. They believed in the theory of Divine Right of Kings, were ardent supporters of James II, and looked upon William III as usurper. They formed a number of plots—Preston's Plot, Barclay's Assassination Plot, etc., to restore James II to the throne of England and assassinate William.

Dissenters. Those people who did not agree with and conform to the teachings of the Church of England were called Non-confirmists, and when they were further persecuted they dissented from the Church and were called Dissenters.

Q. Discuss the clauses and constitutional significance of the Bill of Rights, 1689. *Or,*

Q. "The Bill of Rights put a lasting check on the arbitrary powers of the Crown." Discuss with special reference to its provisions and its constitutional significance. *Or,*

Q. The Constitutional Settlement effected by the Revolution (1688) is contained, so far law is concerned, in the Bill of Rights, the Triennial Act of 1694 and the Act of Settlement of 1701. Discuss.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

After the flight of James from England, the Convention Parliament declared that James himself had abdicated the throne and now it lay vacant. The Convention discussed several proposals about the position of William, Prince of Orange, but he refused to be a mere agent or adviser. Every body felt that the country could not get on without William at the head of the government. At last a compromise was found. The conditions on which the throne was offered jointly to William and Mary were put down in the Declaration of Rights. William and Mary agreed to the conditions and became King and Queen of England. In case of death of the one, the other was to continue to rule the country. It was a sort of bargain between the new sovereigns and the people of England. The Crown was jointly accepted by them on their binding themselves by the terms given in the said Declaration. The Convention Parliament enacted the Declaration of Rights as the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights clearly repudiated the illegal claims and actions of James II and set forth the conditions according to which England was to be governed by William and Mary and other future sovereigns.

Important Provisions. The Bill of Rights provided that:

(*i*) The suspending and dispensing power of kings is illegal.

(*ii*) The Prerogative Courts to dispense justice like the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, etc., are illegal.

(*iii*) The king cannot raise or keep a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament.

(*iv*) The king cannot levy taxes and raise money in other ways without the consent of Parliament.

(*v*) Parliament should be freely elected and the king should not interfere in the elections. It should frequently meet to consider grievances of people and for purposes of legislation. The members should enjoy perfect freedom of speech and debate.

(*vi*) The subjects have a right to petition the king.

(*vii*) Excessive fines and cruel punishments should not be inflicted nor heavy bails demanded.

(*viii*) Jurymen must be honestly chosen, and in trials for high treason must be free-holders.

(*ix*) The Protestants may keep arms for purposes of self-defence consistent with their place and position in life and as permitted under the law of the country.

(*x*) The crown is jointly offered to William and Mary as King and Queen and the succession to the throne is settled upon their children, and, failing them, upon Mary's Protestant sister Anne and her children. Failing the above, the crown shall pass to the children of William by any other wife.

(*xi*) No Roman Catholic King or Queen or a person marrying a Roman Catholic shall in future possess or inherit the crown.

Constitutional Significance of the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights is very significant from political and constitutional points of view and it embodies the results of the Glorious Revolution. It completed the work begun by the Magna Carta and forms the Third Great charter of liberties of the English people. (Magna Carta being the first and Petition of Rights the second corner-stone of English liberties which set limits to the powers of the crown).

(i) *It Established Supremacy of Parliament.* The Bill of Rights permanently solved the questions that were responsible for the prolonged conflict between the king and the Parliament during the Stuart period. It definitely established sovereignty of Parliament and reduced the powers of the crown. The Convention Parliament deposed and expelled James II from the throne and put William and Mary as joint sovereigns in his place. The future kings were to rule not by any inherent or hereditary rights but their title was based on Parliamentary Acts. The Parliament was empowered to drive out one king and set up another. Henceforth the sovereignty resided in the Parliament and not in the king. The Commons got into their hands most of the powers and the king's ministers soon became in reality the ministers of the Commons, who thus won the control of the executive power. Royal government was replaced by Parliamentary government which is up to this day the chief feature of the English Constitution.

(ii) *It set up Constitutional or Limited Monarchy.* The position of the future monarchs of England was most seriously effected by the Bill of Rights. The new monarch was absolutely different from the previous kings. It became impossible for any future king of England to repeat the illegal claims and actions of James II or rule arbitrarily and violate the Constitution, and if he did so he was to forfeit the throne. The theory of the Divine Right of kings and Passive Obedience were exploded and never repeated. Th kings lost the power of making and unmaking laws, levying taxes and raising or keeping an army. They could not override the decisions of the Parliament. They were subject to the law of the land and criticism of the people. The tenure of the crown was made dependent upon the strict observance of the law and the maintenance of the constitution. This involved the denial of the doctrine of Divine Right (for the new king became a creature of an Act of Parliament) and the establishment of the 'reign of law'. The era of monarchical despotism ended and that of constitutionalism began.

(iii) *It secured Protestant Succession.* The Bill of Rights definitely provided that a Roman Catholic King or Queen or any person who married a Roman Catholic shall be excluded from the throne. This clause was also repeated in the Act of Settlement (1701) which clearly laid down that all future sovereigns of England must belong to the Church of England.

(iv) *It safeguarded Popular Rights and Liberties.* The subjects got the right to make petitions to the king and the Parliaments were to be frequently held to consider and redress the grievances of the people. The Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights—the three landmarks in the constitutional history of England —constitute in the words of Lord Chatham "The Bible of English Constitutional History." Each of these valuable documents asserts 'rights and liberties of the people' and insists on the 'rule of law.'

It so completely restricted the powers of the future kings of England that no scope was left for them to become despots in any field.

For the Triennial Act and the Act of Settlement please see further in this Chapter.

Q. 'The Settlement made at the Revolution of 1688 was a bargain between Crown and Parliament. The new sovereign accepted the crown upon definite conditions.' Explain the import-

ance of these conditions and refer to the statutes in which they are embodied. *Or,*

(P.U. 1955)

Describe the important legislative measures of the reign of William III. How far did it remedy the evils of the later Stuart despotism? *Or,*

'The constitutional settlement effected by the Revolution (1688) is contained so far as law is concerned in the Bill of Rights of 1689, the Triennial Act of 1694 and the Act of Settlement of 1701.' Discuss. *Or,*

(P.U. 1956, 1952)

Analyse the legal and other changes effected after the Revolution of 1688 which established the sovereignty of Parliament.

(P.U. 1944)

The Convention which offered the throne to William III and Mary was declared to be a regular Parliament. It set to work to pass new laws which should make it impossible for any king to govern on the lines of James II. The evils of the later Stuart despotism were thoroughly remedied for the king was now the constitutional head of the State and his powers were limited. The Parliamentary legislation of the reign of William III very much reduced the powers of the king and his position was like that of an official, so that whenever he asserted his own will or violated the constitution or repeated any despotic act of the Stuarts, he could be dethroned and dismissed at once. This Parliament was responsible for the settlement after the Glorious Revolution and passed the Bill of Rights (it was a mere conversion of the Declaration of Rights with slight changes), the Mutiny Act, Appropriation of Supplies and Toleration Act. Several other Acts were passed by the subsequent Parliaments.

1. *The Bill of Rights*, 1689. The results of the Revolution were embodied in the Bill of Rights. It put an end to royal despotism and marked the commencement of Parliamentary government and constitutional monarchy. The struggle which had raged for about a century between Stuart Kings and their Parliaments was closed by the Bill of Rights which finally decided that sovereignty lay in the Parliament and this was the only body to guide and control the government of the country. The theory of Divine Right disappeared and the title of the future kings of England depended upon the will of the Parliament. The Bill of Rights made England permanently a Protestant State by providing that no Catholic king or a king who had married a Catholic wife could inherit the throne of England. (For details and provisions please consult previous answer.)

2. *The Mutiny Act*, 1689. There was to be no "standing army" without the consent of Parliament but as a war with France was expected a "Mutiny Act" was passed allowing the king to keep troops under military discipline and try guilty soldiers by "Court martial" for one year. This power was granted for one year only, and each year Parliament had to renew it. It thus became an annual Act; it meant that the government could not maintain an army while the ministers ceased to retain the confidence of Parliament. Control of Parliament over the army was thus fully secured. The Act con-

tinued to be renewed every year till 1897 when it was superseded by the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill.

3. *The Appropriation of Supplies or the Annual Grant of Supplies*, 1689. Formerly the sums of money voted to the crown were spent by the sovereign at his discretion, but now Parliament commenced the practice of *appropriating the supplies* to certain purposes, that is, the Parliament stated the purpose for which particular money was to be spent. Further the supplies were voted for one year only, and royal accounts were to be audited. This was the origin of modern "*budget*" though the term was not used yet. Thus annual session of Parliament became indispensable and ministers had to win the approval of the House of Commons for their expenditure. Parliament acquired complete control of finance and with it an increasing control of the administration.

4. *Toleration Act*, 1689. By this all those persons who subscribed to 34 out of the 39 Articles of Christian faith as given in the Book of Common Prayer were granted freedom of conscience, i.e., liberty of worship. Thus the Toleration Act very much extended freedom of worship and all the sects except the Catholics and the Unitarians began to enjoy liberty of conscience. They got the legal right to worship in public. The spirit of tolerance steadily increased. This was the religious aspect of the Revolution.

5. *The Triennial Act*, 1694. It provided that the maximum life of a Parliament was to be three years and after it general elections should be held. The Act aimed at restricting the power of the king to continue a servile Parliament for not more than three years.

6. *Repeal of the Licensing Act*, 1695. The Licensing Act of 1662 imposed stringent restrictions on the liberty of the Press and placed the control of printing in the hands of the Government. William, however, refused to renew the Licensing Act in 1695 and this automatically secured the liberty of the Press for the future. As a result of this the number of books and newspapers increased with incredible rapidity and the Press became a political power in the country.

7. *The Amended Treason Act*, 1696. Before this Act was passed persons accused of treason could not have fair trial for they could not get proper facilities for self-defence. In 1696 the Law of Treason was amended so that persons accused of treason were allowed to engage lawyers to defend themselves.

8. *The Act of Settlement*, 1701. The last of the Acts of William's reign that completed the Revolution Settlement was the Act of Settlement. The Act decided the order of succession to throne and also required that no person who was not a member of the Church of England could occupy the throne. The king's pardon could not defend a person impeached by the Commons. Better justice was ensured, for the judges received fixed salaries and could be removed only upon the address of both Houses. "This made the judges responsible to the Parliament and ensured impartial administration of

justice." (For details please see Act of Settlement at the end of this chapter.)

Q. What was the chief work of the Convention of 1689?

Ans. It passed the Bill of Rights, Appropriation of Supplies, Mutiny Act and Toleration Act. (For details of these Acts please see previous answer).

Q. Describe briefly the Financial Policy and Reforms of William or the great measures affecting national finance (Financial Settlement).

1. *The National Debt.* It was found impossible to raise enough money annually to meet the expenses of the war. So Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, borrowed money from a company of merchants who were not to be paid off at a time, not even to get regular interest but to get a fixed annuity. This plan of Montague was modified by the scheme of Paterson in 1694 by which the company of merchants who had lent money to the government was constituted and named the Bank of England. The government was not to repay the principal to the Bank, but it guaranteed to pay regular interest. The new loans became permanent and their interests a fixed charge on the revenues. This was the origin of the National Debt, so called becaue the money was lent not to the King but to the nation.

2. *The Bank of England.* In 1694 at the suggestion of William Paterson, a leading Scotsman, the Bank of England was constituted from the company of merchants who had lent money to the government. It proved very successful because (a) the Bank of England gave greater security to the investors than the goldsmiths (who were carrying on the banking business before this) as the government stood security for the stability of the Bank of England; (b) It became the agent of the ministry for borrowing money on the security of a Parliamentary promise that interest would be regularly paid; (c) It was also more convenient for the government to borrow from the Bank of England than from private parties; (d) Stability of the Government was confirmed. The indirect advantage of these loans was that those who held government stocks became interested in the stability of the government and hence were attached to the Revolutionary Settlement. They were afraid of Jacobite restoration since it was unlikely that James, if he were restored to the throne of England, would pay interest on money, borrowed by William.

3. *Recoinage Act,* 1696. The coins had much depreciated in value on account of clipping and so in 1697 the coinage was restored to its former value and Sir Issac Newton, the scientist, was appointed Master of the Mint. The old money which was much worn and was often clipped round the edges was called in and new coins were issued whose milled edges made clipping impossible in future. The reform in the coinage led to the growth of trade and commerce. William's wise financial policy and reforms went a long way in strengthening his position. The loss caused by the new coinage was made up by

Shaftesbury to exclude James, Duke of York (later on James II), brother of Charles II from succession to the throne of England after his death. The Bill could not be passed although it was brought three times before Parliament and it gave rise to heated controversy over the subject. It was now for the first time that the political parties were organised. The two rival parties were called the Petitioners and the Abhorers—the former were so called for they sent numerous *petitions* to Charles II requesting him to summon a new Parliament to pass the Exclusion Bill and the later were so called because they *abhorred* the idea of forcing the king to call a Parliament which was an attack on his prerogative. Subsequently, the *petitioners* were called Whigs and *Abhorers*, Tories.

The political creed and the principles of the Whigs were to support constitutional monarchy, uphold rights and liberties of the people, extend religious toleration to the Dissenters, encourage free trade, follow a bold and forward policy and enter into war whenever necessary and take active interest in the politics of Europe. The creed and the principles of the Tories were directly opposed to those of the Whigs. The Tories believed in royal prerogative and Divine Right of Kings; they did not favour toleration and strongly supported the Anglican Church (established Church of England). They were opposed to a bold and adventurous foreign policy involving England in war and abstained from interfering in the politics of the continent.

The evolution of the party system in the reigns of Charles II and James II helped the growth of the Cabinet system. But before 1688 the Cabinet was not composed of members of a particular party commanding majority in the House of Commons.

William III's reign witnessed a marked advance in the growth of Party System and Cabinet Government. The invitation of William Prince of Orange to come over to England and relieve them from the unconstitutional acts of a Papist king was sent by the representatives not of a particular party but by the leading men of the country. Since William owed his throne to the united support of both the Whigs and the Tories, he tried to form a ministry which consisted of the members of both the parties. But the work of government could not be efficient and harmonious as the Whigs strongly upheld the Revolution Settlement and the war policy of William while the Tories were strong opponents of the Whigs and were opposed to William's war policy.

Now William tried another experiment. On the suggestion of a 1 Sunderland, William chose all his ministers from the Whigs who by XIV nce formed a majority in the House of Commons. This Whig Ministry should b known as the Whig Junto worked well since all its members to Ireland t same political principles and consequently their line of action supporters of W milar. The Whig Ministry remained in office till 1697 bravely under Wa action brought a majority of the Tories in the House English army. Willia illiam had to dismiss his Whig ministry and choose ted crushing defeat on Ja the Tory Party, for he knew that the ministry forced to flee to France. Th

The king's pardon could not be ac-

of the same way of thinking would work well. Thus was established the principle that the choice of ministers must by determined by the majority in the House of Commons. The principle gradually developed into a constitutional convention in the reigns of future sovereigns of England. The great advantage of this system was that there was co-operation between the Cabinet and the Parliament and the work of government was carried on with smoothness and efficiency. The above account of the development of the Cabinet system shows that the reign of William III is an important landmark in the growth of the Cabinet system, because it was a move in the direction of constitutional government. (For the development of the party system in the reign of Queen Anne please consult next chapter).

Q. Briefly describe the Act of Settlement (1701) with particular reference to its clauses and constitutional significance. *Or,*

Q. The Act of Settlement had been the work of a Tory majority. In the light of the Whig-Tory rivalry under William and Mary, explain why the Tories favoured the Act thereby helping to secure the Hanoverian succession to the English throne. *Or,*

Q. What were the precise terms of the Act of Settlement? Why did the Tories under William and Mary support it? How did it help secure the Hanoverian succession to the English throne?

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1701

This Act was passed by the Parliament in 1701. William III had no issue and all the children of Queen Anne had died. In 1700 the little Duke of Gloucester (Anne's son) also died and under the circumstances it became very necessary to provide immediately for the Protestant succession to the throne. Some Catholics were nearer heirs but they were left out of consideration because they did not belong to the Church of England. In a sense this Act summed up the results of the Revolution of 1688.

Clauses of the Act—

(i) By it the Crown would pass to Anne after William; after Anne it would pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs, if Protestants. (Sophia who was a Protestant was a grand-daughter of James I).

(ii) The ruler of England must be a member of the Church of England.

(iii) No war should be undertaken for the defence of any country not belonging to the Crown of England without the consent of Parliament.

(iv) Judges were to receive fixed salaries. A judge could not be removed unless he was convicted of doing wrong or both the Houses of Parliament made a petition to the King for his removal. This helped to secure independence of the judges who could now give better justice.

(v) No person impeached by the Commons could be protected the country to Catholic faith made him extremely unpopular with all classes of people. This led to the Revolution of 1688 which ultimately drove James II from the throne. He fled to France; the Convention Parliament declared the throne vacant and offered it to William III and his wife Mary on the condition of their accepting the provisions of the Bill of Rights. The title of the new King and Queen and of all future kings to the English throne was based on the Act of the Parliament. The Parliament held supreme authority and could depose a sovereign who violated the constitution of the country or in any way came into conflict with the people. Another constitutional gain of the Revolution was the rise of the Cabinet Government. William was compelled to choose his ministers from the majority party in the House of Commons. Thus grew up the system of Party Government and Cabinet Government.

Legislative aspect or importance of William's reign. The legislation of the reign of William III had a new character. It did not mean to strengthen the hands of the king; rather it aimed at limiting his authority and affording better protection to the rights and liberties of the people. "The Parliamentary legislation of the reign of William III remedied the evils of the later Stuart despotism."

The Bill of Rights ended the theory of Divine Right of Kings, permanently limited royal power and established supremacy of the people through Parliament. The Mutiny Act and the Annual Grant of Supplies gave Parliament control over the army and expenditure and made parliamentary session indispensable. The Financial Act made it impossible for the king to continue a subservient Parliament for more than three years.

The liberty of the Press was established by the Repeal of the Licensing Act. Since that time the censorship of the Press has never been revived.

The Act of Settlement ensured for all a proper administration of the laws of Realm for it made the position of Judges more stable; it provided for Protestant succession to the throne; it established the responsibility of the king's ministers for all acts of the State. The days of kingly despotism and royal prerogatives were over; the era of limited monarchy, constitutionalism and parliamentary rule had commenced. Thus the supremacy of the Parliament was established and it became the most important factor in the government of the country.

Religious aspect or importance of William's reign. Religious persecution was no longer possible and it became a thing of the past. The Toleration Act extended religious toleration and freedom of thought to all sects in the country except the Unitarians and the Catholics. "Though the Toleration Act of 1689 was not liberal enough to include all sects, yet it was a great step towards religious freedom enjoyed in England at the present day."

Financial aspect or importance of William's reign. William was anxious to devise means that would improve the country's finances and enable him to get enough money to carry on the war. A plan was now devised of borrowing money on the security of the Government, so that the money was lent not to the king but to the nation. This led to the establishment of the National Debt. The Bank of England was started in 1694. These measures made the supply of money for national purposes quite sure and afforded greater security to the investors. The 'Currency was restored' in 1695. Coins with milled edges were issued and bad coins with clipped edges were called off. All these measures helped to stimulate trade and commerce.

For William's unpopularity in England please study the first answer of this Chapter.

William's Foreign Policy. "The Revolution of 1688 ushered in a period of prolonged conflict with France."

Change in foreign policy. Before the Revolution the Stuart monarchs had no independent foreign policy. They were tools in the hands of the French kings and subordinated their foreign policy to French interests. The Stuarts were avowed Catholics, they were not on good terms with their subjects and were in constant need of money which their Parliament refused to grant. They looked to the French kings for financial and military support and hence they made their foreign policy subservient to the interests of France. After the Revolution there was an important change in the foreign policy of England. France wanted to occupy Holland and Belgium and thus have great maritime importance. William could not tolerate this and prepared for resisting the ambitions of France. Immediately on his accession to the throne William reversed the foreign policy of England—'from Friends to Foe' towards France. William was thus deadly hostile to Louis XIV of France and William's whole career was a firm struggle to check the growing power and aggressive designs of Louis in order to maintain the 'balance of power' in Europe. Before William became king of England, he had organised the League of Augsberg to resist France and now continued the same hostile attitude towards her. William had in fact accepted the throne of England to break down the power of France. Louis looked upon William as a usurper and lent strong support to James II to restore him to the throne of England. Hence William declared war against Louis and compelled him by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) to recognise him as the lawful king of England.

Political aspect or International importance. Charles II of Spain had vast territories but he was issueless and was expected to die soon. There was the possibility of the union of the Crowns of Spain and France under the grandson of Louis XIV and that would naturally have upset the 'balance of power' by making France a formidable power on the continent. William made two Partition Treaties: the first Partition Treaty failed because of the death of Prince of Bavaria and the second Partition Treaty was violated by Louis because he preferred to accept the will made by Charles of Spain in virtue of which he had left vast territories and immense wealth in favour of Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV. William formed the Grand Alliance of England, Holland, Austria and other countries to give a blow to the growing power and ambitious schemes of the French king. "Finally, though William did not live to see the great aim of his life achieved, he had laid secure foundations for its realisation when he built up the Grand Alliance which was to break for ever the overwhelming power of Louis XIV on the continent of Europe."

The War of Spanish Succession (1702—1713) became inevitable and was successfully conducted by Queen Anne. As a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) which closed the war, England gained most of all the combatant powers, she became the greatest maritime power and her status was much raised in the eyes of European nations.

"He (William) gave his whole time to affairs of State taking part in no amusements whatever, except hunting, to which he was passionately addicted. He gave civil freedom to England, and for a time at least, secured her safety against foreign foes. For these gifts England must thank this great statesman, who died unloved but respected by his people". (Mowat).

Q. "William III's reign saw considerable enlargement of the power of Parliament and liberties of the people." Justify. ***Or,***

"The abdication of James II and the accession of William III to English throne mark the commencement of a new epoch." Comment. *Or,*

"William III is considered one of the best kings of England." Comment.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

The position of the future monarchs of England was seriously affected by the Bill of Rights. Discuss.

Discuss carefully the importance of the Act of Settlement.

Discuss the significance of the Bill of Rights.

Write a short note on the domestic policy of William III.

The reign of William III has great importance in the history of England. Discuss.

What were the causes and the consequences of the struggle between the English and the French that began with the accession of William III?

CHAPTER XVI

QUEEN ANNE (1702—1714)

M

> *"The cabinet system of government was estabed perfectly under Queen Anne. She chose her ministers from the party in power and at once dismissed them as soon as their party lost the majority in the House of Commons."*

After the death of William III, Anne, the younger daughter of James II, ascended the throne of England in terms of the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701). The Act provided that on the death of William III, the crown should go to his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne. She was a simple-minded, and good-natured, mild and easy-going woman though she was narrow and obstinate and inherited some of the Stuart prejudices. She was very religious and devoted to the Church. She did not possess great intellectual ability and capacity for government. Her lack of confidence in herself made her dependent upon the support and guidance of her ministers and favourites. Anne was much guided by Duke of Marlborough for his wife had been her friend from early years. The two most powerful persons in the country, at this time, were Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, both of whom were moderate Tories. Despite her weakness as a ruler she was loved by the nation for her two remarkable traits of character—her sympathies were entirely English and she firmly and generously supported the Church of England against Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike.

Q. Describe briefly the causes, main events and results of the War of Spanish Succession (1702—1713). *Or,*

Q. Why did England enter the War of the Spanish Succession and what did she gain or lose by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713)? *Or,*

Q. "Before the War of Spanish Succession England was one of the Sea-Powers; after it she became the Sea-Power without any second." Comment.

CAUSES OF THE WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION

The causes of the war, strictly speaking, arose during the reign of William III and the war was soon to begin. William formed the Grand Alliance for it was his life mission to check the ambitious designs of Louis of France and maintain the 'balance of power' in Europe. William died early in 1702 and so it was left to Anne to carry on the war. Very soon after her coronation the Queen declared war with France. This war was called the War of Spanish Succession because it was undertaken to fix the successor to the throne of Spain after the death of Charles II who was dying without any children.

1. *William III's anxiety to maintain the Balance of Power in Europe and the Partition Treaties.* William was anxious to break the power of France and save Holland in order to keep balance of power. Charles II of Spain had no issue to succeed him to the throne and was believed to be dying. There were three claimants to the throne: (i) Louis the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV of France; (ii) Joseph Ferdinand, son of Elector of Bavaria; and (iii) The Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold of Austria. When any of these prospective heirs succeeded to the vast possessions of Charles II, the 'balance of power' on the continent was sure to be upset. The empire of Spain included Milan, Naples, and Sicily in Italy, the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and the rich Spanish land in South America. By the First Partition Treaty signed between William and Louis in 1698, it was arranged that the crown of Spain would be given to the Bavarian Prince, while the other two claimants were to receive portions of other Spanish possessions. But the Bavarain Prince died early in 1699 and thus the First Partition Treaty became a dead letter.

The problem of the 'balance of power' was still there. William and Louis made a Second Partition Treaty in 1700 by which the Archduke Charles of Austria was to have the crown of Spain and the Bavarian Prince's portion and the Dauphin of France was to have the rest of the Spanish possessions. Charles of Spain was indignant to know the way in which his dominions were disposed of without his knowledge. Before his death Charles of Spain made a '*will*' by which he left all his dominions to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. Immediately on the death of Charles in 1700, Louis claimed the entire Spanish empire for his grandson Philip under the late king's '*will*' and utterly neglected the Second Partition Treaty. This would have led to an abnormal extension of the French power and disturbed seriously the 'balance of power' on the continent. To force Louis to observe the Second Partition Treaty and prevent the union of the French and Spanish Crowns, William formed the Grand Alliance.

2. *The attempt of the French king to occupy Holland and Belgium.* The French king refused to quit the border fortresses of Holland and it was his constant desire to occupy Holland and Belgium.

3. *Commercial Rivalry.* Louis secured special trade facilities and concessions in Spanish America which were sure to do great injury to commercial interests of England in that part.

4. *Recognition of James II's son as king of England by Louis.* James II died in 1701. Louis recognised the Pretender (son of James II) as heir to the throne of England. It was a direct violation of the Treaty of Ryswick for by it neither England nor France could support each other's enemies. This roused the feelings of the English people and even strong Tories, who ordinarily shunned war, became willing to fight against France.

But before William could take any part in the fighting, he fell from a horse and received injuries which proved fatal. William's death made no change in the war policy of England.

Parties. England, Holland, Austria, Portugal and some other minor powers as members of the Grand Alliance were on one side. Duke of Marlborough was the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces assisted by Prince Eugene at the head of the Austrian forces. On the other side were France, Spain and Bavaria.

CHIEF EVENTS IN NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY

Battle of Blenheim 1704. Marlborough marched to the Danube, joined Prince Eugene and defeated the French Army at Blenheim. Vienna, the capital of Austria, the objective of the French army, was thus saved and the hopes of the French were frustrated.

Battle of Remillies, 1706. Marlborough gained victory over the French at Remillies in Netherlands in 1706, taking possession of nine fortresses, between Flanders and France. The French tried for peace but Marlborough refused.

Battle of Oudenarde, 1708. A brilliant victory was won by Marlborough at Oudenarde and Louis sued for peace but he had again to be disappointed.

Battle of Lille, 1708. Marlborough gained victory.

Battle of Malplaquet, 1709. Here Marlborough and Eugene won a victory over the enemy though at a very heavy cost.

EVENTS IN ITALY

The French were defeated at Turin in 1706 by Prince Eugene who got hold of Milan and Naples for Austria.

EVENTS IN SPAIN

Admiral Rooke took the strong fortress of Gibraltar in 1704 which served as an important naval base for England in the Mediterranean. In 1707 the Allies suffered a defeat at Almaza but Stanhope took Minorca in 1708 which proved another useful base for England in the Mediterranean. In 1710 Stanhope captured Madrid but met defeat at Brihuega.

The Whig ministry which was in favour of the war was dismissed by Queen Anne; the Tories came into power, dismissed Marlborough, appointed Ormande in his place and made peace with France after some negotiations.

Result, Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. *Terms.* (*i*) Philip, grandson of Louis XIV, became Philip of Spain and kept Spanish America but he and his descendants gave up all claim to the crown of France.

(*ii*) Austria gained Milan, Naples, Sardinia and the Spanish Netherlands.

(*iii*) The Dutch received a strong line of fortresses to defend Holland.

(*iv*) The Duke of Savoy received Sicily.

(*v*) England got Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain and Hudson Bay Territories, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia from France.

(*vi*) England was given the sole right, for 30 years, of trade in Negro slaves with the Spanish colonies, and of sending one merchant-ship each year to the South seas by means of the Assento Treaty signed between England and Spain.

(*vii*) Louis promised to acknowledge Anne and her successors of the House of Hanover as lawful sovereign of England. The Protestant succession to the throne of England was thus recognised.

(*viii*) Louis of France also agreed to expel the Pretender (son of James II) from France.

Importance of the treaty of Utrecht or its political consequences and the gains of England: *An Epoch-making Treaty*. This treaty has great political significance not only in the history of England but in the history of Europe as well. It is rightly said that "if at the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht." The following points are particularly worthy of note regarding the political significance of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the gains of England:—

1. The power of Louis XIV of France was finally shattered. French prestige and power received a death blow from which it could not easily recover. The aggressive policy of Louis XIV came to an end.

2. Balance of Power was restored in Europe. Before the Treaty of Utrecht, France had become abnormally powerful and the balance of power was seriously upset in Europe. Her growing strength and influence was a source of danger to the liberties of Europe. Louis XIV was almost a terror who was feared by the European powers. But by the Treaty of Utrecht Spain and the Netherlands were freed from the control of Louis XIV of France and the result of this was that the balance of power was restored in Europe and France ceased to be a danger to European liberties and weaker nations.

3. Great Britain made important advantages from the Treaty. She became a great naval and commercial power. She gained the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca which gave her the control of the Mediterranean.

4. The American colonies (Hudson's Bay and Straits, Newfoundland and Acadia, now called Nava Scotia) and the trading privileges which Great Britain received increased her trade, made her prosperous and a great commercial power of Europe. She also became 'Mistress of the Sea' in American Waters.

Louis was so hard-pressed and his anxiety for peace was so great that if handled tactfully, he could have offered more favourable terms to England and her Allies. "The Whigs opposed the Treaty thinking that much better terms could be got by a little exercise of patience."

"The Treaty of Utrecht marked an epoch both in the history of Europe and of England. It completed the downfall of the very great power of Louis XIV, who died in 1715, after having outlived the glories of his age. It brought about the revival of Spain and the beginning of the European importance of the two new monarchies of Brandenburg—Prussia and Sicily—Savoy. It witnessed the establishment of England in the prominent position won for her by Marlborough's victories, and gave her great commercial advantages, fresh colonies, an establishment in the Mediterranean, and the status of the supreme maritime power in the world." (Tout).

Q. Describe the circumstances which led to the Anglo-Scottish Union (1707). Why has it proved so lasting? *Or,*

The Act of Union (1707) has been described as a statesmanlike solution for both England and Scotland. Do you agree with this view? Adduce arguments in support of your answer. *Or,*

Why was the Union between England and Scotland contracted in 1707 and what advantages accrued to the countries concerned? *Or,*

"The Act of Union (Anglo-Scottish) was a triumph of statesmanship and moderation." Discuss mutual advantages to England and Scotland in the light of this remark. *Or,*

Describe the circumstances that led to the Act of Union in 1707. What were the principal advantages that England and Scotland had from the Union?

THE ACT OF UNION, 1707

Circumstances that led to the Union. The Crowns of England and Scotland were united under James I but this union was purely personal and as such it had not much political importance. Attempts were made by James, Cromwell and others for a more complete union but they bore no fruit. Scotland was unwilling to enter into any Union with England since it had a number of grievances. The Scots were dissatisfied for the following reasons:—

1. There were sharp religious differences between the two countries. The English wanted to force upon the Scots their own religious views against their wishes. This caused great bitterness between the two countries.

2. There was great rivalry and friction between the two countries on commercial grounds. The Navigation Laws prohibited the entry of Scottish ships in English ports.

3. The Scots were not allowed to trade with English colonies.

4. Uptill 1707 heavy duties were raised upon any goods passing between England and Scotland, and as Scotland was a poor country and had to import many things, this pressed heavily upon the Scottism people. So they began to grow restless.

5. In 1698 a Scottish company was formed to colonize a district in Isthmus of Panama. But the English did not give any help and

rather looked with jealousy at the company as a rival. The Scheme failed and its failure caused great bitterness in Scotland. This was known as the failure of the Darien Scheme. The Scots made up their mind to break connection with England. In 1704 the Parliament of Scotland passed and Act of Security by which they refused to acknowledge Queen Anne's successor as their King unless the trade restrictions were abolished. The English Parliament feared that there would be a war between the two nations. After much discussion the Act of Union was passed.

Terms of the Act of Union, 1707—

(i) England and Scotland were to be known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain. They were to be ruled by the same sovereign and were to have one army.

(ii) The two countries were to have a common National flag—the Union Jack.

(iii) The two countries were to have one Parliament at London to which the Scots should send 45 members to the Commons and 16 to the Lords.

(iv) The Scottish law and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland were to remain undisturbed.

(v) Scotland was to enjoy equal commercial privileges with England. Scotland was allowed to trade with the colonies. No legal difference was to be recognized between Scotsmen and Englishmen throughout the British Empire.

(vi) The future succession to the throne of Great Britain was based on the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701).

(vii) England undertook to pay to Scotland £ 400,000 towards the payment of the National Debt of Scotland and compensate those who had suffered monetary losses in the Darien Scheme.

Effects of the Act of Union or the Principal advantages to England and Scotland. The Union was a great success. England and Scotland both gained from the Union. It proved a blessing to both the countries.

Advantages to England. 1. There was no more old enmity between Scotland and England. As such, England had no fears of an attack from the north and it was this security which has given the English people a victory over their enemies in later wars.

2. England had the advantage of the experience and attainments of eminent Scots which proved of immense value in the cultural growth, political development and economic prosperity of the Empire. Scotland and the Scots proved very valuable assets to the British Empire.

3. Later on Highland clans were utilised for the army of Great Britain. "The Highlanders were redeemed from comparative savagery and their regiments became some of the finest fighting material in the British Army."

4. But for the pleasant relations of the two countries which were the result of the Act of Union, it was possible that Scotland would have advocated the cause of James II and restored him to kingship. Naturally this would have weakened the cause of the Glorious Revolution. The Jacobites lost all hopes permanently of bringing back James II or the Pretender (son of James II) to the throne of England.

Advantages to Scotland. (i) Scotland became prosperous. It enjoyed perfect commercial equality with England. It laboured no more under trade restrictions and it could trade freely with colonies. It became a great commercial country in course of time.

(ii) Scotland became secure against political danger from England and Scotland being friendly, the one had no danger from the other. Scotland was free to mould her destinies as it liked.

(iii) The long standing enmity between the two countries came to an end and it opened a new chapter of friendly and helpful relations. "Admitted on free and equal terms to participate in England and England's Empire, the Scots speedily made their way and rose to high positions in trade and finance, at the Universities and in the Government, in the Navy, Army and Imperial Affairs". (Mowat).

The Act has proved lasting. The act was a source of blessing to both England and Scotland. Both the countries gained many advantages from it. The Act brought prosperity to both of them and created mutual good will and better understanding between them. The Act has proved lasting because both the countries acted with sense and wisdom. It was fortunate for both of them to come to a compromise and to have made a way for permanent union. If they had not acted with wisdom and moderation they were sure to have come to serious conflicts and clashes and thus caused each other's ruin. Before the union the Scots were not satisfied with England mainly because of their failure of the Darien Company. They attributed their failure to the attitude of England. Scotland had other grievances too. The Massacre of Glencoe (1692) had also embittered their feelings. If early Union had not been affected, Scotland with its hostility would have become a great danger to the peace and politics of England. There was also the danger that Scotland would accept a Stuart King and imperil the peace of England. This made England all the more anxious for the Union. The Union was effected and it has proved lasting and successful because both the countries have gained thereby in strength and prosperity by mutual dependence.

Q. Estimate the character and achievement of the Duke of Marlborough. *Or,*

Q. Assess the qualities of the Duke of Marlborough and describe the part played by him in the Spanish War of Succession. *Or,*

Q. Write a short note on John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, with special reference to his work and achievement and his importance in the history of England.

A Brief Life Sketch of Marlborough

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was born at Ashe, in Devonshire, 1650. He enlisted himself in the army when he was sixteen and soon gave proof of his military talents. He served with great credit under Charles II and James II. James II created him Lord Churchill in 1685. At the head of the royal forces, he defeated the Duke of Monmouth at Sedgemoor in 1685. Unscrupulous, avaricious and ambitious by nature whose sole ambition in life was to become rich and famous by any means and who attached no value to loyalty and honesty, he gave up the cause of his friend James II and went over to William III's side when he ascended the throne of England. William made him Earl of Marlborough and placed him in command of the army in the Netherlands, but in 1692 he was detected carrying on secret negotiations with James II of England, at this time a fugitive in France, and so William dismissed him from all offices. In 1694 he was restored to his former position. He was made a duke for driving the French out of Scotland in 1702. He had great influence over Queen Anne through his wife Sarah, the friend and favourite of Anne.

Spanish War of Succession

He was the chief minister of Anne for some time and she appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the War of Spanish Succession (1702—1713). He gained great victories in this War. "But the Grand Alliance possessed one great asset which outweighed all Louis' advantages and that was the brilliant genius of John Churchill." (Tenen). In 1711 the Whigs lost power and were replaced by the Tory Ministry. The Whigs were in favour of prosecution of war with France, but Tories wanted to end the war and were negotiating for peace with France. Marlborough was against peace and actively tried to thwart the peace efforts of the Tory ministry. The Tory ministry was now bent upon crushing him and brought charges of bribery, embezzlement and corruption against him. "He was charged with having received money from contractors who supplied the army with provisions, and also with having taken a percentage of the subsidies paid to the allied princes." He defended himself and refuted the charges, but no defence was of any avail under the circumstances. He was dismissed from all offices and the command of the army was given to the Duke of Ormonde, a strong Tory. He fled to France only to return to England in 1714. George I, the first Hanoverian King, placed him in power again. He died in 1722.

His Character. "She (Queen Anne) had never shown any of the qualities that make a great ruler, and her accession might have been a disaster for the allies but for the fact that she had at hand a man of first-rate ability to carry on King William's work." (Rayner). Marlborough was a loyal statesman, a military genius, the greatest general of his age and also the greatest general that England had before Wellington. A great chronicle writer says of him "he never fought a battle which he did not win, nor ever besiged a place which he did not secure." Throughout the Spanish Succession War he did not suffer a single defeat though he was frequently hampered by selfish and inexperienced Allies. He possessed great capacity for work and was always calm and fearless in the time of danger. "He was humane in the battlefield and quite heedless of the danger." He was not only a brave soldier and brilliant general but was also able as an administrator. His influence with the government in England and with the different Powers forming the Grand Alliance is a proof of him as a great diplomat. Despite his greatness, Marlborough had a number of faults. He was self-seeking, greedy and treacherous. He was always governed by personal interests. He had no political principles and was consistently an opportunist. He had no principles and could resort to all sorts of methods to achieve his ends. He was a born intriguer and capable of most intricate plots. Neither grateful nor loyal, he had sordid love of money and had no true sense of honour. He was a moderate Tory but a typical opportunist who had no scruples for party or its principles. "It was rightly said of him that his wife, his position, and his pocket were the only three things he cared for." He was not moved by religious enthusiasm. He was the greatest and meanest of mankind.

His work and achievements. Marlborough, with all his defects and weaknesses, is considered one of the most eminent personalities of England who have made a tremendous contribution towards building her history and adding to her glory as a nation. As Commander-in-Chief during the Spanish Succession War he won splendid victories at Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Lille and Malplaquet; these successes mark him as one of the greatest generals of the world. The Treaty of Utrecht which concluded the War of Spanish Succession made England a first-rate power of the world. It was by virtue of this Treaty that the continental designs of William III materialised, the power of France was broken, the 'balance of power' in Europe was restored and England emerged a great naval, colonial and commercial power. A great military general of the type of Marlborough was the real need of England after the death of William III and the accession of Anne, a mild, easy-going lady. The glory and greatness of England was, in no small measure, due to Marlborough—one of the most famous generals and striking personalities in the History of England. He could manage Parliament and was the highest diplomatic genius of the age.

Q. "The seventeenth century is of all periods the most critical in the history of Parliament." Name the outstanding issues. What was the result?

Practically the whole of the seventeenth century was a period of keen conflict between the Crown and the Parliament on the question of 'ultimate sovereignty.' It was on the question of ultimate sovereignty' that the Parliament attacked the prerogatives of the Crown one after another.

OUTSTANDING ISSUES

The most important issues of the struggle were religious, financial and legislative problems and the control of national policy. "Taxation, legislation, free deliberation on public affairs, criticism and control of ministerial action; on all these points Parliament came into conflict with the Stuart Kings."

The Stuart monarchs tried to obtain money without the consent of Parliament. The tariff duties of 1606 and the Ship Money illustrate this. Resolutions were passed in 1610 and 1614 against the right of the Crown to levy impositions. The Petition of Rights (1628) declared arbitrary taxation illegal. The Long Parliament also declared the same.

James I employed the machinery of 'proclamations' and tried to exercise the right of legislation, against which Parliament remonstrated in 1610. The later Stuarts suspended and dispensed with the laws. The Bill of Rights declared against this practice.

Conflicts also arose in regard to parliamentary privileges.

Parliament also tried to control the ministers. This we see in the impeachment of Danby.

The Stuart monarchs followed a religious policy which was not favoured by Parliament.

Result. Parliament emerged victorious in the long struggle of the seventeenth century. The seventeenth century turned to be of great importance in the constitutional history of England. The practical working of the English Constitution towards the end of the seventeenth century differed freely from the working at the beginning of the century. One Stuart King had to lose his head and another his Crown.

The Crown became a figure-head in the English Constitution and England became a "Crowned Republic." The Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement and several other Acts ended the long conflict between the Crown and the Parliament in favour of the latter.

The last Stuart King (James II) had fled away never to come back to England. The Parliament set up William and Mary on the throne. (Mary was the daughter of James II, the last Stuart King and William was the son-in-law of James II). They did not ascend the throne on account of their right of succession but as the choice of nation represented by Parliament. The Revolution gave Parliament the position of leadership in the political life of the counry. The King was to play a secondary role.

Most important of all, the Glorious Revolution definitely decided that real sovereignty resided not in the Crown but in the Parliament, i.e., the representatives of the nation. Henceforth Parliamentary sovereignty became an accomplished fact and there was to be no more of rivalry between them for sovereignty. The Stuart theory of Divine Rights ended once for all and it became a thing of the past for the English sovereigns to exercise arbitrary powers or violate the Constitution. If they disregarded their duties or exceeded the limits of their powers, they could be called to account and suitably punished. The sole question in the struggle between the King and Parliament was whether the King should have his own way or be guided by

Parliament representing the nation. The reply to this question was in favour of Parliament. Parliament became supreme and the King was to abide by its decisions.

The Revolution also put an end to the royal attempts to impose Roman Catholicism on an unwilling people. Protestantism was secured in England and soon it was a law that no Catholic King or a King with a Catholic wife could occupy the throne of England.

The settlement of the constitutional issue made England united and strong enough to maintain her position as a first-rate European power and to start building up her vast colonial Empire.

OTHER USEFUL QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

How were England and Scotland united into one Kingdom?

"The Act of Union (1707) *proved a blessing to England and Scotland." Comment.*

Describe the importance of the Act of Union (1707).

Describe the growth of the Party system under Charles II and Queen Anne.

(D.U. 1959)

CHAPTER XVII

SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS
AND
THEIR ANSWERS ON THE STUART PERIOD

Q. Contrast Tudor despotism with Stuart despotism or give reasons for the success of Tudor despotism and the failure of Staurt despotism. *Or,* **Give reasons why the English people allowed the Tudors to rule arbitrarily, whereas they did not tolerate the despotic rule of the Stuarts.**

This is true that Tudor despotism succeeded and Stuart despotism failed. The Tudors' policy was successful and that of the Stuarts' was a failure. The following reasons will prove the truth of the above statement and show the contrast between Tudor despotism and Stuart despotism.

TUDOR AND STUART DESPOTISM CONTRASTED

1. *Need of a strong Government under the Tudors.* After the Wars of Roses there was anarchy and confusion in the country and the government of the country was disorganized, so the people needed a strong King who could restore peace and order in the country and give a settled government. The Tudors gave the people peace and order which they needed immediately and urgently. The people, therefore, co-operated with the Tudor sovereigns and overlooked their despotic acts. But in the Stuart period there was no such need. The Tudors had established perfect peace and order in the country. The people did not need kings any more who could restore peace for it was already fully established in the country, and so they were not prepared to tolerate the high-handed policy and despotic acts of the Stuarts.

2. *Stuart theory of the Divine Right of Kings.* The Stuarts constantly preached the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. They boasted of royal prerogatives and said that they were the representatives of God on earth, and so for their actions and policies they were responsible to God alone. They said that the people had no right to question or criticise their acts. They said that God made the King and the King made the law. Law was meant for the people, and not for the King. The King was above the law of the land and no earthly court or tribunal could try him for any breach of law. He was responsible to none but God. On the other hand the Tudor sovereigns boasted of no such ideas. They never preached such a theory. They always showed due regard to the wishes of the Parliament and every law was passed with its approval. They never flouted or disrespected the contitutional formalities. Sometimes, they

might do what they liked but apparently they observed all constitutional formalities.

3. *Absence of foreign danger in the Stuart period.* In the Tudor period the people had the fear of foreign enemies like Spain, France, Scotland, the Pope, and others, and thus they were always prepared to help and co-operate with their sovereign to overcome the enemies. The people did not mind the arbitrary actions of the sovereigns for they had full faith in them and they knew that they were always anxious for the welfare of their subjects. In the Stuart period the people had no such dangers and so they felt no need to look to their sovereigns for help. England had conquered Ireland and Scotland and had humbled both France and Spain during the rule of the Tudors.

4. *Wisdom and tact of the Tudors.* The Tudors were wise and tactful. They never went against the wishes of the people and tried to be on the best terms with the nation. They openly declared that the welfare of their subjects was dearest to them and on occasions they yielded to the wishes of the people and avoided giving them any kind of offence. The Stuart sovereigns on the other hand were not wise and tactful and never spared an opportunity to offend the people. They lacked both foresight and farsight. They were obstinate and struck to their guns at costs. They did not know when to yield and when not yield. Thus they lacked that political wisdom which the Tudors had.

5. *Arbitrary rule of the Stuarts.* The Stuarts ruled arbitrarily. They levied illegal taxes, raised money by unfair means and imprisoned persons without due trial. They flouted the law of the land and ruled according to their own sweet will. They enforced their own will in civil and religious matters. They ruled like unconstitutional monarchs disregarding the law of the land and the feelling of the people. The Tudors on the other hand never did such things. The Tudors too were despots but their despotism was of a different nature. They gave a legal and constitutional form to all their acts and never violated the law of the land, or override the authority of the Parliament or disregarded the prejudices and feelings of their subjects.

6. *The Stuarts' conflict with Parliament.* The Stuarts defied the authority of the Parliament; suspended laws passed by the Parliament and enforced their own will. They quarrelled with their Parliaments and displeased them in many ways. The Tudors on the other hand never came into conflict with their Parliaments and never gave them any cause of offence. The Tudors made the Parliament subservient to their will but did not dispense with it. They carried out their policies through and with the help of a docile Parliament. They never displeased or defied the Parliament. They controlled it by tact and humour.

7. *The Tudors aimed at Benevolent Rule.* The Tudors aimed at ruling the country efficiently and in the interest of the people. Surely they were despotic, but they were not selfish and wanted to

rule the country for the good of their subjects. They were not narrow-minded, selfish or cruel. Their despotism was a benevolent despotism, i.e., though they were despots still they never forgot the good of their people. The welfare of the people was their primary concern and first interest. Their's was a popular despotism having the support of the people. They had the backing of the nation. The Stuarts on the other hand were narrow-minded, cruel and selfish. Their rule was not benevolent. They were revengeful and did not aim at ruling the country efficiently and for the good of the people. Not only this but under the wise guidance of the Tudors, England became the greatest commercial, colonial and naval power of the world. The English people felt proud of their country, under the Tudors. England was a strong, united and prosperous country at the death of Elizabeth, the last Tudor monarch.

8. *The Stuarts attempted to force their religion on the people.* The Stuarts could not realise that religion could not be forced upon an unwilling people. Some of them were staunch supporters of Catholic religion and continued to show favours to the Catholics who were in minority. The people did not like the pro-Catholic policy of the Tudors and this brought them into serious conflict with the people, who were in overwhelming majority and were opposed to the Catholics.

9. *The Tudors had a strong support of the middle classes.* The Tudor sovereigns had a strong support of the entire middle classes who had come into prominence during and after the reign of Henry VII. The all-powerful monarchy of the Tudors was broadbased upon the support of the nation. The Tudors were wise enough never to lose the sympathy and support of the masses and they never did any thing that would displease them. They respected the wishes of the people and the Parliament. The Stuarts who were never so mindful of the wishes of the people failed to win the popular support and the backing of the nation.

10. *Successful and dignified foreign policy of the Tudors.* The Tudors had the credit of making England the foremost country in the world by following a successful and dignified foreign policy; so the English people were pleased with them and overlooked whatever their faults and failings. On the other hand the foreign policy of the Stuarts was cowardly and undignified and lowered the prestige of England. For instance, the whole English nation cried 'Shame' when Charles II and James II received pensions from the French King Louis XIV, and played in their hands. They had allowed the foreign policy of England to be controlled by the French King. This made them most unpopular with their subjects.

11. *Love inspiring personality of the Tudors.* The Tudor sovereigns Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth looked upon their subjects as their children and always had their welfare at heart. They had given them the blessings of a settled and orderly government and made them rich and prosperous by giving them ample opportunities to profit by trade, commerce and naval enterprises. Their personal qualities won the love and esteem of their people and thus made

them their strong supporters. The Tudor rulers were so popular that there was a strong feeling in the country in favour of 'king's worship.' On the other hand the Stuarts could not win the love and confidence of their people for they lacked those personal qualities that were found in the Tudors.

All the Stuart Kings were ill-suited by their character to deal with their subjects. James I, the most learned man in the realm was at the same time the wisest fool in the Christendom. He was proud, boastful and fond of making a show of his learning. He preached Divine Right of Kings. At heart a Scot, he failed to understand the feelings and aspirations of the English people and thus lost their sympathies. Charles had certain virtues, but he was a bad ruler, cold and aloof in his manners and absolutely untrustworthy. Neither of them understood the temper of men whom they ruled. In this connection, the great historian Trevelyan says: "James knew Scotland but not England and Charles knew neither". The same was the case of other Stuart rulers—Charles II and James II.

Q. Why did the English Parliament generally accept the dictation of the Tudor monarchs while it generally opposed the dictation of the Stuarts? *Or,*

Q. Give the most striking contrast between the Tudors and the Stuarts?

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Give reasons why the English Parliament co-operated with the Tudor Monarchs while it opposed the Stuarts.

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. Why did the English people allow the Tudor monarchs to exercise great prerogative rights while they opposed similar claims by the Stuart Kings?

Ans. Please study previous answer.

Q. "The theory of Divine Right of Kings cost one of the Stuarts his life and another his Crown." What was that theory and how did it lead to such results?

Ans. Theory of Divine Right of Kings (It has been already discussed in a previous chapter).

It Cost Charles I his Life.

See Results of the Puritan Revolution. Charles I was tried, found guilty and beheaded.

It cost James II his Crown

See Results of the Glorious Revolution. James II had to run away to save his life. He was deserted by all.

Q. How did religion affect the struggle between King and Parliament in the first half of the seventeenth century? Or show that religion played a very important part in the time of the first two Stuarts. *Or,*

Q. Describe the religious policy of James I and Charles I. What were its results?

Religion caused great ill-feeling between Stuart Kings and their Parliaments and it was to a great extent responsible for the keen struggle between them in the first half of the seventeenth century.

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

James I and his religious policy. James supported Episcopacy or the Church government by the Bishops, to which the people were opposed. He was not in favour of Presbyterianism because it was of democratic nature and opposed to the Theory of Divine Right of Kingship. He incurred the displeasure of the Protestants by passing a number of measures against them who planned several plots against him.

The Roman Catholics expected that James would be very favourable to them as he was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, a strong Catholic. The Catholics wanted him to abolish all laws against them but he did not grant their prayer.

The above religious policy of James did not suit the Parliament which had the Puritan majority. The King seriously offended the Puritans by not fulfilling their wishes who were bent upon changing the Government of the Church.

Charles I and his religious policy. Just as the religious policy of James I brought him into conflict with the Parliament, in the same way the religious policy of Charles I who tried to force his own religious views upon the people brought him into serious clash with the Parliament.

CHARLES was a bitter enemy of the Puritans. He favoured the Armenians and showed a great liking for religious rites and ceremonies which were Catholic in Character. He appointed Laud, Archbishop of Centerbury, in order to carry out his religious policy. To please Charles I, Laud introduced ceremonies which the Puritans did not like at all. He showed undue favours and concessions to the Roman Catholics. The clergymen who opposed the religious policy of Laud were severely punished. He tried to crush Puritanism with the help of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. Religious tyranny of Charles brought him into serious conflict with his people and Parliament. The attempt of Charles to enforce a new form of worship upon the Scottish people led to wars known as Bishop's Wars because they were waged by the King in the cause of the Bishops.

Both James I and Charles I being staunch Catholics showed great favours to the Catholics who were in a minority, whereas the English people in general could never think of a staunch Catholic monarch. The wrong religious policy of the Stuarts in showing undue favours to the Catholics made them very unpopular.

The religious policy of James I and Charles I led to the offence of the Puritans who were in majority in the Parliament and thus there was a serious clash between the King and the Parliament and it is rightly said that religion seriously affected the struggle between King and Parliament in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Stuart Kings lacked political foresight and farsight. They could not realize that a despotic form of government gave the people the highest offence and that religion could not be forced upon an unwilling people. Hence when the Civil War broke out finally, they feared badly and lost all.

Q. "Stuart Period was the age of bad Government but good laws". Comment. *Or,* **"The Stuart Period is distinguished for the conflict of the principle of liberty and despotism". Explain this by facts.**

(A) STUART PERIOD—THE AGE OF BAD GOVERNMENT

The sovereigns from James I to James II were all hard and unsympathetic and the people were in great trouble. The arbitrary measures and unconstitutional acts of the Stuart sovereigns had unsettled the minds of the people and put their lives and liberties in danger. They believed in the theory of Divine Right of Kings and considered themselves the representatives or lieutenants of God on earth. They thought themselves responsible to no earthly power for their actions and denied the people every right of discussing, questioning or criticising their actions and policies. They ruled like irresponsible despots and they little realized that the country had outgrown the need for a despotic government. The people had tolerated Tudor despotism because there was complete disorder in the country and they wanted internal peace and security. As the wise and vigorous rule of Elizabeth had removed all dangers internal as well as external the people now claimed their own rights and privileges and a share in the government. The Tudors believed that their power came from God and it was not the business of the people to say what kings should do or should not do. There was a struggle for supremacy between the Stuarts and their Parliaments. The Stuarts claimed that they possessed supreme power and the sovereignty lay with them, but the Parliaments on the other hand claimed superiority for themselves and said that the real sovereignty of the country lay with them. This led to constant friction between them. The Stuarts violated the laws of the country, treated the judges as their own creatures, severely punished those who fought for the liberties of the English nation. They heavily fined and arbitrarily imprisoned those who opposed them in their cruel rule, imposed illegal taxes and made unauthorised demands. They issued proclamations which they ordered to be regarded as laws and started illegal courts which acted as engines of oppression. The Stuarts persecuted Puritans and showed undue favours to the Catholics and also declared that their ministers were not responsible to Parliament. In foreign policy, too, they always acted against the wishes of their people and Parliaments and developed friendly relations with Catholic powers and refused to help the Protestants.

In domestic politics, in religion, in foreign policy, in short in everything the Stuarts acted like despots and flouted the wishes of their people and Parliaments. The people and the Parliament on the other hand stood up for their liberties and were determined to save their country against the despotic and irresponsible rule of the Stuarts. It has, therefore, been rightly said "that Stuart period is distinguished for the conflict of the principle of liberty and despotism." During this period there was a constant struggle between the people who wanted to safeguard their liberties and the Stuarts who wanted to rule the people in a despotic way. The result was that there was always trouble in the country and a state of war between the people and their rulers. It is, therefore, never an exaggeration to say that the Stuart period was an age of bad government.

(B) STUART PERIOD—THE AGE OF GOOD LAWS

It is also equally true that the Stuart period was an age of good laws. Some of the good laws passed in the Stuart period may be named as follows:—

The Petition of Right (1628); the Triennial Act (1694); the Habeas Corpus Act (1679); The Bill of Rights (1688); The Mutiny Act; The Liberty of the Press; The Act of Settlement (1701); and several other Acts.

N.B.—All these Acts have been already carefully mentioned in detail. Please study the provisions and importance of each of them.

Q. Give a brief acount of the establishment of British colonies in the seventeenth century or in the Stuart Period.

The following facts are to be noted in connection with the expansion of the British Empire or the establishment of British colonies in the seventeenth century:—

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH COLONIES

1. *Settlements which owed their origin to religious refugees.* As the result of the Hampdon Conference James I adopted a harsh religious policy towards the Puritans. In 1607 a small congregation of the Puritans went to the Netherlands, but after a few years' stay there they found themselves uncomfortable and determined to seek a new home beyond the Atlantic. They were 120 only and sailed across the Atlantic in a ship called the Mayflower and came to America. They were known as the Pilgrim Fathers and founded Plymouth.

Charles I was bitterly opposed to the Puritans. Laud, Archbishop of Centerbury, sought to crush Puritanism with the help of the Court of Star Chamber and High Commission. Tired of religious persecution many persons left England and founded the colony of Massachusetts in 1629. Another colony was founded at Mine in 1639. It was absorbed by Massachusetts in 1653.

Meanwhile New Hampshire had been colonized in 1622. After a chequered career it finally became an independent colony in 1691.

Another colony that owed its existence to religious fervour was similarly founded in 1638. These two colonies were united as Connecticut. Colonisation of Rhode Island took place in 1651. Colonisation of Maryland took place in 1634. It was mainly intended for Roman Catholics at first, but it was given out that it would welcome all types of Christians. Here all sects among Christians were tolerated.

Pennsylvania was founded by the Quakers. William Penn, a prominent Quaker, got a charter from Charles II who owed William Penn's father some money. Penn believed in the principle of religious toleration. He held it to be a natural right of man that he should call his conscience his own. It was founded in 1693.

II. *Colonies of exploitation or due to economic causes.* Virginia was first colonized in 1608 by a band of enterprising persons in the hope of improving their fortune. The number of the original settlers not being very large, convicts, paupers and the unemployed were sent there from time to time.

Bermudas was colonized with the same motives in 1612.

Carolina was colonized in 1663. Here religious toleration, mixed with the hopes of material gains, played its part.

Hudson Bay was colonized for the purpose of capturing trade of the Indians. It grew up in course of time to be the most important colony.

III. *Colonies due to political causes or the result of the Anglo-Dutch Struggle.* New York, New Jersey and Delaware were formed as the result of the Anglo-Dutch struggle.

West Indies. Besides the English Colonies in America as noted in the above three groups, the English were also busy colonizing the West Indies.

The Island of St. Christopher, Barbados and Providence were colonized during the century. The African Company on the West Coast of Africa began trading in slaves and bartering English cloth for African gold.

India. The East India Company was formed for trading with India in spite of the Portuguese opposition. By the end of the seventeenth century the British had established their factories (trading stations) at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Broach, Masulipatam, Vizagapatnam, Patna, Madras, Kasim Bazar, Hugli, Bombay, etc. The English had by this time acquired the right from the successive Mughal Emperors to trade in different parts of India free of duty. This freedom of trade was confined, however, to the export and import trade of the country.

Q. Write a note on Mercantilism or the Mercantile System.

THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

Meaning of the Mercantile System. What is known as Mercantile System or Mercantili Policy (Mercantilism) began to develop in

England towards the close of the Middle Ages and lasted till the policy of 'Free Trade' or Laissez-faire ('Let things alone' instead of regulating them) was adopted in Victoria's reign. What came to be known as Mercantilism or Mercantile System was the belief of most statesmen and merchants of England that a country could very much increase its wealth by giving encouragement and protection to its industries, arts and crafts and by the development of colonies. The persons who held those views were called 'Mercantilists'. They argued that a rich nation must have colonies which should supply raw material to the mother-country. The latter should manufacture goods and supply them to the colonies whose trade should be regulated for the maximum benefit of the mother-country. The mother-country should also be equipped with efficient navy so that it can protect its colonies and attack European rivals when the necessity arose. These ideas formed the basis of what was also known as the old Colonial System. The Government of England passed a number of Corn Laws, Navigation Acts, Tariffs and Colonial Trade regulations in order to encourage home industries, check foreign competition and make the best of her trade relations with the colonies. This system worked for some time but ultimately the colonies began to feel that they were being exploited by their mother-country. This led to a serious conflict between the colonies and the mother-country and England at last lost her American Colonies in George III's reign. After this historical event, England gave up her old policy and adopted the new policy of 'Free Trade' or *Laissez-faire* ('Let things alone' instead of regulating them).

Aims of the Mercantile System. In its broader sense its aims have been divided into four classes:—

1. It aimed at encouraging foreign trade by protecting native industries. Home industries and manufactures were encouraged and the maximum quantity of manufactured goods was sent to foreign markets where they were sold at high prices. Imports were discouraged and as little as possible of the goods of other countries were imported. The difference of the two values (articles exported and imported) was received by the country concerned in gold and silver. "A favourable balance of trade was possible only when the total value of exported goods was greater than the total value of the imported goods".

2. It aimed at giving every protection and help to the English peasants who concentrated themselves on corn-growing so that England be self-sufficient in food and it may not have to depend upon other countries. Its cultivation of land should be so efficiently managed that it should produce sufficient food for its own people.

3. It aimed at building sufficient and efficient navy by encouraging shipping with the help of Navigation Acts. England should have plenty of ships and sailors so that they could carry their manufactured goods and other goods to far off places to earn huge profits by selling them at fairly high prices. The adventurous English people sailed far and wide and discovered different markets for the sale of their goods.

They also discovered new sea-routes and new centres of trade. The navy could be further used to protect the coasts of England and fight her battles on the sea whenever necessary.

4. It aimed at increasing the national wealth of the country so that the people were prosperous and the Government Treasury was full. It is material prosperity that generally keeps a people contented and enables a government to face its difficulties and problems with success. National wealth is one of the most important factors in the economic and political life of a people.

Griffith on the Mercantile system. "Mercantile system was self-contained aggressive economic nationalism. It implies the study of Corn Laws, Navigation Acts and Colonial Trade·Regulations enacted by the English Parliament from the fifteenth to eighteenth century in order to exalt the country in economic sphere".

Mercantile system under the Tudors. To stop the enclosure movement, i.e., to encourage agriculture. Henry VII passed a law in 1489 by which he forbade his subjects to enclose land for pastures. Henry VII gave protection and encouragement to industry and did his best to promote maritime and commercial activities of his people. Henry VII passed a Navigation Act in 1485 with the object of giving a blow to the trade of France, stating that French wine and wool be brought to England only in English ships equipped with Englishmen.

Henry VII was not in favour of foreign companies trading with England and imposed severe restrictions on their trading activities with a view to discourage them. Growth of home industries received his due attention. He was of the view that wealth was a great power and much could be achieved by wealth. He, therefore, did his best to increase the national wealth of two countries. He left a secure throne and full treasury to his son. A number of Corn Laws were passed under the Tudors and the Stuarts to protect English agriculture but since they strictly forbade the import of foreign corn, the price of corn in England went high and finally the Corn Laws had to be cancelled in 1846 under Peel.

To discourage the enclosure movement, Elizabeth passed an Act in 1580 by which the maximum number of sheep which a person could possess was fixed at 2,000. To promote industries, Elizabeth decided to control the corrupted craft guilds and the organisers of medieval industries by passing several Acts to reform them. Several Acts had already been passed by Henry VII and Edward VI to the above end. Elizabeth passed Statute of Artificers also known as Statute of Apprentices (1563) by which the wages of the labourers were to be fixed not by the guild association but by the Justices of the Peace and the Act also provided means for adequate training of the labourers so as to enable them to produce goods of better quality. Lord Burghely, the chief adviser of Elizabeth, took a prominent part in pushing forward the Mercantile system. Many industries like ship building, fishing and manufacture of gun-powder, glass, silk, brass work, paper, common salt, finer woollen clothes, alum, etc., were encouraged and protected. Imports were discouraged. Elizabeth expelled the Hansa merchants from England who had practically controlled the foreign trade of England. This trade was now to be carried by the English. The Turkey company, the Muscovy Company, the East India Company, and the Barbary Company took up the task of capturing new markets and controlling the foreign trade of England. By the end of Elizabeth's reign many new industries had developed and England had gained immensely. She had imposed strong restrictions on the use of foreign articles by the people of England and in other cases the use of certain articles prepared in England was made obligatory with a view to give special encouragement to particular industries.

Mercantile system under the Stuarts and Hanoverians. The first Stuart King continued the policy of Elizabeth in the matter of protecting and encouraging particular industries. Charles I was not anxious about national interests and so he did not attach much importance to the development of industries.

Cromwell passed a very important Navigation Act in 1651. This act forbade the 'introduction into any territory of the Commonwealth the produce of any country in Asia, Africa or America except in vessels owned and manned by Englishmen or Colonists. Imports from foreign countries of Europe might be brought only in vessels the owners of which belonged to that nation in which goods were manufactured or produced.'

In the first year of his reign, Charles II passed a Navigation Act in 1660. It laid down the principles on which colonial trade was to be carried on. Firstly, trade between England and her colonies was to be carried only in English ships. Secondly, by the clause of the Enumerated Articles, colonial products such as sugar, tobacco, cotton and dyestuffs were not to be shipped to any other country save England or another colony so that foreign countries desiring colonial goods would in the main have to purchase from England.

Charles II also passed the Trades Act of 1664 which said that if any foreign country wanted to send its goods to any English Colony were first to be brought to England.

The one great result of the various Navigation Acts and Trade Acts was to embitter the relations and create a gulf between the colonists and England. In 1696 these acts were re-enacted and clauses were added to enforce them with greater strictness.

When the Whigs came into power after the Glorious Revolution they established a Board of Trade and Plantations in order to enforce with greater strictness the Navigation Acts and the Trade Acts against the Colonies. Every effort was made to deprive the colonies of the little political and commercial independence which they had enjoyed so far.

The Molasses Act passed in 1733 was another great Whig mercantile measure. This Act subjected the French molasses to heavy duties and made it possible for the colonists to get the same only at prohibitive prices. This seriously affected their trade interests and caused them great embitterment.

The colonists had been exploited in the most ruthless and cruel manner and as such the trade policy of the mother-country towards its colonies was bound to end in failure. There was uncontrollable discontent and unrest among the colonists since the mercantile system had done them incalculable loss and reduced them to abject misery. It led to the revolt of the American colonies and thus Great Britain was deprived of them. England had to change her policy in respect of her other colonies. England learnt the great lesson that if she was to retain her colonies she must safeguard their interests, give them a better and more humane treatment and adopt a wiser and more considerate policy in her dealings with them.

PART III

THE HOUSES OF HANOVER AND WINDSOR

1714 to the Present Times

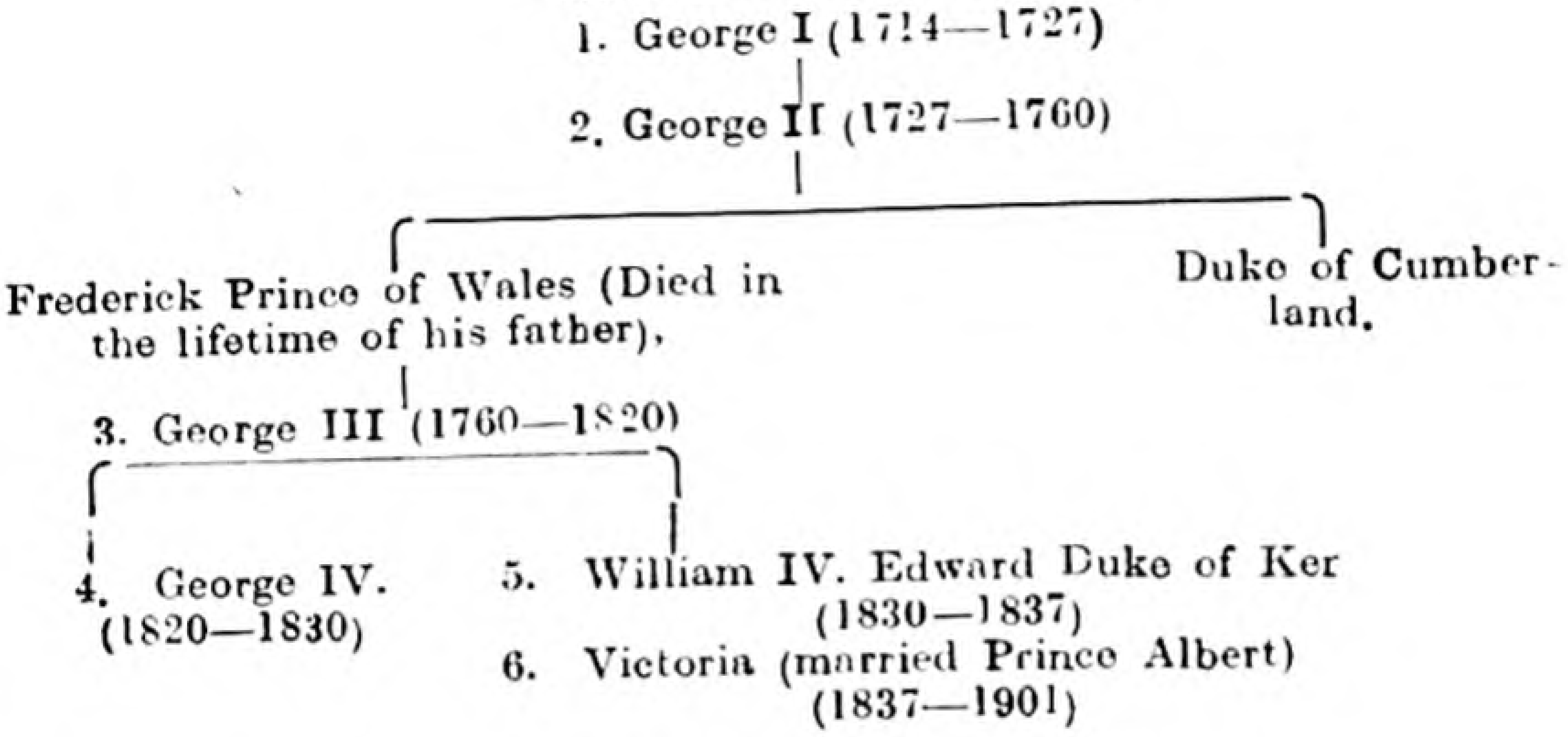
GEORGE I	1714—1727
GEORGE II	1727—1760
GEORGE III	1760—1820
GEORGE IV	1820—1830
WILLIAM IV	1830—1837
VICTORIA	1837—1901
EDWARD VII	1901—1910
GEORGE V	1910—1936
EDWARD VIII	(January 1936—December 1936)
GEORGE VI	1936—1952
QUEEN ELIZABETH	1952—

CHAPTER XVIII

THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY

> *"He (George I) was brusque, heartless, avaricious, mean, sensual, punctilious and masterful."*
>
> —GRANT ROBERTSON

GENEALOGICAL TABLE


1. George I (1714—1727)
2. George II (1727—1760)
Frederick Prince of Wales (Died in the lifetime of his father),
Duke of Cumberland.
3. George III (1760—1820)
4. George IV. (1820—1830)
5. William IV. (1830—1837)
Edward Duke of Ker
6. Victoria (married Prince Albert) (1837—1901)

GEORGE I (1714—1727)

His Accession and Character. George I was the son of Sophia who was the grand-daughter of Elizabeth and great grand-daughter of James II. He was the ruler of Hanover, a small German State and a little over fifty when Queen Anne breathed her last. The Act of Settlement (1701) excluded the Old Pretender from the Crown by providing that if Anne died issueless, the throne of England would pass to Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants. Anne had no issue and Sophia died two months before Queen Anne, so the throne passed, according to the Act of Settlement, to George, son of Sophia, who was a Protestant. His title was not hereditary but it was based on an Act of Parliament (in this case the Act of Settlement passed in 1701).

George did not know even a word of English and did not take much interest in the political activities of the country. He was selfish, reserved, thoroughly German in his ideas and anxious to get pensions and posts for his German friends. He had received little education and was extremely uninteresting. He failed to understand British life and institutions and to inspire love and feelings of loyalty in the hearts of British people. With all his faults he was welcomed by the majority of nation for his accession meant the retaining of the Protestant succession in Great Britain.

His confidence in the Whigs. Even before the death of Queen Anne attempts had been made by some Tory ministers of Queen Anne to invite James III, son of James II, to the throne of England but he showed his unwillingness to accept it. George knew of these secret attempts and sinister motives of the Tories when he ascended the throne. The Whigs, on the other hand, were anxious for a Protestant successor and proclaimed George as king of England on the death of Queen Anne. George, who owed his crown to the support of the Whigs, dismissed the Tory ministry on his accession to the throne for he believed it to be the stronghold of the Catholic cause, and entrusted the administration of the country to the Whigs.

Q. "The accession of George I to the throne of England had a twofold effect, political and constitutional. George I is regarded as the first constitutional King of England in the sense of the term." Explain. *Or,*

"The accession of George I or the Hanoverian succession is a landmark in the constitutional history of England." Explain. *Or,*

Bring out the political and constitutional significance of the reign of the first two Georges or the Hanoverian Succession in England. *Or,* (P.U. 1958, 55, 50)

Examine the effects of the Hanoverian succession on the growth of Parliament in England. (D.U. 1963)

(A) POLITICAL IMPORTANCE

Hanoverian succession had a great political and constitutional importance for England. The Jacobites, who were the followers and ardent supporters of James III, resolved to dethrone George I and place the Old Pretender (James III), son of James II, on the English throne. Politically, we are concerned with the two Jacobite revolts to restore the Stuart Dynasty to the throne of England, the establishment of the Whig ascendancy and a change in the foreign policy of England, and constitutionally, we are concerned with the development of the Cabinet system, rise of the office of Prime Minister and the increased power of the Parliament.

(*i*) *The Jacobite Rising of* 1715 *or "The Fifteen"* ('15). On the same day there were two Jacobite revolts—one in England and the other in Scotland. They were defeated at Preston in England and at Sheriffmuir in Scotland. The Jacobite rising of 1715 which miserably failed in its object is known as the 'Fifteen ('15) in English history. This rising rather than do any harm to George I confirmed the Hanoverian and Protestant succession to the throne of England. The other important result of the rising was the Septennial Act of 1716 which increased the life of the Parliament to seven years (already by the Triennial Act the life of the Parliament was three years) because there was great unrest in the country and there was danger of the Tories and Jacobites being returned to Parliament in majority in the general election which was due in 1717.

(*ii*) *The Jacobite Rising of* 1745 *or the Forty-five* ('45). In 1745 Prince Charles Edward landed in the Highlands with the object of regaining the English crown for his father James III. He entered

Edinburgh at the head of a large army and proclaimed his father King. His wild Highlanders cut Sir John Cope's English troops to pieces at Prestonpans. He was now master of Scotland and started with 6,000 men to try his fortune in England.

He gained a victory at Falkirk, 1746, but a few months later he was utterly defeated at Culloden. The Highlanders were disarmed and the Highland chieftains were deprived of their feudal rights over their clans. The Jacobites lost every future hope of regaining the throne for the Stuart Dynasty and the Hanoverian succession was more strongly confirmed than ever.

(iii) *Establishment of Whig Ascendancy.* George I was well aware of the fact that the Whigs had put him on the throne and Tories were strongly opposed to him. He, therefore, dismissed Tory ministers, impeached some of them and entrusted the administration to the Whigs. In the new Parliament the Whigs were in majority and they managed to keep the power in their hands till the accession of George III in 1760.

(*iv*) *Change in foreign policy of England.* The accession of Hanoverians to the English throne affected the foreign politics of England to a great extent. George I was not only the ruler of England but also that of Hanover for it had become part of England since his accession to the English throne. Henceforth, the rulers of England were also the rulers of Hanover. It was more often to protect the interests of Hanover that England was involved in wars; it was to protect the interests of Hanover that England partook in the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. It was on the accession of Queen Victoria that Hanover was separated from England due to Salic Law (Salic Law in certain countries excluded females from inheriting the crown). The Duke of Cumberland was appointed to administer Hanover.

(B) Constitutional Importance

The rule of George I marked the growth of constitutional rule in England. George I is regarded the first constitutional king of England in the true sense of the term. A constitutional ruler is one who entrusts the affairs of administration to his ministers and does not ever preside over the meetings of ministers. It was in his time that the Cabinet system developed, the office of the Prime Minister came into being and the Party System was strengthened.

(i) *Disappearance of the principle of hereditary succession and Divine Right theory of kingship.* It were the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement that had settled the order of succession to the throne. The principle of hereditary succession had died out and it rested with the Parliament to bring a suitable person to the throne if a reigning monarch was found unfit for the great work. The Stuart sovereigns had succeeded to the throne of England on the basis of heredity, but after the Glorious Revolution that basis disappeared for ever. No sovereign could claim the throne as a matter of right, it was left to the will of the Parliament to place any competent person on the throne irrespective of any claim. The Divine Right of Theory of Kingship was heard of no more. With the Hanoverian succession, we had constitutional rule in the country and no sovereign ever talked of the theory of Divine Right of Kingship.

(ii) *Development of the Cabinet System.* Queen Anne was the last British sovereign to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet and was also the last to exercise the sovereign's right to veto any Act of Parliament. She took a prominent part in the formation of her country's policy. The Cabinet could not fully evolve on account of the royal supervision of Queen Anne.

The Cabinet system made considerable progress in the time of George I. George I could not speak English. He was entirely ignorant of English manners, customs, politics and methods of government. Besides, he had full confidence in the political sagacity of the Whigs to whose support he owed his throne. For all these reasons he decided to entrust the task of the government to his Whig ministers and absent himself from the meetings of the Cabinet which henceforth became more and more independent of the Crown. The policy of the Government was no longer moulded by the King but by his responsible ministers. So long the King had decided though the ministers might be consulted, but now the ministers decided though the King might be consulted. Thus more powers passed into the hands of the Cabinet, i.e., the power of the Parliament increased while that of the sovereign was reduced.

(*iii*) *Rise of the office of the Prime Minister.* The absence of the sovereign from the meetings of the Cabinet made it necessary for one of the ministers to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet and exercise general supervision. The minister who presided in the King's place came to be known later on as the Prime Minister. The position of the Prime Minister was supreme in the cabinet, he was the head of the cabinet and controlled its activities. This minister appointed his colleagues to the ministry and chose them from the party which held majority in the House of Commons. The cabinet had the full support of the House of Commons and in fact the cabinet could remain in power only so long as it could retain the confidence ~~of the~~ House of Commons. Walpole was the first among ministers or the first Prime Minister of England and remained in power as long as he was supported by the House of Commons (1720—1741). All the ministers were of one way of thinking and supported the Prime Minister. He dismissed those ministers who opposed his policy. The rise of the office of Prime Minister increased the independence of the Cabinet which means that the government of the country was left to the Parliament under the leadership of the Prime Minister. This is what is called constitutional government. "William III and Anne had been accustomed to dismiss any member of the ministry with whom they were dissatisfied. but with the Hanoverians, the relations between the Sovereign and the Cabinet became so changed that George I could neither interfere with the minister nor refuse his assent to any measure passed by the Parliament." The Cabinet system became a recognised part of the English constitution.

(*iv*) *Growth of the Party system.* The first two Georges chose their ministers from the Whig Party that was in majority in the House of Commons. The practice of choosing ministers from the majority party had existed since the time of William III. This practice was further strengthened by the first two Georges and ultimately became a convention of the English Constitution.

(*v*) *Increase in the duration and power of the Parliament.* The other constitutional result of the Hanoverian succession was the passage of the Septennial Act of 1716 by the Parliament which lengthened its life from three to seven years. The Parliament was now all-powerful for the ministers were to be chosen from the majority party in the House of Commons; it had the right to discuss the national policy and several Acts in the previous reigns had already empowered it to decide the order of succession to the throne and given it control over the national army and expenditure. "The Hanoverian succession led to the domination of the Whig Party, and the domination of the Whigs enhanced the power of Parliament, which was under the control of the land-owning aristocracy. Consequently, Britain became an oligarchy—a state ruled by a privileged minority of its people." Gradually the power shifted to the House of Commons which ultimately became a supreme power in the State during the 19th century. (Also consult the reign of George II—the contribution of Walpole to the evolution of the Cabinet system).

Q. "The Act of Settlement had given England a foreign sovereign; the presence of a foreign sovereign gave her a Prime Minister." Discuss.

How the Act of Settlement gave England a foreign Sovereign? By the Bill of Rights (1689), the Crown of England was offered jointly to William and his wife Mary (a Protestant daughter of James II); if William and Mary died issueless, the throne was to pass to Mary's Protestant sister Anne and her Protestant descendants; if Anne had no descendants the throne was to be inherited by the descendants of William III by any other wife. Anne's last son the little Duke of Gloucester died in 1700 and William did not marry after the death of Mary. There was, therefore, the necessity of regulating the order of succession to the throne by a Parliamentary Act.

In 1701 was passed the Act of Settlement to provide for a Protestant successor to the throne. This Act provided that if William and his sister-in-law Anne had no issue to succeed them to the throne, it was to go to Electress Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant children. Sophia was the grand-daughter of James II who died a little before Anne breathed her last. On the death of Queen Anne, Sophia's son George ascended the throne in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Settlement.

It is true that some attempts were made by the Tories to restore the throne to James II and his descendants, but all their attempts proved ineffective. The Hanoverian succession was further strengthened by the support of the Whigs who were determined to make the Revolution (of 1688) a success. Thus it was the Act of Settlement that gave

England a foreign king. George by name and a German by nationality (who ruled Hanover; a small state in Germany, when he was proclaimed king of England).

How the presence of a foreign sovereign gave England her Prime Minister. George I, a German by nationality, and who had never visited England, did not understand or speak English nor did he try to learn the English language. He had no interest in English politics. Besides, he had no knowledge of the working of the Cabinet. People had made him king for his being a Protestant. George hated Tories because they were opposed to his succession and they had made several attempts to bring back James II and his descendants to the throne of England. He placed his confidence in the Whigs for they were solely responsible for the Hanoverian succession. He entrusted the government to them and ceased to attend the meetings of the Cabinet which were, to the end of Queen Anne's reign, presided over by the reigning sovereign. In the absence of the king the ministers annually chose from among themselves an able and influential minister to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet and guide its proceedings. The Minister who presided in the king's place naturally gained extraordinary importance. Evidently, his position was one of pre-eminence and that of superiority over others, but the term 'Prime Minister' was recognised by the British Constitution much later on. Even Walpole hated the term and there was a strong public feeling against any attempt to establish a Prime Minister. Under Walpole, a great statesman and the first Prime Minister in practice (though the term Prime Minister was not used at that time), all the important characteristics of the Cabinet System were thoroughly developed. Hence, it would be most appropriate to say that the presence of a foreign sovereign gave England a Prime Minister. It was under him that the Cabinet system was fully developed and certain practices that formed the essentials of the Cabinet system were fully developed and lasted even up to this day. (For this please carefully study the reign of George II).

Q. Write short notes on The Septennial Act, 1716 and The South Sea Bubble.

The Septennial Act, 1716. According to the Triennial Act of 1694, the duration of Parliament was to be three years. In 1715, as the Jacobite Revolt was growing, the ministry feared to risk a general election at so critical a time and the Triennial Act was substituted by the Septennial Act of 1716. The life of the Parliament was extended by this Act to seven years.

This Act had a great constitutional importance. The stability of Parliament increased and the influence of the ministry was strengthened. It secured Hanoverian succession by the continuance of the Whigs in power. The long term of seven years gave an opportunity to the House of Commons to become more independent of the influence of the sovereign and his supporters.

The South Sea Bubble. In 1711 a company called the South Sea Company was formed to trade with South America, and which hoped to do such great things, that in 1719 the directors offered to pay off the National Debt, by giving shares in the undertaking to those to whom the government owed money, if the ministers in return would give them special privileges. In April 1720, the government passed a Bill accepting the offer of the South Sea Company to advance seven and a half million of pounds. All England went wild to have South Sea shares; and a share of £ 100 was sold for £ 1000. Other bubble companies soon sprang up to take advantage of the mania. The South Sea directors, finding that the smaller companies were spoiling their market, exposed some of them and in doing this ruined themselves. The shares fell rapidly from £ 1000 to £ 135 and at last almost to nothing. The South Sea Bubble had burst, the Company failed and hundreds were ruined.

CHAPTER XIX

GEORGE II (1727—1760)

> *"Robert Walpole was at once the ablest and the most characteristic of the statesmen of the Whig reign."*

His Accession and Character. He was the son of George I and succeeded his father to the throne in 1727, at the ripe age of 44.

He was a thorough German and one advantage which he possessed over his father was that he could speak English tongue though not so perfectly. He was passionate, stubborn and narrow-minded. He was very fond of Hanover and anxious to protect it even by sacrificing England for it. He had little force of character and he was never popular with his English subjects. His ungracious manners and his open preference for Hanover made it impossible for his subjects to look upon him as an English King.

"George II was not intelligent, but was straightforward and courageous........" (Gardiner).

Q. Give an account of Sir Robert Walpole with special reference to his work and achievement. *Or,*

Explain Walpole's claims to greatness as a statesman.

Or, (D.U. 1956, 52; P.U. 1955, 53)

"Robert Walpole was at once the ablest and the most characteristic of the statesmen of the Whig reign." Discuss.

(P.U. 1958, 48, 45, 43, 37)

His Early Career. He was born in 1676 in the house of a Norfolk gentleman. His father had nineteen children and Robert Walpole, the fifth, was the eldest of those who survived. He studied at Eton and then he went to the King's College. His father died when he was only twenty-four years. His father gave him a large property and so Walpole was a man of independent means. He entered Parliament in 1701 and became Secretary of War in 1708. In 1715 he became the Chancellor of the Exchequer and as he disagreed with his colleagues on matters of foreign policy, he resigned; but after the crisis of 1720 he accepted the posts of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. In 1721 he was appointed Prime Minister and held this office till 1742.

His Character. He was an easy-going, good-natured, but somewhat coarse country squire. He was a man of sound commonsense and great business capacity which he devoted to the interest of his country. He loved power and wanted to keep Parliament under his control. He never appeared to be in a hurry and had the invaluable faculty for forgetting his worries. "I throw off my cares when I throw off my clothes," he said.

His Aim and Policy. His chief aim was to make his own party, the Whigs, very strong and himself the leader of the party. He further wanted to make the Hanoverian Dynasty safe on the throne and give material prosperity to the country. He had these four aims in view. He followed a policy of peace at home and peace abroad. He was the first and greatest of Prime Ministers of England. He said, "The most pernicious circumstances in which this country can be are those of war; as we must be losers while it lasts and cannot be great gainers when it ends." In his own words, "Peace at any price." He saved Europe from war for a long time.

His Domestic Policy. He was anxious to make his country prosperous and contented and therefore followed a policy of peace. He was a great Prime Minister. He was not in favour of many changes and his motto was "Let sleeping dogs lie" or "Let alone." Both from policy and temperament he avoided extremes and stuck to the path of compromise and a *via media* in civil and religious matters. He displeased none and adopted a highly expedient middle way. He believed that a policy of peace would bring prosperity to the people. He devoted his full attention to the encouragement of trade and commerce which ultimately made the people rich and happy.

His policy was "Expediency," i.e., what he did was suitable and convenient and never created opposition. It was his common saying that, "Everyman has his price and if that price is paid, you can get any work out of him."

His Religious Policy. He was in favour of toleration, and helped the Dissenters in holding offices in spite of the Test and Corporation Acts. When the Dissenters requested him to repeal the Acts, he pleaded his inability to do so by saying that the time was not yet ripe for that. He knew that if he repealed those Acts, he would be irritating the Church. He passed every year an Indemnity Act by which the Dissenters were permitted to hold offices in spite of the Test and Corporation Acts.

His Colonial Policy. Walpole was sympathetic in his dealings with the colonists. His colonial policy was very liberal and aimed at providing all facilities to the colonies. He gave much liberty to the Americans in spite of the Navigation Acts. The English governors there had special instructions from the Home Government to encourage self-government and to make colonial trade gradually free.

His Foreign Policy. His foreign policy was one of peace. It was his great anxiety to maintain peace abroad and avoid war, for he was essentially a peace minister. He was fully convinced of the value and advantages of a peace policy. 'Peace at any price' was the guiding star of his foreign policy. His foreign policy was as calm as his domestic policy. 'Let sleeping dogs lie' was his great motto both in domestic and foreign policy. He purposely avoided war for it meant (a) heavy expenses and therefore heavy taxation.

(*b*) an increase in the National Debt, (*c*) the probability of Jacobite invasions. He was interested very little in European politics and saved England from war on many occasions. He maintained the alliance with France and kept on good terms with the aged French Minister, Cardinal Fleury, who loved peace as much as Walpole. His main object was to save England from war. In 1733, when the War of the Polish Succession broke out, he refused to join it and declared in 1734, "There are 50,000 men slain this year in Europe and not one Englishman." It was much against his will that he was compelled by a strong public opinion to declare war against Spain in 1739.

London welcomed the news of war with bells and bonfires, but angrily said Walpole: "Ah, you can ring your bells now, but soon you will be wringing your hands!" He meant that this war with Spain would lead to a war with the French and that the nation would wish itself at peace again. "Peace and prosperity within and peace without" were the keynotes of Walpole's foreign policy.

The war with Spain, also called Jenkin's Ear War, was not properly managed and Walpole who was blamed for mismanagement was forced to resign in 1742. He died in 1745.

His Commercial and Financial Policy. In the field of fiscal policy he secured the greatest achievement. He was a great statesman and an able financier. He was in favour of free trade. -Among his financial measures the following are particularly worthy of note:—

1. He adopted measures to reduce the burden of National Debt. He observed strict economy in the general expenses of the government.

2. He removed vexatious duties on export from 106 articles of British manufacture and duties on import from 38 articles of raw material. He also reduced taxes in many cases. His policy of low taxation besides improving financial position reconciled the tax payers to Hanoverian rule.

3. He gave large facilities to the colonies in matters of trade, and allowed them to trade directly with other countries. He passed the Rice Act and the Molasses Act for the colonies and allowed them concession in the trade of rice and molasses with other countries.

4. He gave special facilities for the development of industries and manufactures. Walpole gave immense impetus to colonial trade also. He was anxious to encourage colonial commerce because the more prosperous the colonies, the greater would be their demand for British manufactured goods. He restored commercial prosperity.

5. He introduced an Excise Bill to check smuggling of wine and tobacco but he had to withdraw the Bill. (The Customs are duties paid by importers on certain foreign productions when landed on English shores. The Excise is an inland tax levied on articles manufactured in England, and paid generally by the dealers). To check smuggling, which was then practised to an incredible extent, Walpole proposed to bring wine and tobacco under the law of Ex-

cise but the merchants raised such a hue and cry against the Bill that Walpole thought it wise to withdraw the Bill. It was a very wholesome measure but the merchants failed to understand its significance.

6. He levied a tax on beer. Although it was very unpopular with the Scotch, yet he persisted and kept it up.

7. He very skilfully managed the affairs of the South Sea Company and thus saved the country from ruin. "The measures he took to relieve the distress of the share-holders in the ill-fated South Sea Company showed him to be the greatest finance minister of the day and marked him as the one statesman capable of inspiring confidence at that critical period."

His wise financial measures made the country rich and able to bear the burden of wars in which England was engaged after Walpole. "He had kept the peace and had allowed men to grow rich by leaving them to pursue their own callings without interference". (Gardiner).

An Estimate of Walpole

Peace in the country. Walpole was a great peace minister and so he was able to establish perfect peace in the country. He carefully kept England out of war and did not interfere in European politics. His policy was "let alone", "expediency", and not to create any sort of discontent and excitement at home, for he never made violent and radical changes. His policy of peace made the Hanoverian dynasty secure on the throne of England and ended all possibilities of further Jacobite rebellions. Thus the permanence of Revolution Settlement was ensured.

Walpole deserves the gratitude of his countrymen because he gave peace to a country tired of civil strife and foreign wars of the preceding period. He gave England twenty years of what she most needed—quiet government.

Prosperity in the Country. Walpole's policy of peace at home and abroad brought great prosperity to England. He carefully kept the country out of war and devoted his attention to the growth of trade and commerce and encouraged industries and manufactures. His time was one of great national industry and prosperity. Being an able financier he introduced a number of wise financial reforms which brought great prosperity to the English people. He gave England time to recover from the effects of the wars against Louis XIV, to extend her colonial Empire, to obtain wealth and thus to gain strength to face the coming wars. "Whilst the Continental nations, engaged as they were in constant warfare, were recklessly spending their money and rashly wearing out their strength, Walpole's wise policy was chiefly instrumental in furthering Britain's prosperity."

Under Walpole's regime taxes were light, public credit was high and the administration of justice was free from extraneous interference. Both in colonial and commercial matters, he fostered freedom of trade. His healing fiscal policy ranks him as one of the greatest financiers England ever produced.

"Walpole's rule had not been an inspiring one. But his policy of peace abroad and inactivity at home had two results: It made the Hanoverian dynasty secure and it gave the country a breathing space which enabled her to endure the exertions of the later wars of the century. Surely he was a great statesman and his financial policy did much to develop the prosperity and trade of the country."

Constitutional Progress or the development of the Cabinet system in the Country. George I was ignorant of the English language, English politics and matters of government and so he did not preside over the meetings of the Cabinet. In his absence Walpole was chosen to preside over the Cabinet meetings and he came to be called the first Prime Minister. He upheld the supremacy of the House of Commons. Under him the Cabinet system developed and it became a recognised principle of the English Constitution. By driving out from his Cabinet all colleagues who did not agree with his policy or who would not submit to his leadership as Premier, Sir Robert Walpole did most to evolve the principle of collective responsibility of the Cabinet and the supremacy of the Prime Minister as the leading man in the Cabinet and the Commons.

"No one before him (Walpole) had that independence of royal control, that authoritative voice in the choice of colleagues, that dominating will in the determination of policy which are indispensable marks of Premiership."

A Successful Statesman. Walpole proved an eminently successful statesman. By pursuing a policy of peace he made the people contented and prosperous. The nationwide panic created by the South Sea Bubble was removed by his satisfying the shareholders and restoring national credit. The burden of heavy taxation and National Debt were largely reduced by his wise commercial and financial plans. Industries and manufactures received special encouragement at his hands. This led to enormous increase of trade which added so much to the wealth of the country that it felt no difficulty in meeting the expenses of wars in which England was involved after Walpole. His expert guidance in financial measures enabled the country to withstand all future problems and maintain its position with dignity.

He is sometimes accused of corruption and bribery. But it can be said in his defence that corruption and bribery were the faults of the age. Neither they began with Walpole's political life, nor did they end with his death. He used all methods fair or otherwise not for his personal gain but to make himself and his party politically strong for the good of his country. His constant object before him was to promote the good of his country. If Tories were not suppressed the work of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 would have been undone. The good of the country lay in ensuring Hanoverian succession for otherwise limited monarchy and triumph of Protestantism would have been impossible.

Q. Describe the contribution of Walpole to the evolution of the Cabinet system or to the development of the British Constitution. *Or,*

Show how Sir Robert Walpole can be regarded as the first Prime Minister in the true and complete sense of the term, or he was 'the first real Prime Minister that English history knows."
Or,

Q. Trace the growth of the Cabinet system under the first two Georges.

Development of the Cabinet under Walpole or his contribution to the Constitution. The Cabinet system began in the reign of William III and developed under Queen Anne, but the system was fully developed after the Hanoverian succession under George I and George II when Sir Robert Walpole was Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742. He was the first statesman under whom all the characteristics of the Cabinet Government developed.

As George I and George II were Germans, they were ignorant of English language and politics; and so took little interest in the affairs of the country. They ceased to attend Cabinet meetings and entrusted the administration to the Whigs to whose support they owed their succession. The absence of the king from the meetings of the Cabinet led to two important results—first, the Ministers were able to discuss and confer more freely and presented to the king the result of their discussion in the form of a common concerted plan; secondly, in the absence of the king they had to select a minister from among themselves to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet and conduct its proceedings. Such a man naturally came to be regarded more important than others. This President became their recognised chief and was later on known as the Prime Minister. Such a person possessed great importance in the Council and had the principal place in the confidence of the king, but the office of 'Prime Minister' became a clearly recognised part of the Constitution only when the Parliament had established its control over the Ministers of the Crown more fully. Walpole has been called the Drill Sergeant of the Whig party because of the strict discipline which he introduced in his party. He immediately dismissed the Minister who did not agree with him in his policy and political views.

The following constitutional practices took definite shape during Walpole's Ministry:—

1. *Supremacy of the Prime Minister.* The Prime Minister was to preside at the Cabinet meetings since the first two Georges on account of their ignorance of English language, English politics and the working of the Cabinet system had ceased to attend the Cabinet meetings. The Prime Minister enjoyed the key position among the ministers of the Cabinet. The decisions of the Cabinet were to be conveyed to the king by the President. He was to act as the medium of communication between the Cabinet and the monarch. "As the Cabinet stands between the sovereign and the Parliament, so the Prime Minister stands between the sovereign and the Cabinet."

2. *Political homogeneity.* The Prime Minister was the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons. He appointed all

his colleagues and insisted that they should have the same opinion in politics as himself and follow the party programme. He dismissed those Ministers who did not agree with him. "By exercising the functions of a Prime Minister he gave political homogeneity and solidarity to the Cabinet and thus permanently moulded the machinery of government."

3. *Prime Minister and the Cabinet had to resign when they lost confidence of the House of Commons.* It became the established principle of the English constitution that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet could remain in office till they were not outvoted in the House of Commons, i.e., enjoyed the confidence of the party which was in majority in the House of Commons.

4. *Responsibility of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet to the House of Commons alone.* Another constitutional principle, that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet were responsible to the House of Commons and not to the House of Lords was also established. Under Walpole the prestige and position of the House of Commons definitely increased. Professor Hearn has summarised the contribution made by Walpole to the development of the Constitution like this: "It was Walpole who first administered the government in accordance with his own views of political requirements. It was Walpole who first conducted the business of the country in the House of Commons. It was Walpole who in the conduct of that business first insisted upon the support for his measures of all servants of the Crown who had seats in Parliament. It was under Walpole that the House of Commons became the dominant power in the State, and rose in ability and influence as well as in actual power above the House of Lords. It was Walpole who set the example of quitting office, while he still retained the undiminished affection of the king, for the avowed reason that he had ceased to possess the confidence of the House of Commons."

Trevelyan says, "It was Sir Robert Walpole, the Whig Peace Minister from 1721—42, who did most to evolve the principle of the common responsibility of the Cabinet, and the supremacy of the Prime Minister as the leading man at once in the Cabinet and the Commons."

The period of Walpole's supremacy was one of great importance in the development of the Constitution—and this specially in three directions. It was the period during which the centre of gravity of political power shifted definitely to the House of Commons; the foundations of the Cabinet system were laid; and the office of the Prime Minister began to develop.

Is it true that Walpole's administration had no history? It is sometimes said that Walpole's administration had no history or his period was a period of political stagnation. This view is, however, quite wrong. It was a period of stagnation in the sense that Walpole made no conquests and won no wars, but he rendered England a great service by giving her (i) peace and prosperity, (ii) the Cabinet type of government, (iii) a Prime Minister and (iv) the capacity to fight her future wars. In the face of all this it would be great injustice and quite wrong to say that Walpole's administration has no history. He gave England a period of rest and peace which was very necessary for it.

It has been very correctly said that England owed twenty years of peace and prosperity to Walpole's policy of peace abroad and inactivity abroad. During this period of peace England was able to improve her economic condition and thus England was able to bear the burden of her future wars and if there had been no period of peace it would have been a great problem for her to stand the pressure of wars from which England did not escape.

Q. (a) Attempt a brief account of Jenkin's Ear War 1739-1742 and show how it was followed by the fall of Walpole?

(b) Describe briefly the War of Austrian Succession (1740—1748).

The Assiento Agreement allowed the English to send one ship-load to South America annually. But the English violated the agreement by sending more than one ship as the trade proved very profitable to them. Seeing that the English had broken the Agreement by sending more than one ship, the Spaniards stationed guards on the coast to get hold of the smugglers. The Spaniards got hold of the English smugglers and sailors and often ill-treated them. They cut off the ear of Captain Jenkin who brought his story to the English people in England. Spain was now in alliance with France and anxious to regain Gibraltar and other places. The whole English nation cried for war but Walpole was opposed to it. At last Walpole was so much pressed by the people that he had to declare war much against his wishes. The English did not prosper in the war.

Walpole was held responsible for the failure of the war. He became unpopular and lost confidence of the people. In the elections of 1741 he lost majority and resigned in 1742.

(b) *Causes of the War of Austrian Succession* (1740—48). Charles VI of Austria who had no male issue ensured the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa by drawing a document called the Pragmatic Sanction to which the great European Powers agreed. But on the death of Charles VI, Fredrick II, King of Prussia, broke the Pragmatic Sanction by capturing Silesia. The Elector of Bavaria claimed the Empire as he was elected Emperor by the petty provinces of the Austrian dominions. France and Spain supported him. Walpole tried to keep England out of conflict but after his fall in 1742 the Carteret Ministry joined Austria.

Parties. Austria with England and Holland on its side fought against France, Spain and Russia.

Events. The French were defeated at the battle of Dettingen in 1743 and were compelled to evacuate Germany. France and Spain made a plan to incite and help the Jacobite rebellion in England and thus to divert the English attention towards home. The English were defeated at Fountenoy in 1745. The French gained success on land but the English defeated the French in 1747 off Finisterre. The war ended in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Terms. 1. Maria Theresa was recognised to be the real ruler of Austria.

2. The conquests made during the war were given back to each other.

3. Prussia got Silesia.

4. France acknowledged the Hanoverian succession in England and the Pretender. son of James II. was to be expelled from France. This treaty practically put an end to the intrigues of the Jacobites.

5. The English and the French agreed to remain on friendly terms.

N.B.—One great result of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was that. the Hanoverian succession was internationally acknowledged.

CHAPTER XX

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR ✓

PITT THE ELDER. THE WHIGS

Q. Give the causes, events and results of the Seven Years' Wth (1756—1763). *Or,*

Give an account of the Diplomatic Revolution.

Causes. Ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maria Theresa had longed to get back Silesia. France, Sweden, Russia, and Saxony were willing to help her. Frederick II of Prussia made an alliance with England and declared war against Saxony. The period from 1748 to 1756 was a period in which the Continental powers were busy preparing for a great war. The war may be ascribed to two main causes: (*i*) The commercial and colonial rivalry between England and France both in the East and the West and (*ii*) the unsatisfactory nature of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Thus the Seven Years' War began, which was carried on between England and Prussia on one side, and France, Russia, Austria and Saxony on the other. It lasted from 1756 to 1763.

Events in Europe. The French took Minorca. Admiral Bying was sent against them, but he could not overcome them. The Duke of Cumberland retreated before the French army and agreed at Closterzeven to allow them to occupy Hanover. Frederick routed the French and the Germans at Rossback, in Saxony, in 1757 and the Austrians at Luthen, in Silesia. In 1759 the English and Hanoverians under the Duke of Ferdinand defeated the French at Minden. Admiral Boscawen sank five French ships off Lagos. Admiral Hawke defeated the rest of the fleet off Quibern Bay. In 1762 England was obliged to declare war against Spain, and won brilliant victories over France and Spain.

Events in America. Generals Abercromby, Amherst, Wolfe, and Howe were sent to America. Admiral Boscawen was sent with a fleet to attack Louisburgh. In 1758, Louisburgh and Cape Breton fell into the hands of the English. Fort Dequesne was retaken by a body of Highlanders and Americans under Generals Forbes and Washington and was named Pitsburgh after Pitt. At Ticonderoga, General Abercromby was defeated and Lord Howe killed. But in 1759 Ticonderoga Crown Point and Niagara were all taken. In 1759 General Wolfe took Quebec from the French under Montcalm, after hard fighting in which both Wolf and Montcalm were killed. The year 1759 was called 'Annus Mirabilis'—The Wonderful Year.

Events in Spain. Spain was secretly helping France and thus war was declared against her. The English fleet captured Havana and Manila.

Events in India. In India Colonel Eyre-Coote defeated the French at Wandewash in 1760 and Pondicherry was taken by the English in 1761. In 1764 it was given back to the French.

> N.B.—During the first period, which lasted for about two years (1756—1757), misfortune tracked the English with pitiless constancy. But after Pitt joined the ministry in 1757, almost in an instant, failure was changed into success and the English and their allies were victorious on the battlefields of Germany, Canada and India. "He (Pitt) put new life in the deadening elements and the last five years of war proved to be the years of untarnished glory in all the theatres of war."

Results

Terms of the Peace of Paris (1763). 1. France ceded to England, Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and some West Indian Islands.

2. The French were allowed to have a share in the Newfoundland fisheries and the tiny Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were to serve as resting places for French fishermen.

3. The French got back Pondicherry and other possessions in India but they were not to be fortified. England retained Minorca.

4. Spain ceded Florida to England but she got back Manila and Havannah from England.

5. Prussia kept Silesia.

Effects of the Seven Years' War. A turning point in the history of the world.

England. (i) *Political influence of England increased in America and India.* The triumph of England in America and India was the culmination of the history of the first British Empire. In India the French were reduced to the position of a trading nation for they were not allowed to fortify their posts. Thus the English became the only European power in India, supreme and without a rival. French influence was also destroyed in America and in other places which were brought under the control of Britain. Britain was now supreme on land as well as on the seas. England was without any serious rival, her trade and commerce increased and she pushed on the work of colonizing the world without difficulty.

(ii) *English supremacy was established at sea.* England's undisputed naval ascendancy was another striking result of the war. The English became supreme on the sea and their position as such was unchallenged. She was recognised as the undisputed 'mistress of the sea.' England stood foremost in the rank of European nations as a great colonising power. "Henceforth the face of England was to the ocean, but her back was turned to the Continent of Europe."

(iii) *England became a foremost colonial and commercial power.* With her absolute supremacy established on the sea, England was without a rival in commerce. The energy of France was almost exhausted and there was no other Power to compete with

England in the domain of commerce. Her commerce largely extended in all quarters and she became a foremost commercial power in the world. "Colonies supplied abundance of raw materials to England and the markets of America and India were thrown open to her manufacturers. Henceforward England was by far the greatest colonising and maritime power.

America. The Seven Years' War paved the way for the War of American Independence. England had spent enormous money in the Seven Years' War to protect the American colonists from the aggression of their French neighbours in Canada and when she wanted to tax the American colonies to contribute to the expenses already incurred in the war and provide for their future defence they objected to taxation by a Parliament in which they had no representation. 'No representation, no taxation' was their slogan. The war became inevitable for England was not prepared to budge an inch in her determination to tax the American colonists. In another sense too, the Seven Year's War was responsible for the War of American Independence. The French had lost all influence in America and thus the Americans had no more fear of the French. Under the circumstances the Americans exerted their utmost to win their freedom and England had to lose America. If French influence were not altogether excluded from America, the American colonists could not have ventured to set England at defiance to this extent.

France. (*i*) France felt humiliated as a result of the Seven Years' War. She lost all hopes of building an oversea empire. Commercial prosperity was not possible without colonies. Commercially, France was equally doomed. "This conflict (the Seven Years' War) sealed the fate of France. France from this time was on the wane. Her glorious colonies were snatched away. Her active commerce was shattered. If England had been defeated, perhaps, we would have seen Canada, Australia, India and other places in the hands of the French but the aspect of the world had changed. England became a world-power and not France."

(*ii*) France was henceforward the deadliest enemy of England and she gave help to the American colonists during the War of American Independence to win their freedom and sought every opportunity to strike a blow to England.

Prussia. (*i*) Prussia had helped England at a very critical time during the Seven Years' War and it is doubtful if England could win the war without the heroic and faithful role of Frederick the Great of Prussia. But England deserted her during the last stage of the war and if Frederick himself had not tactfully entered into a separate treaty with Maria Theresa, he could not have kept his dominions intact. England was guilty of a serious breach of faith. Prussia lost confidence in England and became hostile to her.

(*ii*) Prussia kept Silesia, developed her resources and she soon rose to be one of the first rate powers on the continent. "The peace made Prussia the equal of Austria and foreshadowed her ascendancy." The foundation of modern Germany was laid.

Spain. After the Seven Years' War Spain became very hostile to England and helped England's enemies to the best of her means.

Canada. The Peace of Paris marked the opening of a new era for Canada.

India. The English had no serious rival in India. The victory of the English at Wandewash defeated the designs of the French in the South. Gradually the English annexed the whole of India after defeating Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan, the Marhattas and other European nations and ultimately established a mighty Empire.

It is clear from the above effects of the Seven Years' War that it was a turning point in the history of the world.

Q. Give a brief account of William Pitt the Elder, Earl of Chatham or the Great Commoner with special reference to his work and achievement. *Or,*

Q. Estimate the services of Pitt the Elder to his country. Why is he known as the Great Commoner? *Or,*

Show how Pitt in the Seven Years' War made good his boast that he would conquer French America in Germany. *Or,*

"In four years (1757—1761) England won the prize ever disputed by men." Discuss.

His Career. William Pitt, the grandson of Thomas Pitt, was born in 1708. He received his education at Eton and Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1732. He put himself at the *head of the "Patriots" and joined the Opposition against Walpole.* He served as the Paymaster of the forces in the Pelham Ministry. When Newcastle became Prime Minister for the second time, he could not successfully manage the Seven Years' War, and formed a Coalition with Pitt in 1757. Newcastle looked to the administration of the country and Pitt directed the war policy. "Pitt assumed absolute control of policy while Newcastle distributed the patronage and saw Pitt's measures through the Parliament." Pitt resigned in 1761 as the new King, George III, who was a Tory, disliked his Whig minister, i.e., William Pitt. The Peace of Paris was concluded when Pitt was not in office. He became Prime Minister for the second time in 1766 and was raised to peerage as Earl of Chatham. He died in 1778.

PITT'S SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY

His services in the Seven Years' War. England was losing in the Seven Years' War before William Pitt formed the coalition ministry with Newcastle in 1757. Tables were soon turned when Pitt directed the war policy. Pitt had a great confidence in himself and said: "I know that I can save England and that no one else can." He remarked: "America must be conquered in Germany." He was the first to realise that Britain could be made a great Imperial Power, the first to feel the right value of sea-power, the first to feel the importance of granting as much of self-government to colonies as possible, the first to know the advantages of blocking enemy ships in their harbours. As a War Minister he proved eminently successful and in fact his success was unrivalled. He recognized the militia, strengthened the navy and formed the Highlanders into regiments. He liberally helped Frederick the Great of Prussia who was fighting with France, and thus kept him busy in the fight with France. France and Prussia were so busy in fighting that the former could not send enough men and money to America and India. Pitt adopted the subsidizing policy which he had formerly opposed so strenuously. He paid King Frederick about £ 700,000 a year; without this money Prussia could not have struggled against Austria and France. Instead of giving responsible posts to members of high families he gave them to young and enthusiastic officers who had shown capability. As a result of this, France was defeated in America and India. The success in the Seven Years' War was due to Pitt's skill, courage and enthusiasm. Pitt was a master of world-strategy and he grasped the war as a whole. His schemes were most perfect and he roused the national spirit to its highest pitch. "The success of his tactics in the Seven Years' War brought him immense glory and reputation as the greatest war minister of England."

If there had been no Pitt, England would not have been able to achieve such a wonderful success. In view of the great gains that England made from the Seven Years' War, it is most appropriately said that, "In four years (1757—61) England won the prize ever disputed by men." He won brilliant victories for England during the four years.

His Foreign Policy. He was anxious to make England a great imperialistic country and as such adopted policy of colonial expansion. He defeated France in the policy of colonial expansion. France was completely defeated everywhere and England became a great colonial and world power. "It was this faith in England's imperial destiny that constitutes his best claim to constructive statesmanship." His fame chiefly rests on the fact that he taught his countrymen to think imperially.

During the Seven Years' War the English ships blockaded all the French harbours. The French fleets were destroyed by Lord Hawke and Admiral Boseawen. The French ambition of invading England was frustrated. In America, the French were defeated. In India the genius of Clive won the battle of Plassey. The French dream of a powerful empire was, thus, frustrated by Pitt who organised a world victory from his office in England.

His Home Policy. He was in favour of safeguarding the rights of the people and the liberties of the nation. He was against issuing 'general warrants'; he wished that the Press should have liberty and Parliament be reformed. He was public-spirited and a great patriot.

Pitt as Prime Minister for the Second Time. He resigned in 1761 as on the question of war with Spain he did not get support in the Parliament, but he was made Prime Minister again in 1766. He resigned the office in 1768 on account of ill-health.

The Great Commoner. He was called the Great Commoner because he was enthusiastically supported by the common people, mostly the merchants and tradesmen; and they supported him because they knew him to be 'incorrupt and honest.' His power rested not on a corrupt House of Commons but on the support of the best part of the middle class, the cream of the commons in the wider sense He had supreme confidence in himself, he appealed to the nation direct and won its support. The people loved him because he fearlessly exposed the evils of the Whig rule, had intense love for his country and was anxious to safeguard popular rights and liberties.

HIS WORK AND ACHIEVEMENT. AN ESTIMATE OF PITT

1. *He made England a Great Power*. He defeated France in the Seven Years' War by his skill, courage and enthusiasm. When he formed the Newcastle-Pitt ministry in 1757 the country was in the lowest depths of despair and she was losing the Seven Years' War. but he roused his countrymen from this depression and won great victories. So fast did victories follow one another that men called the year 1759. "Annus Mirabilis"—the wonderful Year. This led to the commercial growth and colonial expansion of England which now became a world power. The struggle for supremacy between England and France came to an end and the way was now quite clear for England to carve out a great empire and attain commercial greatness. "It was fortunate for Great Britain that after she had waxed fat under a Walpole, she had a Pitt to inspire her to action." "For good or for evil, through heroism and spoliation with all its far-reaching consequences—industrial, economic, social and naval—the foundation of the Empire was the work of Pitt."

"The Elder Pitt is generally looked upon as England's greatest colonial Minister, because his skilful leadership turned defeat into victory during the Seven Years' War. Thus he put an end to French colonial aspirations and left England without a competitor in the field of colonial empire-building." A further claim to his title of greatest colonial minister arises from his attempts to prevent the War of American Independence. He agreed entirely with the Americans' claim that British Parliament had no right to tax them (except for the purpose of regulating the trade of the Empire), since distance made it impossible for them to be represented in Parliament. Had the British Parliament listened to his advice and followed a conciliatory policy towards America, perhaps the war could have been averted and with it the loss of America.

2. *He purified the administration*. He was an honest and straightforward man. He possessed great love for his country and was opposed to injustice and bribery. He could not tolerate the existence of any corruption in the government. He purified the government of its corrupt and dishonest practices.

3. *He sympathized with popular rights and liberties*. He won the hearts of the people by his most sincere spirit of service for his country. He was anxious to safeguard the rights of the people and the liberties of the nation. He was strongly in favour of Parliamentary reform. He was truly public-spirited and patriotic who instead

of enriching himself chose to serve his country. By his personal example, he infused a new spirit in the English nation. He rendered great service to England and occupies a prominent place in English history.

4. *He was also the first of the English Parliamentarians to owe his power to "the people", almost in the modern sense.* He had great faith in the people and the people had a faith in him. The people were heartened by his sublime self-confidence. He was the first of the line which contains the names of Palmerston. Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain and Lloyd George. He appealed from Westminister to what he called the "Great People".

His Character. The key note of Pitt's character was patriotism He had a passionate love for England and was anxious to make her great and glorious and feared by other nations. He roused the national spirit in his countrymen and inspired them with his own patriotic passion by means of speeches and private talks with full devotion. He was a great leader of men and thoroughly understood human psychology. "No one ever entered Pitt's room who did not come out of it as a brave man."

He was above the vices of his age like petty intrigues and jobbery, which were the main interest of his contemporaries like Newcastle and Henry Fox. He was exceptionally honest and upright and refused to accept any underhand source of income.

He was a great orator and appealed to the feelings of his audience with remarkable effect. His commanding presence and voice overawed all opposition; a mere scornful glance and a few strong words were enough to throw his boldest opponent into confusion. In the same way be imposed his will on his colleagues in the Cabinet and made himself respected and feared.

He had the natural gift of choosing the right men for the right places and inspired them with his spirit; that is why England attained the highest prosperity and glory unknown in the former ages. His administration was a chain of conquests.

He served as a model of service and sacrifice, purity and patriotism. His private and public life was most pure and this purity of character created a feeling of wonderful respect for him in the minds of his people. He loved his country most passionately and was prepared for any service and sacrifice to further the interests of his people. He possessed great courage and self-confidence. It is rightly said of him, "The flash of his eyes, the thunder of his voice, his heart-burning words made the House tremble like a pack of school boys." His personality served as a great model to his people. He was the first Englishman of his time and he made England the first country in the world.

England regards him as one of her greatest sons for the work that he did for his countrymen and the great sacrifices that he made in their interest. Ramsay Muir remarks, "In 1761, the most glorious ministry in English history was over. It had found the Commonwealth divided, disheartened and apparently on the verge of ruin. After four brief years, it left it united, triumphant and recognised as the greatest power in the world." He foresaw that a war with Spain was inevitable and he boldly proposed to strike the first blow against the colonies of Spain. George III, advised by Bute, refused to follow his advice; and then (October 6) Pitt resigned the seal of office.

We can easily estimate the importance of Pitt in the history of England from the remarks of Frederick the Great of Prussia. "England had been in labour but at last she has produced a man (Elder Pitt)." A Prussian envoy remarked about Pitt as "the greatest orator in the House of Commons, a man universally loved by the nation."

Q. Describe the Elder Pitt as a War Minister and his War Policy. What was his contribution to the expansion of the British Empire? How was he a great contrast to Robert Walpole?

THE ELDER PITT AS WAR MINISTER

Nature had conferred supreme gifts on the Elder Pitt as War Minister. Nature had meant him for war and adventure more than anything else. He was undoubtedly a great War Minister of England and master of world strategy. The Seven Years' War began disastrously for England but Pitt joining Newcastle formed the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and Pitt himself took charge of the conduct of the War. We have to note the following points in connection with his war policy and his organisation of the war which was finally responsible for the great successes in the Seven Years' War:—

1. He had an awful knack for selecting good men for command on land and sea. He replaced the old and incapable generals by young, energetic and enthusiastic officers. The colonists themselves were seized with his spirit of enthusiasm, and at his call raised and supported an army of 20,000 men. "The fleet was ready in four days for he possessed a real genius for selecting the right type of men and inspiring them with the magnetic power that he possessed."

2. He reorganised the navy and sent fleets to blockade the French Atlantic ports and thus to prevent reinforcements being sent to America. He also made raids on the French coasts.

3. He had not only the genius of conceiving great and strategical designs but also the capacity to plan their execution.

4. Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, was liberally helped with money by Pitt and a strong army was sent to him to protect Hanover and the western flank of Prussia from the French. He kept Prussia busy fighting with France and this led to severe reverses for France in America and India on account of inability to send timely and necessary aid. It was a part of Pitt's policy to absorb French energies as far as possible in Europe.

5. He infused a new spirit in the nation and awakened it from its lethargy by his patriotic appeals and soul-stirring speeches, and prepared it to fight and sacrifice its all for the glory of the country. He was absolutely incorruptible. He and his son the younger Pitt

inspired the nation with high ideas and prepared it to render any sacrifice for their country.

His contribution to the expansion of the British Empire. When he assumed office as war minister, he found his country insulted and defeated and in the lowest depths of despair but by his forceful appeal he revived the confidence and patriotic feelings of the nation and made it capable of rising to the occasion. His success as a war minister was unrivalled. "Pitt had the genius for carrying the nation through a crisis, for rousing enthusiasm, for conceiving great plans." His vision was of a British Empire whose extent his contemporaries could not realize. Louisberg, Cape Breton, and Fort Duquesne were all taken; Canada was captured and at last the crowning victory of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham in 1759, gave the complete mastery in America. On the Continent as well the battle of Minden was won while in India the hopes of the French were shattered at the battle of Wandewash. Had he not resigned in 1761 he would certainly have been able to bring all French and Spanish colonies into the hands of Great Britain and built an undreamt-of empire. He resigned in disgust because King George III and Pitt's colleagues would not like his proposal of declaring war upon Spain which was now joining hands with France and thus the career of the most glorious ministry came to an end.

PITT A GREAT CONTRAST TO WALPOLE

Chatham was a successful War Minister while Walpole was essentially a Peace Minister. The Seven Years' War (1756—63) opened badly for England. The whole nation cried hoarse against Newcastle and then Pitt was placed in power. Pitt by his skill, courage, enthusiasm and tactics changed the whole aspect of the war. He had great confidence in himself and had the power of inspiring others.

Walpole was essentially a peace minister who was opposed to war at all costs. But his policy of peace did much for England. Peace gave her rest and the time to develop herself so that she became wealthy. He was thus able to encourage trade, commerce and manufactures which made England prosperous and thus she was able to engage successfully in wars which took place after Walpole. If there had been no Walpole, England could not have become so prosperous and thus the victories in the Seven Years' War would have become doubtfull; and if there had been no William Pitt, a war-genius and the greatest war minister of England, the success in the Seven Years' War would not have been so easy.

2. Chatham was inspired by lofty ideals while Walpole never believed in them. Walpole had a very low opinion of human nature whereas Pitt felt the value of appeal made to the sense of duty, patriotism and high religious motives.

3. Walpole had a great love for power and tried to retain it in spite of defeat but Pitt at once resigned when his advice was not heeded.

4. Pitt was expert in debate and Walpole in finance.

5. Pitt was always honest and most scrupulous in his administration. His public and private character was most stainless and he was loved and respected by the common people for his wonderful gifts and qualities hardly to be found in his contemporaries. Any corruption in the government appeared intolerable to him and he carefully purged it of all corrupt practices. On the other hand, Walpole was unscrupulous and made a free use of corruption to achieve his political ends. He used unstintingly national wealth and official patronage to make himself and his party most powerful in the country, but he used the influence and strength of his party solely for the good of the country.

6. Pitt was a great orator and possessed great personal force of character. He could easily influence and dominate others. His personality was so inspiring that he could make the weak strong and the coward brave. His commanding personality and force of words easily converted others to his views. Any one who entered his room came back reinvigorated and inspired.

7. Pitt was fond of ostentation, lacked simplicity of character, could not pull on with his colleagues for he tried to dominate others, and could not tolerate opposition and discussion. Walpole was free from all these weaknesses.

Though both of them were widely different from each other in certain important respects yet both were great men who left their marks upon British History and played a significant role. England cannot forget both of them.

Q. What was the contribution of the Whigs to the growth of Constitutional Monarchy in England?

The Rise of the Whigs. At the accession of George I the country was in danger of a civil war, as the Jacobites were always planning for a rising. The Whigs and Tories were in opposition to each other. The country required strong rule as in the days of the Tudors. But the king had no ability and was quite ignorant of the constitution and language of the country. As the Whigs had brought George I to the throne, he naturally selected his ministers from among them and allowed the country to be ruled by them. The Whig supremacy lasted for about 50 years (1713—61).

CONTRIBUTION OF THE WHIGS TO THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND

(i) *Creation of Prime Minister.* King George did not know the English language and politics and therefore he ceased to attend the meetings of the ministers. Walpole presided over these meetings and was called the Prime Minister. The important constitutional result of this was that the Cabinet which had been growing independent of the sovereign became still more independent. Henceforth the most important question would not be the policy of the king but the character and policy of the ministers.

(ii) *End of the King's Personal Rule.* "Up to Anne's time the sovereign had been in the habit of presiding over the meetings of ministers and taking counsel with them. King George, being unable to speak or understand English, ceased to attend the meetings of the ministers, and none of his successors ever revived the old practice. The change is to be noted as involving the end of the sovereign's personal rule and the beginning of the modern system of government. Ever since the time of George I, ministers have met at times and places convenient to themselves, and not in obedience to a royal command." (Smith).

(iii) *Growth of the Cabinet System.* The system of Cabinet government was further developed under the first two Hanoverians. George I and George II did not understand English politics and had no knowledge of English language. So they gave their confidence to the Whigs and left the task of government to them. The Whig ministers ruled the country with the support of the majority in the House of Commons and the king acted according to the wishes of the ministers. Moreover, neither of the first two Georges attended the Cabinet meetings. The place of the King was taken by his chief minister who was subsequently called in history the Prime Minister. Gradually the other characteristics of the Cabinet government were evolved.

Thus the main results were the following:

1. Many legal rights of the Crown fell into disuse.

2. The King's power to govern the country passed into the hands of the Cabinet Council which depended for its power on the Commons. Thus the House of Commons had the ultimate voice in England.

3. The office of the Prime Minister was created.

4. The resignation of Townshend and Walpole on the question of foreign policy established the principle that the Cabinet Ministers should not only belong to the same party but also have the same policy.

(iv) *Principle of Collective Responsibility of the Ministers.* As the proceedings of the Cabinet meetings were kept secret and the decision represented the joint opinion of the Cabinet, the custom of joint and collective responsibility of the ministers was evolved. Sir Robert Walpole was the first Prime Minister of England in the true sense of the above explanation. He chose his colleagues from the party in power in the Commons, forced them to have one and the same opinion and thus established the rudiments of the collective responsibility of ministers which, however, became a regular feature of the British Constitution in the nineteenth century.

(v) *Party system of Government.* The Whigs succeeded in establishing the party system of government in England, i.e., the party which was in majority in the House of Commons was to rule the country. This became an established constitutional tradition.

Q. Explain the nature of the Whig and the Tory parties in British Parliament during the eighteenth century and the reasons why the Whigs were dominant during most of the period or during early Hanoverian period. *Or,*

Q. Account for the ascendancy of the **Whig Oligarchy** during the first half of the eighteenth century. *Or,*

Show how the policy of the **Whigs** helped to establish the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne and also made them popular. *Or,*

How did the **Whigs** manage to remain in power for the greater portion of the eighteenth century from **1714** to **1761**? Account for their ultimate fall. (P.U. 1952, 1956)

Difference in Principles of the Whig and the Tory Parties. Both Whigs and Tories had combined to make the Revolution of 1688. Both supported the Revolution Settlement and upheld the Parliament and the Church but the Whigs supported more strongly the English Constitution as decided by the Revolution Settlement and were more for limited monarchy, supremacy of the Parliament and religious toleration than the Tories. The Tories still believed in the royal prerogative and hereditary succession and they were not in favour of further limiting the authority of the Crown. The Whigs clearly wanted constitutional or limited monarchy and to deprive the monarch of the power of repeating the illegal actions and arbitrary measures of James II. The Whigs wanted to establish the supremacy of Parliament and reduce the monarch to the position of absolute dependence upon it. On the other hand, Tories were openly and secretly intriguing to depose George I and place the Stuarts on the throne. Jacobite Revolts of 1715 and 1745, better known as 'The Fifteen' and the 'Forty-Five', were open attempts to unsettle the Revolution Settlement by bringing the Catholic Stuarts to the throne in defiance of the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. They did so because they believed in the royal prerogative and the theory of the Divine Right of Kingship. Even on the eve of the Queen Anne's death, the Tories like Bolingbroke tried to put the Pretender, son of James II, on the throne of England but his attempt failed. This attempt, if successful, would have undone the work of the Revolution and upset the Act of Settlement. Immediately on the death of Queen Anne, the leading Whigs proclaimed George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, as George I, the King of Great Britain. George I naturally gave his confidence to the Whigs for they had placed him on the throne.

Secondly, the Whigs believed in religious toleration and giving more freedom of thought to the Dissenters. The Tories were strong believers in the Anglican Church and were opposed to all further freedom of religion. This is true that Walpole failed to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts but this was for political reasons. He pleased the Dissenters without displeasing the Church. Every year an Indemnity Act was passed by which the Dissenters could hold office without the penal effects of the Test and the Corporation Acts.

The third point on which the Whigs and the Tories differed was the relation with France. The Whigs wanted war with France in order to check the ambitious designs of the French King so that the 'balance of power' on the Continent might not be disturbed. The Tories favoured peace with France irrespective of its consequences for the affairs of the world.

REASONS FOR WHIG ASCENDANCY OR DOMINATION (POLITICAL SUPREMACY) FROM 1714 TO 1761

1. *Whigs had the confidence of the Hanoverian Kings.* The first two Hanoverian Kings gave entire confidence and support to the Whigs who were largely responsible for the Havoverian succession to the English throne. On the death of Queen Anne the Whig politicians lost no time in proclaiming the Elector of Hanover as King George I in terms of the Act of Settlement and the reward of this service was that they were allowed to remain a supreme power in the country for half a century. Some of the leading Tories attempted to restore the Stuart dynasty to the English throne but their efforts bore no fruit and the Jacobites revolted even in 1745 to gain the throne for the Stuarts. The hanoverians were thoroughly aware that the Whigs were honestly devoted to their cause. The action of the Whigs in securing Hanoverian Succession gained for them the steady support of George I. and from 1714 to 1761, the ministers were composed mainly of Whigs, the dominant party.

2. *Ignorance of the first two Georges of English language and politics.* The first two Georges neither knew English nor they cared to learn it. They were equally ignorant of English customs, traditions and politics and they did not try to take any interest in them. They had no alternative but to entrust the administration to a strong political party friendly to the throne. The Tories though opposed to the Hanoverians were politically weak and the administration was, therefore, put under the charge of the Whigs who commanded majority and were zealous supporters of the Hanoverians.

3. *Whigs' recognition of the principles of the Glorious Revolution.* The Glorious Revolution was brought about as a result of the arbitrary rule, unconstitutional measures and want of religious freedom. The Revolution was a triumph of liberty over despotism and of freedom of thought over religious persecution. The Whigs during their ascendancy period advocated constitutional rule, religious freedom, liberty of the Press and fair administration of justice. Their liberal policy and sympathy with popular aspirations won them popularity.

4. *Better organisation of the Whigs.* The Whigs were better united and organised than the Tories. The Whig leaders like Stanhope, Sunderland, Walpole and Townshend were wise and able persons and had the interest of their country at heart. The ablest men of the time were Whigs. Robert Walpole was an important leader of the Whigs who believed in the supremacy of Parliament. He had two-fold task before him: (i) to secure the Hanoverians on the throne and (ii) to make himself and the Whigs very strong and influential in the country. He strengthened and organised the Whig families and kept them together.

5. *Whigs controlled elections.* The Whigs were wealthy and big landlords and had a majority in the House of Lords. Some of the Whig nobles had estates covering hundreds of square miles, including whole towns and villages. By virtue of their position and

wealth they could easily influence parliamentary elections and returned friends or members of their own choice to the House of Commons. Thus the House of Commons came under the influence of the Whigs who used it most to provide their own interests and as a weapon to add to their power.

6. *Whigs had the support of the commercial class.* The Whigs favoured the mercantile system whereas the Stuarts had always tried to deprive the towns of their charters and thus trade of the country suffered seriously.

Secondly, the merchant classes had advanced loans to the government and they could not expect it back if the Stuarts were placed on the English throne. Whigs followed the policy of opposing France which ultimately resulted in a great colonial Empire for Great Britain and which increased her trade enormously. All these considerations made the commercial classes support the policy and actions of the Whigs.

7. *Whigs received the support of the Anglican Church and the Non-Conformists.* The Whigs were also liberal in matters of religion. They replaced the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act (the two measures passed by the Tory Ministry of Queen Anne to weaken the Conformists, i.e., the Dissenters) and passed annually an Act of Indemnity. This gained the Whigs the goodwill of the Non-Conformists and the Free-Thinkers.

8. *Whig 'Patronage."* 'Patronage' was now rather in the hands of Prime Minister than the king, that is to say, all the offices under the Crown were in his gift. Walpole who was the leading Whig and the first minister appointed all judges, bishops, deans, officers in the army and navy, and clerks in the Civil Service. Besides these appointments there were numerous sinecures which meant handsome salaries in return for quite nominal duties, such as, the post of the Auditor of the Exchequer, who received £ 800 a year in peace and £ 20,000 in war, without ever looking into the accounts. Titles and money were also freely used to buy votes of the members of the House of Commons. This patronage immensely added to the Whig influence and brought them the support of all recipients of favours.

Ultimate fall of the Whigs. (Please see next answer).

Q. Attempt a brief account of the advantages and disadvantages that the people of England derived from the rule of the Whigs (1710—1760). What led to their ultimate fall? ***Or,***

"The period of Whig ascendancy is rightly known as the Golden Age of the Whigs." Discuss.

The Whig ascendancy or political supremacy continued till the accession of George III and during this period (1714—60) the Whigs controlled political power.

MERITS OR ADVANTAGES OF THE WHIG RULE. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WHIG ARISTOCRACY

1. *Results of the Glorious Revolution were secured.* The Whigs

supported the Glorious Revolution. They played very important role in bringing about the Revolution Settlement which aimed at doing away with the unconstitutional and illegal practices of the time of the Stuarts, and ensuring permanent Protestant succession to the throne of England. They most faithfully upheld the new constitutional issues and maintained the liberty of the press, parliamentary rule, even-handed administration of justice and equality of all before law.

2. *Religious Toleration.* They advocated freedom of religion and thought and there was no persecution for difference of opinion in religious matters. Religious toleration was extended without offending the Church and an Indemnity Act was passed annually for the protection of the Dissenters.

"The general policy of the Whigs during the eighteenth century has often been described by the expression *'laissez-faire.'"* (Southgate). This means that the Whigs interfered as little as possible in the affairs of the individuals. People enjoyed the maximum freedom consistent with circumstances and the State interfered to the minimum degree possible.

3. *Liberty of the Press.* They followed popular wishes and pleased the public as far as possible. They seldom provoked public resentment. The Licensing Act of the Stuart period which placed rigid restrictions on the liberty of writing was abolished and thus more liberty of writing was established. Censorship of the Press was abolished and its freedom was restored.

4. *Constitutional Rule.* Under the Whigs the principle of party government grew and the Cabinet system developed. The ministers of government were to be chosen from the party that commanded majority in the House of Commons. Office of the Prime Minister came into existence. Certain principles of the Cabinet system were permanently established and became part of the English Constitution. Powers of the monarch were limited and constitutional or limited monarchy became a lasting feature of the English Constitution; real power now rested with the Parliament whose supremacy was unquestionably established. Walpole a great Whig statesman largely contributed to the evolution of the Cabinet system.

5. *Financial Prosperity.* Being businessmen, most of the Whigs were expert in finance. As such they devised means to bring about a reduction in the National Debt and abolish many important and export duties. They followed a policy of strict economy and considerably reduced the expenses of the government in every branch. The interest on the National Debt was reduced and it was surely a redeeming feature in the financial policy of the Whigs. Financial prosperity of the country made its position stable and enabled it to fight its future wars with confidence and success. This greatly enhanced the national credit for national wealth was gradually increasing.

6. *Growth of Trade and Commerce.* Being personally interested in trade, the Whigs did their best to encourage it. Commerce,

manufactures and agriculture thrived and thus added to the material wealth of the nation. A large number of small, forgotten and insignificant places came into prominence and developed into large towns.

The 'mercantile system' which had acted as a great check on the commercial growth of the country was relaxed by removing a number of duties and giving a measure of freedom to the colonies in matters of trade. The colonial trade was given a strong impetus by allowing the colonies to trade directly with other countries.

7. *Growth of a strong Navy.* The Whig took keen interest in building a strong navy which ultimately won great victories for England and further enabled her to increase her trade and colonies. England became a great trading, naval and colonial power on account of a strong and efficient navy. The Seven Years' War and so many others were won mainly with the help of the navy. Prosperity of trade, control over the seas and growth of colonies were in no small measure due to a strong navy.

8. *Successful Foreign Policy.* In their foreign policy the Whigs aimed at three things:—(i) to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht, (ii) to persuade European Powers not to help Jacobites in their attempts to gain the throne of England; and (iii) to safeguard the interests of Hanover. The Whigs succeeded in maintaining the Treaty of Utrecht suppressing Jacobites and protecting the interest of Hanover.

The period of the Whig ascendancy is rightly known in English history as the 'Golden Age of the Whigs' on account of the great advantages and prosperity that it brought to the people of the country.

DEMERITS OR DISADVANTAGES. FALL OF THE WHIGS

1. *The low tone of the Nation.* To maintain their power the Whigs generally used all corrupt and unfair means at their disposal. They freely interfered with parliamentary elections and used their influence to control them. Bribery, jobbery, official patronage, intimidation, etc., were unsparingly made use of to gain their ends. This undesirable policy deprived the nation of lofty ideals and lowered its general moral tone. No nation with low ideals can command the respect of other nations. The Whigs had a very low opinion of human character and they felt that every man had his price, i.e., every man could be bribed and made to do as desired.

"The tone of the nation in general, and of the government of the country in particular became very much lowered. The Whig Lords, who were mainly responsible for this state of affairs, were selfish, greedy and factious and converted bribery into a system and corruption into a fine art."

2. *Demoralising influence of the Whigs on the church.* Laymen who were never interested in religion and church were given high posts simply because they had supported their masters in political matters. Church posts being given merely as a reward for political support to persons, however, otherwise unworthy of the honour conferred upon them, lessened the dignity of the church and reduced it to a very low position. Thus the nation and the church suffered in

morality and position on account of the corrupt practices of the Whigs.

3. *George III was in favour of the Tories.* George II died in 1760 and was succeeded by his grandson George III. George I and George II were mere puppets in the hands of their Whig ministers who wielded all political power. But George III ascended the throne determined not merely to reign but to govern as well. In other words he did not want to be a tool in the hands of Whigs but to be a king in fact. Besides, George III was a Tory (the first two Georges were Whigs since they owed their throne to them) and the Tories wanted peace in Europe and "non-intervention" of England, specially when the war (Seven Years' war) had saved Hanover, established English supremacy on the sea and crushed the French power in India. At George III's accession the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry was in power. Pitt resigned because his colleagues refused to accept his decision to declare war against Spain. Newcastle followed Pitt's example because he was no longer allowed to exercise the partonage of the crown. Now the king chose ministers of his own choice who blindly followed his will. The Whigs thus lost all political power.

CHAPTER XXI

GEORGE III (1760—1820)

> *"The reign of George III is one of the longest in English history, it is also one of the most memorable."*
>
> —TICKNER

His Accession. George II, who died suddenly of heart disease in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was succeeded in 1760 by his grandson, George III, whose father Frederick, Prince of Wales, had died in 1751. George was born in London in 1738 and his early years were spent in seclusion, for his mother purposely kept him aloof from the world and did not allow him to mix with others. He was educated under the guidance of his mother who constantly instilled into his mind the idea that ministers of state should be subservient to the king. 'George, be a king' was the constant advice of his mother and his tutor Bute; and George, in 1760, at the age of 23, came to the throne with little knowledge of government and politics, but firmly determined to make his influence strongly felt in the affairs of the nation. He ascended a glorious throne for the energy and foresight of Pitt the Elder had made England the first nation in the world. England had no fear of France for her naval power was destroyed. Walpole's peace policy had made England a rich and commercial country. The country was at the height of its power. George III is called by some Farmer George for his simplicity of thought and character and dislike for show and extravagance.

Q. Discuss the character and aims of George III.
(D.U. 1961)

His Character—Bright Side. The accession of George III was extremely popular and it took place amidst national rejoicings. He was the first of the Hanoverian sovereigns born in Great Britain. He was unlike the two preceding kings—an Englishman by education and sympathy. Thoroughly British in spirit and an Englishman to the backbone, he declared to Parliament that he gloried in the name of Britain, and that his great happiness consisted in promoting the happiness of his people. In private life George was a simple, frugal, conscientious, and religious man with excellent morals and great piety of character. He was by far the best of the Georges. His example as a sincere and humble Christian was a blessing to England. He was not well-educated but he was hard-working and serious about his duty. He was extremely persevering and dogged and when once he had made up his mind to get a thing done or achieve a particular purpose, nothing could turn him from his determination or damp his spirits.

Weak Side. Unfortunately he was narrow-minded, self-willed and prejudiced, so that his determination to rule by his own will led him into serious troubles. His imperfect education, obstinacy, egoism and inability to appreciate other's point of view were responsible for his complications and troubles as a ruler.

In his book 'England under the Hanoverians', Roberts writes, "to the last he remained obstinate, ungrateful, indictive, obsessed by his own views and capable of any meanness, trickery, or intrigue to achieve the ends he had framed for himself." He was short-sighted and lacked imagination; it was his short-sighted policy and lack of imagination that led to the loss of the American Colonies or the first British Empire. William Pitt, the Elder, was opposed to George in his policy towards the American Colonists and advised him to take a lenient view of the situation but he remained obstinate and we know the price he had to pay for his obstinacy.

He wanted to retain all power in his own hands and to become his own Prime Minister. King's power and prestige had suffered under George I and George II and his anxiety was to get back all that was lost under them. He succeeded in concentrating power in his own hands so that his ministers were merely heads of various departments but his lack of intelligence, imagination and broad-mindedness stood seriously in his way and led to his failure as a ruler. "Personally George III was simple in his tastes, and strictly moral in his habits; but in pursuit of his political aims, he employed men of the vilest character, and recklessly lavished places and gifts of money on those whose services he required." (Gardiner).

His Political Aims and Policy. One great ambition of George III was to increase the royal power and rule like a real king. His mother and his tutor, the Earl of Bute, constantly encouraged him "to be a king" and not a mere figure-head. He had been carefully trained to believe in the prerogatives of a sovereign. He was, therefore, determined to rule and play a real part in the government of the country though he had not been trained for it. His political primer was Bolingbroke's. *Patriot King*. It taught him to rule on the lines of the Revolution Settlement by restoring the Crown to its old position as the real head of the executive, free to choose its own ministers. He argued that a 'patriot king' should have the best ministers irrespective of their party and that the king should be in actual touch with the people and the head of the administration. He had no idea of reviving Tudor or Stuart despotism or flouting the constitution and tradition but his anxiety was to get back all royal and political power that had been lost under George I and George II. "He was fond of power and very eagar to have as much authority as the law left him. He hated the Whigs because he thought they had taken power and authority from him." He meant to be a king, not only in name but in fact. He resolved to assert once more the supremacy of the Crown which had been steadily declining since the accession of George I. He was sincerely patriotic and loyal to the British constitution as he understood it. Far from flouting tradition, he was so loyal to it that he respected the recent practice of royal absence fr Cabinet meetings, which he did not attend.

but

His great desire was to rule independently of the party and to have only such ministers as would be prepared to carry out his policy and wishes and to remove them as soon as they were found unwilling agents of his policy and wishes. The keynote of his policy was 'love of power'. But nothing could be done so long as the Whig oligarchy ruled the country. Hence the king's first plan of action was to take over the distribution of patronage. He used patronage and corruption to achieve his ends. Then the king began to select his ministers irrespective of party. But they insisted on acting as Cabinet instead of being docile tools in the hands of the king. During the first ten years of his rule, the king changed ministers often enough, until in 1770 he selected the right man, Lord North, who formed a ministry after the king's own heart. The ministry of Lord North was virtually the king's ministry.

The King's Friends. With the help of these supporters, George III finally succeeded in breaking up the great Whig power, in reasserting the personal influence of the Crown and in making himself the director of affairs in Parliament. "George III made use of his prerogative of giving away honours and offices and thus formed a party known as the "King's Friends."

Q. "George, be a King." How did George III succeed in his attempt to rule as well as to reign? Or, George be a King'. By what means did George III seek to follow this advice of his mother and with what results? *Or,*
(P.U. 1953, 51; D.U. 1958, 54)

Why did George III oust the Whigs from power? What methods did he adopt to this end? *Or,* (P.U. 1950)

What means were employed by George III to displace the Whig Oligarchy from power and make himself as much independent of Parliament and Cabinet as possible? *Or,*

"George III governed without party making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and Parliament, the pensioner of the royal bounty." Comment. *Or,* (P.U. 1948, 44)

Explain how George III tried to establish a personal rule and show what effects it had on the British Empire. (P.U. 1953, 59)

Attempt of George III at personal Government. From early age George III was imbued with the doctrines set forth by Bolingbroke in his '*Patriot King*' and grew up with the idea that he must at all costs "*be a king*" and govern as well as reign. He loyally accepted the constitution as defined after the Revolution of 1688 but refused to accept the custom of the constitution, i.e., changes in the con n that gradually took place during the reigns of the first
In 1760 the King's power was at a very low ebb for
sters exercised all power and patronage and the admin-
country was in their hands. The king's power was
had no control over the administration. The minis-
he heads of departments, formed a Cabinet and were
to the House of Commons. The royal power had

reached its lowest point under the first two Georges, though theoretically it was still great. The aim of George III was to restore the personal authority of the Crown which had considerably suffered under the first two Hanoverian sovereigns. With this object in view he tried to break the power of the Whigs by gathering round him a party of "*King's Friends,*" and by securing the support of Parliament for himself by adopting the same methods of corruption as were used by the Whigs.

Methods followed by George III to revive royal power, exercise personal government and to be the real ruler of the country. (i) George III put an end to the power of the Whigs speedily by ending the Seven Years' War for he knew that the Whigs would remain in power as long as the war lasted.

(ii) His dislike for the Whigs led him to dismiss Pitt unjustly and he intrigued to get rid of any Whig minister whom he was compelled to admit to power. After Pitt and Newcastle, Lord Bute, king's scottish tutor, was appointed Prime Minister. He had been king's tutor and so he became a mere tool in the hands of the king. The king took in his own hands all the royal patronage, i.e., the grant of titles, honours, offices, lands, etc.

(iii) He gathered round him a group of Tory politicians known as the *King's Friends* whose only principle of politics was to carry out king's wishes, blindly support him in Parliament and to be thoroughly 'yesmen'. They were strongly opposed to the Whigs and determined to uphold the king's cause at all costs.

(iv) He managed and controlled the House of Commons by corruption and bribery so that it could not go against his wishes.

Like Walpole, George III used patronage and other corrupt means to manage the House of Commons. Once he had actually dismissed several officers of the army for not voting according to his wishes.

(v) He chose his own ministers. They were responsible to him and not to Parliament. They carried on the administration according to his wishes and policy. He did not choose his ministers from the party that was in majority in the House of Commons but from any party that suited him.

"Lord North did not oppose, but rather favoured George III's attempt to restore authority of the Crown. During the twelve years (1770—1782) George III was supreme and really his own Prime Minister. Lord North was only the nominal head of the Government."

(vi) To gain his ends George was always prepared to adopt all sorts of corrupt means such as bribery, etc. Lucrative contracts were granted to members in order to influence votes. Important offices were held out to those who adhered to the cause of the king. "He took back the royal "patronage" into his own hands, and used it (as the Whigs had done) to build up a party devoted to "the hand that fed them." *The King's Friends* were not his personal friends but men who voted as he told them in Parliament." (Rayner).

(vii) "His one mental gift was a sort of low cunning—an insight into the baser side of human nature—which made him an expert in the 'dirty work' of eighteenth century politics. Hence his success in organising 'The King's Friends' and getting better of the Whigs after a long and bitter struggle". (Rayner).

(viii) He also took advantage of the lack of co-operation among the Whigs, whose long hold of power, instead of strengthening the bonds of union among the various members of their party, had loosened them, so that they had, in the course of years, become like a house divided against itself. Within a year of the King's accession, Pitt, who had conducted the Seven Years' War with such glorious success, resigned, because his colleagues in the ministry refused to declare war on Spain. In less than six months afterwards Newcastle followed Pitt's example.

By this double resignation the Whigs played into the hands of George III, who claimed and exercised the right of promoting to the office of Prime Minister a man of his own choice and changing one ministry for another, if it conflicted with his views. The Earl of Bute, George Grenville, Lord Rockingham, the Earl of Chatham, the Duke of Grafton and Lord North followed one another in rapid succession between the years 1763 and 1784, whilst the king's authority was steadily increasing. George III governed "without party", making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and parliament the pensioner of the royal bounty. The King succeeded, but his success was temporary. Soon after began the American War of Independence. America was lost to England. The popular opinion was that the loss of America was due to the mismanagement of George III and his attempt to set up a personal rule. Lord North resigned in 1782. The King's system of government came to an end and he had to call the hated Whigs to power.

Q. Explain how George III tried to establish personal rule or to be the real ruler of the country. What brought about the end of his personal rule? *Or,*

Describe the factors and circumstances that brought about the end of George III's personal rule. What were the important consequences of his personal rule or the effects which his personal rule had on the British Empire? (D.U. 1956, 42, 44)

His real aim was to rule as well as reign—an ideal more akin to that of the Stuart monarchs. But the English people had outgrown that stage and wanted to have as much power as they could to prevent the Crown from becoming absolute. The King's personal rule was, therefore, bound to end and it was only a question of time.

(For 'how George III tried to establish a personal rule', please see previous Answer.)

End of the King's personal rule. For a number of years the king ruled the country as he wished and he asserted his personal authority. The personal rule of the king ultimately met its downfall for the following reasons:—

1. The Whigs had seldom agreed to King's policy and supported his actions. This is true that the Whigs as a party had grown weak but never ceased to oppose the king.

2. The American policy of George III failed disastrously. Had he been more pacific and far-sighted in his policy, America could not have been lost to England. The loss of American colonies made George III and his party very impopular.

3. The writings and speeches of Burke, Fox, Wilkes and other firebrands of their type resulted in creating a strong public opinion against the personal rule of George III. Letters of Junius and public meetings created vehement agitation against George and Prime Minister North, and thus they were let down in public estimation.

4. In 1782 Dunning moved a resolution in the House of Commons that "the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished." The resolution was passed by 233 against 215 votes. This resolution is historically important as it shows that George III had been able to command a vast influence in politics. Moreover, the resolution indicates that the Parliament of 1780 was no longer steadfast. The King dissolved the Parliament in order to get a submissive House. The new Parliament began to take active part in a silent political revolution and succeeded in largely restricting the power and influence of the Crown.

5. Lord North had to resign in 1782 after the surrender of Yorktown and the King had to call in the Whigs and allow them to use the power of Government for the overthrow of the system he had built up with pains. Lord North was succeeded by Rockingham and he in his turn was followed by Pitt the Younger. Pitt dismissed those ministers who were opposed to his will and stood in his way. He disliked becoming a tool in the king's hand and instead purified the administration by ending bribery and corrupt practices. Pitt soon established once again the party system of government and the institution of Cabinet. Pitt the Younger was a minister "who with higher abilities and large views of State policy, had a will even stronger than his (George's) own." Pitt established Walpole's idea of collective responsibility under the leadership of the Prime Minister and thus minimised the possibility of the exercise of despotic and personal powers by the king.

6. The king was fast losing his health. His fast declining vitality did not permit him to bear the strain of opposition.

In spite of his persistent attempts to destroy all checks upon his authority, the king failed because all the institutions had struck deep roots. But it must be remembered that while eager to control the ministers the king did so *in* and *through* Parliament. He did not try to rule as a despot for he was anxious to maintain the salutary effects of the Revolution.

EFFECTS OF GEORGE III's ATTEMPT AT PERSONAL RULE

Bad Effects

1. George had been brought up by his mother, a harsh, narrow-

minded woman, in strict seclusion. He rarely left the palace and had thus little touch with the outside world. He was too dull to learn anything from his books. To add to this, the group of toadies that George had gathered round him gave him an exaggerated idea of his own importance and also abetted him in carrying out any ruinous policy which his ignorance and conceit might suggest. George came to have a strong dislike for almost every able Englishman of the period. This was a great loss to the country for it could not avail itself of the intelligence, ability and wisdom of gifted Englishmen. The best interests of the country were thus allowed to suffer.

2. The House of Commons was largely a creation of George III and not a democratic body. It reflected the wishes of the king and was slavishly subordinate to his will. Parliamentary corruption was rampant long before George III became king and it was no new thing for the king to control the House by bribery, intimidation and coercion.

3. The king appointed ministers who acted as the willing tools of his policy. He dismissed those ministers who stood in his way or were reluctant to act in subordination to his wishes. George III thus wanted to govern without party, making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and Parliament the pensioner of the royal bounty.

4. Had George III been less stubborn and used his influence with caution and far-sightedness, America could have been pacified and the American colonies would not have been lost to England.

5. England nearly lost Ireland and only kept it by cruelty and fraud.

6. England was involved in a long war against France which stopped all progress in England for nearly forty years. After the Napoleonic wars England was the scene of widespread economic distress. Besides, there was discontent and agitation for political reform and there were riots all over the country. The Government adopted a policy of repression and reaction.

Good Results

1. The personal rule of the king put an end to the power of the Whigs. The corrupt Whig rule was overthrown for the Whigs in building up their power had converted bribery into a system and had neglected the good of the nation by pushing the interests of their own party. The Whig ministers had abused the Crown patronage and their system of government had ceased to be popular. The Whig rule had outlived its utility and it was beneficial in the interests of the country that George put an end to their unconstitutional and unpopular rule.

2. George's personal rule further led to the improvement of the party system. To counteract the personal influence of the king, the Whigs organised their programme by doing away with the evils that had so far existed in their system and thus sapped their vitality. A "New Whig-ism," better and far improved, sprang up on the ruins

of the old one and was the direct result of George's attempt to establish personal rule.

3. Canada became a strong and loyal part of the Empire. There were one million people in the colonies who were loyal and these fled to Canada, where they were given land and money by the British Government.

The settlement of a large number of British in Canada created a strong bond of common interest between the French and British in Canada, and the people in England, for both were anxious to protect Canada from invasion by the Americans to the south.

Q. State the circumstances that favoured the gradual establishment of the New Political System under George III and the decline of the Whig Power. *Or,*

Q. What were those factors that enabled and favoured George III to regain royal influence and revive royal power? ***Or,***

Q. Why was it possible for George III to attempt within the constitution to rule personally?

The factors and circumstances that helped George III to establish the New System of Government, i.e., regaining royal power and reviving king's influence, during the early years of his reign may briefly be described as follows:—

1. *Weakness of the Whig Aristocracy.* The Whigs were disunited amongst themselves and lost cohesion and unity. They were now broken up into a number of parties and factions with no unity of aim and political principles.

The question of Parliamentary Reform was an urgent problem of the day but the Whigs were purposely indifferent to it. The Whigs had become unpopular and disorganised and they had practically lost hold on the lower classes. All this made it easier for George III to regain the royal influence by taking benefit of the weakness and vices of the Whig aristocracy.

2. *The support of the Tories.* George III found a ready support in the Tories who were anxious to revive their own power. It was easy for the Tories and the king to combine and work together, for their views were harmonious in matters of religion and politics. The Tories were willing to help the king in regaining the royal influence which was lost under the first two Georges.

3. *Personal virtues of the King and the Queen.* George III was a simple, conscientious and religious man, and an affectionate husband and father. Simple and frugal in his tastes, pious and virtuous in his private life, George was popular with his subjects. George married Charlotte Sophia, daughter of the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, a cheerful and prudent princess, who, by her purity of life, did much to reform the court from the coarseness and vice that had existed during previous reigns. The private virtues of King George and Queen, thus did much to retain the affection and devotion of their subjects.

4. *The Cabinet system was not yet fully developed.* The Cabinet system was yet in its infancy and the fundamental principle of collective responsibility was still to develop and take root. The ministers lacked political solidarity which made it possible for the king to play them against one another and turn out those who were reluctant to be agents to his policy and wishes.

5. *Political indifference of the People.* The majority of the people, except London and a few other advanced towns, did not concern themselves seriously with the political issues of the fight for power between the King and the Whigs. The Whigs as a political party were out of touch with the lower classes and had lost whatever little hold they had on them.

6. *Existence of Parliamentary corruption.* The fact that parliamentary corruption was rampant helped the King to resort to corrupt practices for controlling the members of Parliament.

7. *Unsatisfactory State of Parliamentary Representation.* During the 18th century Parliament was not in the real sense representative of the common people. Votes were bought off and the King could very easily intimidate the members of the House of Commons. The representation was most defective and many seats were filled up at the instance of powerful persons and the king. Parliament was in no way a democratic body and had fallen a victim to corrupt influences.

At last, in 1770, the Whig power that had maintained its hold over the country for over fifty years came to an end, for by this time the Party known as the 'King's Friends' had become very strong and Lord North, a willing tool in the hands of George III, was appointed Prime Minister.

William Pitt the Younger, who took office as Prime Minister in 1783, also did not love the Whigs. He now taught George how to get rid of the Whigs and yet make himself popular with the people. The king and the people united, could defy the Whig nobles and deprive them of the remnants of the political power still left with them.

The factors and circumstances enumerated above made it possible for George III to attempt within the constitution fo rule personally.

Q. What do you know of the case of Wilkes and the Middlesex Election? What was its constitutional importance?

Case of John Wilkes. He was a member of the House of Commons for Aylesbury and editor of a journal called *North Britain.* In his journal he made a violent attack on the administration of Grenville as being responsible for the Peace of Paris and accused George III of uttering a lie (as the King in Parliament said that the recent Peace of Paris conferred great benefits on England). Grenville issued a "general warrant" (document for arrest which did not specify the name of any particular person who was to be arrested) to arrest Wilkes and others concerned in making those violent attacks on the government of the country. Some forty printers, authors, publishers, including Wilkes, were arrested and imprisoned. Wilkes and others were, however, released as the law Courts held that "general warrants" were illegal. Heavy damages were recovered by Wilkes and others for their unlawful arrest.

Constitutional significance. This decision safeguarded personal liberty by declaring general warrants illegal and secured the privilege of members of Parliament as regards freedom from arrest on a charge of libel.

Middlesex Election Question. Failing to get Wilkes punished in a law court for his attack on the administration of the country, Premier Grenville attacked Wilkes in Parliament. Wilkes was expelled from Parliament in 1764 for his *Essay on Woman* which was believed to be very scandalous and indecent. To avoid trial, Wilkes fled to France and was outlawed. He returned in 1768 and was elected member of Parliament for Middlesex. The Grafton Ministry, however, did not allow him to take his seat in the Commons. He was four times elected for Middlesex but was each time refused admission to the House and on the last occasion the House declared that the government candidate (Col. Lutterel) was legally the elected member for Middlesex and not Wilkes. This attitude of the House of Commons gave rise to a popular agitation in the country and raised an important constitutional issue as to whether the House had the right to reject any election by its constituents. Wilkes at once gained great popularity and was looked upon as a champion of popular freedom. The people showed honour and gratitude to him by electing him Alderman, Sheriff and lastly Lord Mayor of London. He became member of Parliament in 1774.

Important Results of Wilkes's Trial

1. The dangerous practice of issuing general warrants ended and thus personal liberty was safeguarded against illegal official interference. (General warrants do not actually name the persons to be arrested but they authorise the arrest of all concerned).

2. The right of the Press to discuss public affairs was recognised which indirectly helped to promote the power of the Press. Parliamentary proceedings could no longer be kept secret.

3. The right of a constituency to elect its own representative in spite of the opposition of the House of Commons was vindicated.

4. The nation was led to see the need of reform in the House of Commons and thus Wilkes indirectly promoted the cause of parliamentary reform. Wilkes and others founded a society to press the demands of the people such as annual Parliament and exclusion of members from Parliament who were holding places and pensions.

Q. Discuss the causes and circumstances that led to the War of American Independence. What were the main events and results of the War? *Or,* (P.U. 1962, 58, 50, 48 38, 36)

What were the points at issue between the American colo-

nists and the mother country in the 18th century? **Mention the mistakes of the British ministry which precipitated the War.**
Or,

Discuss the causes which led to the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies.

CAUSES AND CIRCUMSTANCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR

1. *Defective system of Colonial Government.* The American colonists enjoyed only partial liberty in matters of government. The executive was not responsible to the legislature but it was controlled by the mother country England, while legislation and internal taxation were in the hands of an elected assembly of the colonists. This defective system of government naturally gave rise to frequent moments of friction between the executive and the legislature. The colonists wanted more political freedom in their internal affairs. England wanted to exercise her supreme right in the internal affairs of the colonies which the colonists were not prepared to tolerate.

2. *Restrictions on the trade of the Colonies.* The trade of the colonies was controlled by England and she used this to her own advantage. In fact colonies existed for the advantage of the mother country, i.e., England. She imposed many undue and harsh restrictions on the trade of the colonies. By the Navigation Acts passed by England, the foreign trade of the colonies could be carried on in English or colonial ships only. These Acts prevented foreign shipping from entering colonial ports. In addition, foreign goods could not be imported in the colonies without being first landed in England, nor could goods be shipped to foreign countries unless they were first landed in England. The Navigation Acts which regulated the trade of the colonies proved most harmful to the colonies.

Further, to prevent competition with Britain, and to prevent the growth of manufacture in America, the colonies were forbidden to manufacture steel, woollen goods and certain other commodities by the Colonial Manufactures Prohibition Act. English people wanted to retain a monopoly of the American trade and commerce in their own hands. The burden of commercial restrictions was too heavy for the colonies to bear.

A great historian has remarked, "The real secret of American resentment lay in the code of laws beginning from the time of Cromwell and Charles II, by which their flourishing commerce was severely restricted for the benefit of English merchants."

3. *Disappearance of the French Danger.* So far the colonists did not protest and patiently bore all the hardships because they were in the constant danger of attacks from the French colonists in Canada, but at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763 the French rule ended in Canada and consequently the English colonies in America were freed from the French danger. This changed the situation and emboldened the colonists to look more carefully after their interests and strive for independence.

4. *Incitement by the French.* The French had suffered very severe losses in the Seven Years' War. They had been completely defeated and humiliated by the English. This created a most revengeful attitude of the French towards the English. The French who were terribly burning with a desire for revenge incited the Americans against the English.

5. *Grenville's attempt to enforce the old colonial system.* After the termination of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Grenville attempted to enforce unjust and aggressive colonial system with greater rigidity empowering the naval officers to prevent smuggling and by instituting a Special Court in America to try cases guilty of the breach of Navigation Acts and Trade Acts.

The Old Colonial System was based upon the theory that colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country. That is why there was constant friction between the colonies and the mother-country, viz., *England.*

6. *The Stamp Act*, 1765. Prime Minister Grenville decided that the colonies should contribute something towards the expenses of the Seven Years' War and also those of a small standing army to be kept in America for the defence of colonies; so in 1765 he passed the Stamp Act which provided that all legal documents should bear stamp. This measure raised a storm of indignation in the colonies which declared that taxation and representation went together and that the English Parliament in which they were not represented had no power to tax the Americans. "No taxation without representation" became a war cry.

The Stamp Act of Grenville was "remarkable in intention, equitable in incidence and itself tolerable" but it was unwise and politically inexpedient to impose it under the circumstances when the relations of the colonies and the mother country were much strained.

7. *The Declaratory Act*, 1766. The Stamp Act was followed by protests and riots in America. Rockingham, the Whig Prime Minister, repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, but passed a Declaratory Act to the effect that England had the legal right to tax her colonies.

8. *Imposition of fresh taxes*, 1767. In 1767 Townshend, a member of Lord Chatham's Ministry, imposed duties on tea, glass and paper imported into the American colonies. In 1770 Lord North abolished the duties on glass and paper, but retained the duty on tea. This was followed by riots and outrages in the American colonies.

William Pitt said that England had no right to tax the colonies without their consent and in doing so he gave a very sound advice to the government. The part played by him in American question was in keeping with his greatness, liberality and wisdom. This is true that he did not succeed in influencing the course of events, but the value of his policy was amply demonstrated by the disastrous results of the American War.

9. *Closing of the Boston Port*, 1773. *The Intolerable Acts.* When English ships containing tea sailed into the Boston harbour,

the Americans boarded the vessels and threw the cargo into the sea. An Act of British Parliament now closed the Boston Port to all commerce, and another Act deprived the colony of Massachusetts of its representative institutions. By the Transportation Act guilty officers were to be tried in England. All these Acts were known as 'intolerable Acts.'

10. *Coercive measures of the British Government* (1774). The British Government was in no mood for conciliation. It passed a series of coercive measures. Public meetings were prohibited and the political trials of Americans were to be conducted in England.

Democratic temper of the Colonists. The English colonists had deep love for independence and strongly hated any external control or interference with their affairs. After a very long period the colonies had grown to their full manhood and one could not expect them to remain loyally attached to England unless on terms of perfect equality and freedom.

Obstinacy of George III and Bankruptcy of English Statesmanship. If wise, tactful and sympathetic statesmen were to guide the destinies of England, they could have appreciated the colonists' angle of vision, made the necessary concessions and thus kept the Empire intact. English statesmen brought up in old school ideals lacked the imagination to understand the social and political ideals of the colonists. Lecky says, "There are few sadder and more instructive pages in history than those which show how mistake after mistake was committed till the rift which was once so small, widened and deepened."

The Congress of the colonies met at Philadelphia (1774) and sent the Olive Branch Petition to the King, setting forth their grievances. But George refused to take any notice of the Petition and this indifferent attitude of the King precipitated the crisis.

Main Incidents: *First period* (1775—78). (*a*) Congress of the colonists at Philadelphia (1774) where a declaration of Rights was drawn up. (*b*) Battle at Lexington (1775)—The Colonists were victorious, (*c*) Battle of Bunker's Hill (1775)—English army gained victory. (*d*) Congress at Philadelphia issued the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), renouncing all allegiance to King George III declaring "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states"; and the republic formed from the combination of the colonies struggling for independence was called the *United States of America.* George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. (*e*) Washington was defeated at Brooklyn (1774) but General Burgoyne was forced to surrender at *Saratoga* (1776) by the *Convention of Saratoga.* (*f*) The *Capitulation of Saratoga* was the *turning point* in the war, for France acknowledged the independence of the United States and formed an alliance with it.

Second Period (1778—81). Several enemies of England joined together and formed what is known in history as the Armed Neutrality. It included Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Prussia, Spain, France and Russia. They were all sympathetically inclined towards America and hated the trade policy of England. Holland also declared war against England. (g) *The Surrender at York Town* (1781)—Lord Cornwallis, the British General, was forced to surrender to the Americans at *York Town* in 1781.

Third Period (1781—83). During this period the naval contest continued between England and the members of the Armed Neutrality, i.e., her continental opponents. In 1782, the French captured Minorca and all the British possessions in the West Indian Islands, except Jamaica, Barbados and Antigua. In September of the same year, a combined attack upon Gibraltar by the French and Spaniards was made but it failed owing to the stout resistance of Elliot, the Governor and his garrison.

End of War: *The Treaty Versailles of* 1783. All parties were tired of war and wanted peace. The war was brought to an end by the above Treaty in 1783. By this—

(1) England recognized the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, i.e., the United States of America and ceded to them the whole vast territory east of the Mississippi. This led to the creation of a great democratic state. Only Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were retained by the English in America.

(2) Spain, being an ally of the colonists, regained Florida, and Minorca which she had lost sometime back.

(3) The British gave St. Lucia, Tobazo and the West African district of Senegal to France. France also got back Chandernagore and other places in India.

The War ended the Old Colonial System and caused British statesmen for the next hundred years to believe that a colony like a fruit when ripe, naturally falls from the tree. "It shifted the centre of gravity of England's colonial empire from the western to the eastern hemisphere." The English learnt a very important lesson from this great loss. When they established the Second British Empire they carefully remembered not to repeat the same mistakes.

It led to the resignation of North, and the beginning of the second struggle between George and the Whigs. The War helped the cause of the French Revolution by—(*a*) encouraging revolutionary ideas, and (*b*) increasing the debt of France.

By the American War a hundred millions were added to the National Debt, and the Crown lost three millions of subjects.

Detailed results or significance of the War. (Please see next answer.)

Q. Discuss the significance of the War of American Independence or its effects on (a) domestic politics in England, (b) Colonial policy of England and (c) America, France and Ireland.
Or,
(P.U. 1962, 58, 52; D.U. 1960, 57)

Discuss the immediate and ultimate effects of the War of American Independence and the policy of Great Britain towards the colonies. *Or,*

Trace the effects of the War of American Independence and the policy of Great Britain towards her colonies. ***Or,***

"The War of American Independence ended the Old Colonial System of England." Comment.

The successful termination of the War of American Independence produced effects of far-reaching importance on England and other countries of the world. It turned out to be an event of world-wide importance and Green has rightly said, "Whatever might be the importance of American Independence in the history of England it was one unequalled moment in the history of the world."

(A) *Effect on Domestic Politics of England.* 1. Royal despotism ended. The demand for constitutional government in England grew. The personal rule of George III came to an end, viz., the system of governing the country as carried on by King George—who governed without party, making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and Parliament a pensioner of the royal bounty—ceased. The king's experiment of regaining royal power was given up and the Cabinet system and Party government were restored. It was fortunate for England that the War of American Independence had come and George III had to give up his attempt at personal rule. "Had it not been for the disastrous end of the War of American Independence the personal government of George III would have perpetuated and parliamentary "government in England considerably delayed." It is rightly said that the recognition of American Independence brought about the fall of the King's system of government. In other words, it gave a blow to the royal power in England.

2. With the end of George III's personal rule, corruption in Parliament came to an end. Pitt purged the administration by putting an end to bribery and corruption. A bill was passed which those members of the House of Commons who stood to gain by votting with the government were excluded from it.

3. With the loss of the Thirteen Colonies the trade of England considerably suffered and the British prestige received a serious blow.

4. The English learnt a very important lesson, i.e., not to ill-treat the colonists.

(B) *Effect on America.* The American Colonies ultimately converted themselves into a powerful free Republic on Federal lines. The U.S.A. gradually developed into a state not only inheriting the language and traditions of England, but taking in some respects a line of its own, in which it departed from the precedents not only of England but of Europe. This state was at the time not large in population, though it was very large in territory. It has advanced steadily, and is now superior not only in territory but in population also to every European State. Federal and democratic principles have triumphed in the new state. It is in this that the historic importance of the American Revolution lies.

The American loyalists went over to Canada to settle there.

(C) *Effects on France.* The American loyalists went over to Canada to settle there. France made up the loss she had suffered in the Seven Years' War and recovered her prestige.

2. The new territories which France received according to the Treaty of Versailles (1783) added very much to her strength and influence.

3. Further the success of the American Colonies hastened the outbreak of the French Revolution. Huge expenses of France in the American War made her bankrupt which expedited the task of the Revolution.

4. The French soldiers who had gone over to America to help the cause of the colonists by fighting for them in their freedom struggle came imbued with a spirit of freedom and took a zealous part in the French Revolution.

(D) *Effect on Ireland.* The success of the Americans stimulated the Irish National movement. Under the skilful direction of Henry Grattan, the Irishmen, organised themselves for the abolition of the various restrictions and for the demand of a free Irish Parliament. Restrictions on Irish trade and industries were soon abolished and in 1782 Ireland obtained her legislative independence. Poyning's Act which restricted legislative independence of Ireland was repealed and at the same time the Irish Parliament gave up the right to pass laws binding upon Ireland. The agitation for further political reforms continued under Henry Gratton. It is rightly said, "The War of American Independence was for Ireland an occasion to obtain the redress of many wrongs."

(E) *Effect of the War on the Colonial System of England.* The loss of American colonies told heavily upon the Colonial Empire of Britain. It taught Britain a great lesson which she would never forget in future. After the loss of the American Colonies (i.e., the Old Empire) Britain had few colonies left and even in these the British element was small. But gradually, the West Indian Colonies and Canada began to grow and in the long run compensated for the loss of the Thirteen American colonies. "More than anything else, the war changed the whole course of the colonial outlook." Turgot's saying that colonies were like fruits and would drop off when ripe, seemed amply justified. The loss of the American colonies taught Britain to respect the rights and claims of her other colonies and to follow a moderate and considerate policy towards them. She realised that it was impossible for her to govern the colonies in a way that would sacrifice the interests of the colonies for her. She, therefore, made up her mind to be liberal towards them if she wanted to keep her empire intact. "The American War of Independence is remarkable for bringing to a close the old colonial system, in which colonies were regarded as existing solely for the good of the mother country, i.e., England." It is rightly said that, "The American War of Independence was the inevitable result of the old colonial system."

(F) *Lord Durham's Report on English Colonial Policy.* Lord

Durham was a great politician and possessed excellent knowledge of colonial affairs. He was a Whig or rather an advanced Liberal. He had been Lord Privy Seal in the Ministry which passed the English Reform Bill in 1832. He had many qualities to fit him for his work in Canada. He infused a new spirit in the English colonial policy and his famous Report on Canada which he gave in 1839, is still regarded as the Magna Carta of colonial independence. His report really formed the basis of the entire future colonial question and helped Britain a great deal in rectifying the mistakes of the past.

The new colonial system gave the colonies not only political freedom but also economic independence. The principle of free trade was looked upon as incompatible with commercial monopoly and England stood aside even when the colonies passed protective laws to help their own industries. Later on, the scheme of 'Imperial Preference' was adopted which bound the colonies still closer and brought them nearer the mother country.

Thus the American War of Independence really paved the way for the future greatness of England. The later colonial policy was more humane and considerate and they were no longer regarded as subordinate states. The main cause of the American War was the restrictions on economic freedom but now the extension of complete economic freedom along with political freedom solved the whole problem and the colonies became an integral part of the British Empire. During the Great War of 1914 the colonies showed their gratitude to the mother country by helping her with men and money.

"The War of American Independence made England much wiser. The loss of American colonies to England came to her as a great lesson in colonial government. England soon realized the futility of her colonial system of government and in due course decided to adopt a wiser and more considerate colonial policy. Why did England lose her American Colonies or her First Empire? The answer to this is that the American Colonies separated themselves from the mother country because they were colonies under the old system and they separated themselves at a time when that system was administered in an unusually narrow-minded and authoritative way void of all sympathetic consideration and imagination. The colonies were now to be regarded, in the light of the new colonial system, part and parcel of the mother country and to be shown all necessary consideration." The old colonial system had proved a sad failure and caused immense loss to the mother country. England now decided to lay the foundation of the Second British Empire under the new colonial system.

Old and New Colonies. Old colonies were governed under the old colonial system. They were governed not in their own interests but in the interests of the mother country (England) and their sources were so exploited that they suffered immense losses. That is why they separated from the mother country. But modern colonies, Austrialia, New Zealand, Canada, West Indies, etc., did not feel tempted to break away from their mother country. They felt a sort of attachment, a sort of love for it.

Q. 'The American Revolt knocked the bottom out of the colonial system." Discuss. *Or,* (P.U. 1942)

'The colonial policy of England underwent a significant and satisfactory transformation after the loss of the American colonies.' Discuss. *Or,*

The Old Colonial System was smashed into pieces after the War of American Independence." Comment. *Or,*

Explain the importance of the Durham Report and the principal changes in the policy of the Home Government towards the colonies since its publication. (P.U. 1953, 46, 41, 37)

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Discuss the factors and circumstances that were responsible for the success of the Colonists and the failure of the English in the War of American Independence (1775—1783).

The following were the main causes that contributed to the success of the Colonists in the War of American Independence and the failure of England:—

1. *Colonists Fought for Liberty.* The colonists of America enjoyed neither full political nor economic freedom. They were not satisfied with the political and commercial policy of the mother country which was both selfish and unwise. They, therefore, made up their mind to sever their connection permanently with the mother-country and fought most desperately to achieve this end. They possessed adventurous and independent spirit and fought for the same principles of liberty for which England had shed blood.

2. *Great distance Between England and America.* The supply of arms and ammunition to the theatre of war was a great problem for the English people due to the great distance that separated England from America. The colonists were fighting in their own home with all facilities. The undeveloped means of communication proved a serious handicap for the English. Transportation of men, and munitions across the Atlantic and across the country in America was not easy.

3. *England Fought Half-heartedly.* The opinions of British statesmen differed widely on the American question. Many of her generals and politicians did not take the fight seriously and were unwilling to carry on such a war.

The colonists took the war seriously and staked their all to win the freedom struggle. They had great fighting qualities. They observed discipline and they were cool and courageous.

4. *Inefficient Organization of England.* The administration and organization of England lacked competence in many respects and in no small degree contributed to the failure in the war; particularly, the supply of men was not satisfactory, services were corrupt and the navy was not up to the mark. The colonists were further disgusted with the indecent behaviour of English soldiers. Besides, the English underestimated the strength of Americans.

Besides, English army was far inferior and it mainly consisted of the mercenaries. Rapidity of action, concert of fleet and army and adequate numbers were the essentials but the British forces failed conspicuously in all three.

5. *England had no Leader like Washington.* The colonists were fortunate to find a gifted leader in Washington and the genius of this great soldier helped them to win their freedom. George Washington was "a man resolute in action, patient in adversity and sound in judgment, utterly trustworthy, completely devoted to the cause he adopted and undismayed when things were darkest." On the other hand there was no one of Washington's outstanding ability on the British side, no Pitt or Hastings, Wolfe or Clive to lead England to victory. England had no such great leader. The chiefs of the English army were incompetent and they made a number of serious mistakes which did them incalculable harm. Besides, their personal and political jealousies had adverse effects on the plans of operations. "The plans of campaign were always ill throughout and golden opportunities were allowed to slip."

Moivat says, "Seven years of desultory warfare followed the outbreak of the Revolution. There were only two millions of Americans and they had only an untrained militia. But they were led by a man of extraordinary fortitude, judgment and resource—George Washington, a gentleman of Virginia."

6. *England was Fighting for an Unjust Cause.* England wanted to crush a liberty-seeking people who were fighting for a just cause, i.e., in defence of their political and economic liberties. The colonists fought with unusual zeal being engaged in their freedom struggle, whereas the English soldiers, majority of whom were mercenaries, took the fight very lightly attaching no significance to it.

7. *Vast Size of America.* The British generals failed to estimate rightly the difficulties arising from the vastness of the country in which they had to fight their opponents. The vast and uncontrollable size of America proved most helpful to the colonists and it was rightly said that "it fought for the colonists even more than their armies."

8. *Continental Help Offered to the Colonists.* France, Spain and several other countries offered great help to the colonists at this critical time which immensely strengthened the cause of the Americans who were fighting for principles of liberty and justice. France, anxious to avenge her defeat in the Seven Years' War and to break down the British monopoly of American commerce, openly joined the war against England in 1778 and Spain joined against England in 1779. Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden threatened hostilities with Great Britain by forming the Armed Neutrality in 1780. The third period (1781—83) of the War of American Independence was a contest between Great Britain and her Continental opponents in which the former suffered great losses. England, fought single-handed and had no European power as her ally. It cannot be denied that the help from the continent gave a great impetus to the Americans and hastened the English defeat.

Q. (a) How far was the old colonial system or the English colonial policy in the eighteenth century responsible or the loss of the American Colonies? (b) To what extent were Lord North and George III responsible for the friction between England and her colonies and the ultimate loss of the colonies? (P.U. 1955)

Ans. (a) The Old Colonial System was largely responsible for the loss of the American Colonies. Reasons for this great loss and defeat are given as under.

(1) *Political Grievances.* Down to the middle of the 18th century England followed a narrow and illiberal policy towards the colonies. The system of government gave them only a partial liberty, for the executive was not responsible to the legislature but it was controlled by the mother-country. Naturally friction between the executive and the legislature was frequent. The stout-hearted and enterprising colonists aspired to manage their own affairs like other independent communities and wanted full political freedom.

(2) *Economic Grievances.* The regulation of imperial trade was equally unjust and defective and led to intense discontent among the colonists. The Navigation Acts, the Colonial Manufacturing Prohibition Act and other similar restrictions caused great heart-burning among the colonists who thought that the commercial policy of the mother-country was of sole exploitation. The colonies were subject to the Navigation Acts, according to which all goods from Europe could only be imported to the colonies through Britain; colonial products like tobacco and cotton, could only be exported to Great Britain; the colonists were forbidden by law to manufacture certain articles so that the British traders might not suffer in competition. The commercial policy of Great Britain was most selfish and unwise which absolutely disregarded the interests and advantages of the colonies.

(3) *Wrong Principle of Taxation.* The policy of imposing taxes on the colonies without giving them the right of representation was unjustified. To meet the expenses of the Seven Years' War (1756—63) and those of a small standing army to be kept in America for the future defence of the colonies, England decided to tax the colonies and for this purpose the British Prime Minister passed the Stamp Act. This gave the colonists cause for further dissatisfaction because they said that there should be no taxation without representation. They claimed that the English Parliament had no right to tax them, as it had no representatives from America. They refused to be taxed by a Parliament three thousand miles away on which they were not represented. "No taxation without representation" became their watchword. Grenville's successor Rockingham, however, took a more conciliatory attitude and repealed the Stamp Act, but he passed another equally undesirable Act called the Declaratory Act, whch claimed that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies.

(b) *The Extent of Responsibility of Lord North's Government and King George for the Conflict Between England and the Colonies and their Ultimate Loss.* When Lord North formed his ministry in 1770, the indignation and protests of the colonists were very loud.

In 1767 Townshend had proposed a series of new taxes on tea, glass and other goods imported into America. To pacify the colonists, Lord North withdrew these duties, except a nominal duty of 3d. a lb. on tea. This exception was made at the express desire of King George III, who felt that it would maintain the general principle that the Government had the right to impose such duties.

From 1760 to 1783 the ministry was in fact the King's Ministry and George was his own Prme Minister. It was the king's resolute will to keep the Empire intact, to withdraw no troops from America and never to allow them independence. Every Prime Minister bowed to the king's will for none had the courage to oppose him.

George III was anxious to usurp more of political power and so he purposely kept weak ministers in office whom he could employ as his tools for any purpose he liked. The inefficiency of his ministers was also responsible for the American rupture but the major portion of responsibility for the loss of the American colonies went to the share of George who was tactless, unyielding and imperious. George III lacked imagination. George himself was obstinate and loved power; none of his ministers had the courage to give sound advice. In fact there was complete bankruptcy of English statesmanship. Sympathetic and tactful statesmen gifted with imagination could have easily appreciated the demands of the colonists and found a way to accommodate them. This could have averted the war and kept the Empire intact. Englishmen living in England and English colonists of America were widely different from each other in nature, temperament, political opinion, etc., and it required imagination and tact to hold together two different societies but George III did not possess the necessary qualities for this purpose. All this shows that King George III was mainly responsible for the disastrous result and the ultimate loss of the Thirteen Colonies for he was his own guide, the real head of the Ministry, the Prime Ministers being mere instruments of his will.

Q. Justify or criticize the policy of the Home Government with regard to the American Question. *Or,*

Show that the old Colonial system of England was unjust and oppressive and ultimately brought about the revolt and loss of the American Colonies.

Ans. Please study part (a) of the previous Answer.

William Pitt the Younger 1783—1801

"A sight to make surrounding nations stare
A kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care"

Q. Give a brief account of the administration of William Pitt the Younger with special reference to his financial reforms and domestic work. *Or,*

"Peace, reform and retrenchment were the beacons of the Younger Pitt's earlier career." Justify. *Or,*

"Pitt the Younger was pre-eminently a great finance minister

and the chief title to his fame lies in his financial reforms." Justify.

His Early Political Career. He was the second son of Pitt the Elder and entered Parliament at the age of 21 in 1780. He was already a ripe scholar and his ready eloquence had matured under the training of his father. His maiden speech made a profound impression. A prominent Whig leader said to Charles Fox that Pitt would be one of the first men in Parliament. To this Fox replied, "He is so already." It was rightly remarked of him, "He is not a chip of the old block, he is the old block itself." In 1782 he became the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Shelbourne ministry.

He was appointed Prime Minister in 1783 when he was only 24 years. His appointment came as a surprise to many and the Opposition in Parliament remarked that a schoolboy was put in charge of the affairs of a kingdom.

Pitt as an Orator and Parliamentary Leader. Among England's orators and Parliamentary leaders Pitt occupies a prominent place. He was wonderfully expert in managing men and the House of Commons very often seemed to be under the magic wand of his influence. He was, however, too reserved and aloof in manner to win love, but he had the art of inspiring his followers with absolute confidence in his wisdom. As an orator he had perfect command of language which made him capable of correct expression.

His administration falls into two periods: (a) the period of peace which lasted from 1783 till the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and (b) from the French Revolution to 1801.

His Financial, Economic and Commercial Reforms. The first six years of Pitt's ministry (1783—89) were years of peace and active legislation. The work upon which Pitt himself placed the highest value was the reorganization of national finance. When he became Prime Minister, the condition of English finances was very serious and at a low ebb.

William Pitt the Younger, a great financial expert, reorganized the whole financial system of the country on the principles of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. In this connection the following reforms and changes are particularly worthy of note:—

1. *Wise Budgets of* 1784 *and* 1785. These wisely-designed budgets spread out taxation on a large number of common articles of daily use on which the collection was inexpensive.

He put an end to several abuses connected with the raising of public loans, e.g., abolition of lottery tickets, 1784.

2. *Reduction of Import Duties.* He reduced the duties on various articles, including tea, and the loss was made up by means of window tax, wine, etc. This had the excellent effect of making smuggling unprofitable.

3. *Repeal of Oppressive Taxes.* Certain oppressive taxes were repealed. Wine and tobacco were put under excise, and a consolidation of the customs and excise was brought about. Existing multi-

farious duties were abolished and in their place there was to be a single duty on each article.

4. *Consolidated Fund.* All taxes and duties were now brought into one general fund called the "Consolidated Fund" out of which all the different classes of public expenses were paid. This scheme greatly provided for simplicity of collection and facilitated the work of the financial department to a great measure.

5. *Creation of a Sinking Fund.* He created a Sinking Fund to pay off the National Debt, which had at this time reached the enormous figure of £ 250 million.

6. *Appointment of a Board of Commissioners.* The auditors were abolished and a Board of five Commissioners was appointed in their place with the most strict powers of auditing. This effective system of audit of public accounts introduced great economy. He managed to obtain loans at the lowest rates by publishing an account of receipts and disbursements of the government.

7. *A Board to Enquire into Fees, Gratuities etc.,* A Board was appointed to enquire into all fees, gratuities, perquisites and emoluments received in public offices and to trace out alll abuses in that connection.

8. *Abolition of Redundant Offices.* He further reduced expenditure by abolishing many redundant or sinecure offices.

9. *A Scheme for Free Trade with Ireland.* Pitt suggested an eminently wise liberal scheme to establish complete free trade with Ireland but it could not succeed on account of the opposition of manufacturing classes of England and Whig leaders.

10. *The Commercial Treaty with France.* In 1786 Pitt made a commercial treaty with France under which articles of each country were to be admitted on more favourable terms to the other, i.e.. the customs duties were lowered. This was a step in the direction of free trade and proved immeasurably useful to both the countries.

11. *Economy and Efficiency.* He introduced economy in every department of the State wherever possible and consistent with efficiency. and purified the administration by putting an end to bribery and corruption.

Pitt's Greatest Glory and Greatest Fame as a Financier. It was in the successful economic policy and financial reforms that lay Pitt's greatest glory and fame.

Pitt as a great finance minister reconstituted the whole finances of the country and put them on a sound basis. Pitt's financial policy greatly resembled that of Peel in its object. The principles of Adam Smith (as stated in his *Wealth of Nations*) were thoroughly mastered by Pitt and they were the guiding principles of both Peel and Pitt. His economic and financial reforms kept up national confidence, restored national credit, effected considerable economy, promoted commerce, helped Britain to recoup the damage caused by the American

War and gave her strength to prepare for the long and expensive French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Pitt's financial reforms and policy show that he was pre-eminently a finance minister. He succeeded in re-establishing English finance on a secure and orderly system.

Pitt's Domestic Policy and Work. Though the head of a Tory administration, Pitt's views were broad and liberal. Till the outbreak of the French Revolution, his policy aimed at securing peace, reform and retrenchment. In this connection the following reforms and changes deserve special notice:—

1. *Parliamentary Reforms.* He brought forward a scheme to disfranchise rotten boroughs and increase the country representation but failed due to the opposition of the King and Parliament and for want of popular support.

2. *Administrative Reforms.* Pitt achieved a good measure of success in purifying the administration, by passing an Act which aimed at establishing a systematic audit of government accounts. He also succeeded in the abolition of abuses connected with raising public loans. "William Pitt', says Ramilly, "was the first minister who consulted the public interest by accepting the lowest terms that were tendered without retaining a farthing in his own hands for distribution among his friends." "He thus abolished corruption, purified parliamentary life and elevated its tone to a great extent."

3. *National Finance.* By his wise, economic and financial policy he placed the finances of the country on a sound basis. He put an end to bribery and corruption, reduced expenditure consistent with efficiency, restored national credit and gave his country strength to prepare for the stormy days ahead. He had most successfully reorganised the finances of his country.

4. *Policy of Free Trade.* Pitt had carefully studied Adam Smith's principles of Free Trade (as advocated in the *Wealth of Nations by* Adam Smith) and scrupulously applied them in practice. It was this principle that guided him in entering into a commercial treaty with France. By this treaty many of the duties were either abolished or lowered on the goods passing between England and France and this led to an enormous increase of trade between the two countries.

5. *Slave Trade.* Pitt was opposed to slave trade and his views were in common with Wilberforce for the abolition of slavery. He was anxious to abolish slavery, it being a stigma on humanity, but owing to the outbreak of the French Revolution he postponed his scheme to a later date.

6. *Revival of the New Tory Party.* Pitt created a number of new peers who supported the king and thus a strong conservative element was added to the Parliament. This new Tory Party acted on the principle that great changes should never be made unless they were urgently demanded by the public and that the main function of the government was to govern.

Pitt's own scrupulous honesty and nobility infused a higher ideal into English public life and purified the atmosphere of corruption which was a legacy of Whig supremacy.

In view of his peace policy, financial reforms and the policy of retrenchment it was rightly said that "peace, reform and retrenchment were beacons of the Younger Pitt's earlier career."

The effects of the French Revolution on the English thought and domestic policy of England or the measures to prevent the French revolutionary ideas in England.

During this period he gave up his liberal and broad policy and did his best to check the influence of the French Revolution in England. At first England was in sympathy with the French Revolution thinking that a similar constitutional government and limited monarchy would be established in France. But the terrible atrocities and horrors committed by the French Revolutionaries greatly changed the political views of the English leaders. They lost all sympathy with France and made up their mind to check the influence of the Revolution in England. Pitt gave up his liberal views and adopted the following repressive measures to check the influence of the French Revolution in England:—

1. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, i.e., any person could be imprisoned without being given the chance of fair trial. It became easier for the government to put people suspected of Revolutionary ideas in jail without any legal warrant.

2. The Seditious Meetings Bill was passed to stop political meetings.

3. An Aliens Act was passed for expulsion of the suspected aliens, i.e., foreigners from England.

4. A Treason Act was passed by which any expression of opinion against the King and the Government was considered a serious offence.

5. Several leaders of political clubs were imprisoned and political parties suppressed.

6. Parliamentary reforms and other similar reforms were postponed to a later date.

Thus Pitt was converted from a Liberal to a Conservative so far as home affairs were concerned.

Q. Review the foreign or war policy of Pitt the Younger with particular reference to the period of England's contest with Revolutionary France. *Or.*

How did the French Revolution influence English thought and politics from 1789 to 1815? (P.U. 1956)

The Foreign or War Policy of Pitt the Younger. The foreign policy of Pitt the Younger may conveniently be reviewed under two heads, viz., (1) His foreign policy before the outbreak of the French

Revolution, and (2) his foreign policy after the outbreak of the French Revolution.

(1) *Pitt's Foreign Policy Before the Outbreak of the French Revolution.* His early foreign policy was one of peace. Pitt was essentially a peace minister and he was always anxious to keep his country out of war. England was exhausted on account of the War of American Independence and thus his anxiety was to restore prosperity to the country by financial and economic reforms.

(a) *Triple Alliance,* 1788. In 1788 Pitt formed the Triple Alliance between England, Prussia and Holland, all the three countries promising to help one another and maintain common interests. England's position since 1783, i.e., Peace of Versailles which ended the American War of Independence, was weak and isolated, but the Triple Alliance broke her isolation and helped her to regain her lost position and importance in the affairs of Europe. Pitt was able to maintain peace in Europe and the balance of power.

(b) *Commercial Treaty with France.* He made friends with France by a commercial treaty under which articles of each country were to be admitted on more favourable terms to the other.

(2) *Pitt's Foreign Policy after the Outbreak of the French Revolution or His Policy as a War Minister.* When the French Revolution broke out Pitt tried his best to maintain an attitude of neutrality. But the aggressive attitude of the Revolutionary France compelled him to declare war and it was in fact with extreme reluctance that he allowed Britain to be drawn into war against the French Revolutionaries. In 1793 the French declared war against the English and the Dutch; Pitt had no alternative but to fight the Revolutionary war. His war policy was to form coalition after coalition of Continental Powers to fight France and help the coalitions liberally with money. He formed the First Coalition of England, Prussia, Austria, Spain and Holland to fight against revolutionary armies. This coalition lasted from 1793 to 1797. He formed the Second Coalition of England, Russia, Turkey and Austria, which lasted from 1798 to 1802. Pitt formed the Third Coalition of England, Russia and Austria which lasted from 1803 to 1805. All the three Coalitions ended without accomplishing anything and ultimately Britain was left alone to face the enemy.

Napoleon planned to invade India. The combined fleets of France and Spain were still a source of menace. Towards the close of 1805, Lord Nelson smashed this vast fleet off Cape Trafalgar on the South Coast of Spain. This crowning victory destroyed Napoleon's dream of invasion of England. But the news of the victory of Napoleon over Russia and Austria at Austerlitz in 1805 proved fatal to Pitt and he died in January 1806. "Austerlitz killed Pitt."

Pitt's War policy consisted of—

(1) Subsidies to allies of England—often not successful.

(2) Islolated Expeditions—costly in both men and money (1350 officers and 60,000 men during the Revolutionary War).

(3) Blocking French ports, seizing French colonies, damaging French commerce.

Pitt was not an able war minister. He lacked the gifts which made Chatham (Pitt the Elder) the greatest War Minister England has known.

When he died in 1806, "he left England in desperate straits, amid the ruins of those dynastic alliances by which he had three times striven in vain to make head against the French nation. He left England shorn of her ancient freedom of speech and thought, and that harmony of classes that had once distinguished 'Merry England.' He left her wth her foot on Ireland prostrate and chained. But he left her recovered from the dishonour and weakness of the state in which he had found her a quarter of a century before when he assumed the office of Prime Minister. He left her with Canada and India so established that they would not go the way of the lost colonies (American Colonies). He left her able and willing to defy the Conqueror of Europe (Napoleon) when all others bowed beneath his yoke. He left her victor at sea, freshly crowned with laurels that have proved immortal." (G. M. Trevelyan).

The operations of war were less congenial to Pitt, and he was nothing like so successful at war. While mistakes in the conduct of the war forbid us to call him a great war minister in the narrow sense of the term, we should scarcely refuse that praise in a wider and truer sense to a minister so dauntless in adversity, so fertile in resources, and so deservedly trusted by the nation as the pilot that weathered the storm. In short, his merit as a war minister lies in the fact that he inspired the nation with confidence and encouraged her to make those exertions which at last helped to save England and Europe.

Pitt's naval and colonial policy, however, was uniformly successful. The naval force was raised to 45,000 men in 1793 and constantly increased later on, and was commanded by admirals whose right to command was based on their skill in seamanship and maritime warfare.

Q. Describe Pitt's Irish Policy. "His Irish Policy was a blunder and the great failure of his career." Comment.

Pitt's Irish Policy. Political Grievances of Ireland. Ireland had many grievances against her English rulers. The Roman Catholics, who constituted the vast majority of the population, had no *political* rights. They had no vote, they could hold no office, they could not buy land, they could not have the benefit of receiving education at any university. The Irish Parliament, controlled by the Protestant minority, did not represent the nation as a whole. Moreover, all laws passed in this Parliament were subject to the assent of the Privy Council in England. The English Parliament alone could pass laws binding upon Ireland and the English Cabinet controlled the Irish Executive.

Economic Grievances. The *economic* condition of the country was more deplorable still. Three fourths of Irish land belonged to

English owners who usually lived in England. The tenants were exploited by the middle men, who served the English landlords. Moreover, Irish industries were ruined by the selfish legislation of England.

Religious Grievances. Finally, there was the *religious* question. The Irish Catholics had to pay tithes to the Protestant clergymen, whereas the Catholic priests were not supported by the State.

Serious Opposition of the Irish. During England's war with Revolutionary France, a strong party in Ireland looked to France for the liberation of their country. They even welcomed the French to use their country as a base of operation against England. In 1798, when England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against France this party raised the standard of revolt. But the Revolution was stamped out and the French army that landed in Ireland was defeated.

To Pitt the Irish problem offered two solutions. The first was complete union of the two countries and the second was complete separation and open hostility. Pitt chose the first alternative and passed the Irish Act of Union in 1800. By it, Ireland ceased to have a separate Parliament and sent her representatives to the British Parliament. A hundred members from Ireland were to sit in the Commons, and four Irish Bishops and twenty-eight Peers, elected for life, thirty-two in all, were to take their seats in the House of Lords. Ireland retained her own Law Courts and separate Executive, but under the control of the British Cabinet. There was to be absolute free trade between England and Ireland. The Act of Union passed smoothly through the British Parliament but in the Irish Parliament it was piloted with great difficulty. The Protestants were bribed and the Catholics were won over by the promise of Catholic emancipation, to follow shortly after.

The Failure of the Union. The Irish Union unlike the Scotch Union did not prove satisfactory and thus failed to solve the Irish question. Pitt made an attempt to make good the promise that he had made to the Catholics by laying before the Cabinet a plan for Catholic emancipation but his plan could not succeed on account of the opposition of George III, who believed that any religious concessions to the Catholics would be a violation of his coronation oath. Thus the Act of Union, without the Catholic emancipation, failed to satisfy the Catholics who formed the bulk of the population and only helped to prolong the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. The Union was a signal failure, it failed to satisfy the Catholics, it could not bring about harmony between the Catholics and the Protestants and it did not promote prosperity of the country.

It is in his Irish policy that we see clearly the greatness and weakness of Pitt: his greatness in his desire to treat Ireland in a just manner, and in his enlightened free-trade policy; his weakness in abandoning his schemes in the face of opposition.

After the Act of Union the grievances of the Irish were: (1) Religious disabilities and (2) economic troubles arising from the land question.

The situation in Ireland grew from bad to worse till the people made up their mind to sever their connection with England and they plunged into the struggle with all their might and main.

Q. Form an estimate of Pitt the Younger, or examine critically the work of Pitt the Younger in time of peace and in time of war. Would you put him in the front rank of British statesmen?

An Estimate of Pitt the Younger. "Pitt, if not perfect, must be reckoned amongst the greatest of English Prime Ministers." He was stiff in manners and his dealings with his colleagues and political foes alike were one of haughty reserve. He is said to have been jealous of able men. The reactionary and repressive policy which he adopted after the outbreak of the French Revolution and his bad management of the French War were grave charges against him. The two questions, namely, Parliamentary Reform and England's relations with Ireland which demanded immediate solution and each of which nearly caused a revolution later on, were treated by Pitt on Walpole's principles, "Let sleeping dogs lie" and this was not in keeping with his greatness as a statesman. Thus in many ways as indicated above, he was not a perfect minister. But a perfect minister hardly exists. Honest and incorruptible himself, he, like his father, did much to raise the standard of morality in public life. Pitt's intellectual qualities stand out in clear contrast. He inherited from his father the gift of oratory, a patriotism that could burn white hot, serene confidence in his capacity to lead, the proud spirit that neither feared nor flattered flesh." In an age of great debaters, Pitt was always impressive in the House of Commons. He was first and foremost as premier of such outstanding personality that he overawed both King and Parliament. But for his advent to power, English political history might have taken a very different course. George III might have found another Lord North or government might have dissolved into hopeless party factions as at the beginning of the reign. Moreover, Pitt was an extremely able Chancellor of the Exchequer and put English national finance, which was in a deplorable condition as a result of American War of Independence, on a sound footing. Again, he was responsible for measures settling the Government of India and of Canada, both of which have deservedly been praised. Above all, "it was his indomitable courage and self-confidence that enabled Great Britain to weather the storm that was caused by the French Revolution and by Napoleon." All through his administration, he was faced with difficulties but he surmounted them with unique bravery. His India Bill is a great landmark in the history of the Eastern Empire. The greatest danger came with the French Revolution and he faced it boldly. He was able to maintain peace and order in the country, and yet defeat the designs of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Of course, he did not live to see the final fruits of his efforts, yet there is no doubt that he had paved the way for the ultimate success of his country. These are some of his achievements which entitle him to "be reckoned among the greatest of English Prime Ministers."

From first to last he gave all that was best in his nature and intellectual strength to the service of his country. "Pitt was the saviour of England and champion of Europe against French aggression. As a war minister he was, however, definitely inferior to his great father. Yet it must be borne in mind that his courage and self-confidence led to the victory of England over France in the long run.

A Brief Summary of Pitt's Work in Peace

(i) He strengthened the system of Cabinet government and made it fully efficient. The personal rule of George III against which he had attempted so strenuously was ultimately brought to an end by Pitt.

"He reconstituted the power of the Prime Minister in the State as the true governor of the land, not the mere instrument of the royal will. He finally fixed the British conception of the Cabinet as a responsible and united body, dependent on an independent House of Commons."

(ii) He insisted on the supreme position of the House of Commons and remained a member of that House throughout his career.

(iii) He was eager to reform Parliament but could not do so on account of the opposition of the King and his political opponents, but it must be said to his credit that he succeeded in a large measure in putting an end to Parliamentary corruption. During his long tenure of office "the traditions of the old system of corruption were," says Lecky "finally cut."

(iv) He created a new Tory Party that was to act on the principle that great changes should be avoided unless they were demanded by the people themselves.

(v) By his economic and financial reforms, he reorganized National Finance and placed it on a sound basis. It was his work as a great financier that national credit was restored, and Britain was helped to recover with incredible rapidity from the strain of the War of American Independence and was also prepared to face the more terrible strain of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. "Pitt reconstructed the finances of the country, resorted its prestige at home and abroad, began to rebuild a new British Empire on the ruins of the old, modernized and secured Government of Canada and India."

(vi) He dealt most tactfully and intelligently with some of the urgent problems of the time:

(a) He passed Pitt's India Bill in 1884 and thus solved the Indian problem;

(b) He dealt with the problem of Canada by passing the Canada Act of 1791;

(c) By an Act passed in 1782 he granted legislative independence to Ireland; and

(d) In pursuance of his Free Trade policy he made a commercial treaty with France.

(vii) He wanted to abolish 'slave trade' and though his efforts could not bear fruit in his life-time, the Bill was passed just after his death for the abolition of slave trade.

A Brief Summary of Pitt's work in War

1. To check the influence and propagation of the Revolutionary ideas of France in England, Pitt resorted to certain coercive Acts but such Acts served as a timely check which saved England from a course of bloodshed, and perhaps ultimately from a retributive revolution.

2. Pitt was essentially a peace-minister. He hated war and it was with great reluctance that he allowed his country to be drawn into the war against the French Revolution. He lacked his father's gift for directing distant campaigns, for choosing able commanders and inspiring soldiers to courage and activity. Pitt the Elder was a great organiser of victories but the Younger Pitt had little success in war.

3. He formed a number of coalitions which served no useful purpose, but he was able to put in order the Navy of England, which eventually came to the rescue of the country and led her to a successful issue.

4. It must be said to his credit that he had "weathered the storm (1793—1806)" successfully.

5. It is true that he made many mistakes as a war minister and he was mistaken in his very view about the French Revolutionary Wars as he told one of his friends that "the conflict would be over in one or two campaigns" but we must say that through his indomitable courage and self-confidence he was able to keep peace in the country and defeat the designs of the French Revolution and Napoleon. In spite of all his shortcomings he rendered services not less brilliant and useful than those of Nelson and Wellington.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

England and France at War

> *"The sovereign authority is vested in my person, the legislative powers exist in myself alone. My people are one only with me; national rights only rest in my hands."*
>
> —LOUIS XIV

Q. Discuss the causes and circumstances that brought about the French Revolution of 1789. Trace briefly the course of the Revolution. (P.U. 1959, 1954; D.U. 1956, 1952)

Causes of the French Revolution

Political Causes

Monarchical Despotism and Tyranny. The monarchs of France had destroyed the ancient privileges of the people and centred all political power in their own hands which they did not care to exercise for the welfare of their subjects. They were quite unmindful of the sad lot of their people and spent their time in enjoyment and luxury and for the gratification of their personal desires.

They believed in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and as such they flouted the constitution and the time-honoured traditions of the country. Their rule was unbearably despotic and oppressive, so that persons were arbitrarily imprisoned and the life and property of every person in France was unsafe.

Incompetence and Extravagance of French Monarchs. The French monarchs were not only irresponsible despots and made the worst use of the powers they had concentrated in their own hands, but they were equally incompetent and extravagant. Particularly the last two monarchs Louis XV (1715—74) and Louis XVI (1774—92) were bad men. They were incompetent rulers and had left the government of the country in the hands of their corrupt ministers and court favourites who looked only to their own interests. The monarchs and their favourites were busy with the splendours of the court at Versailles, so that their expensive luxury and evil ways had drained the resources of the country and alienated the people from the monarchy. The French sovereigns were thorough despots and they exercised their authority as they liked. Louis XIV, boastfully said, "The sovereign authority is vested in my person, the legislative powers exist in myself alone. My people are one only with me; national rights only rest in my hands."

Social Causes

Oppression by the Nobles. The higher Nobles enjoyed leges at the expense of the poor people. They monopolised the portant offices in the State and paid no taxes or feudal obligati They burdened the peasants with all unreasonable and vexatious positions and resorted to every foul and unfair means to bring m out of them. Labourers had to work for many days every yea the roads and estates of their landlords without receiving any The poor peasants, labourers and common people had to bear highly extravagant expenditure of the State and consequently t condition was most miserable. They did not realize that too m tyranny often means revolution and the crumbling of thrones.—"T peasants were already taxed to the limit of endurance; to impose drastic tax on the property of the nobles might have solved the diff cuity but no one contemplated taking such a step." (Carter).

Degeneration of the Higher Clergy. The upper clergy sadly neg lected their religious duties and their luxurious and vicious ways o life lost them all respect of the people. Like the high nobility they, too, enjoyed privileges but did not work and paid no taxes. They maintained a high and magnificent style of living at the cost of the poor people whose lot was already so miserable. "The Church also had degenerated into a useless wealthy corporation. It owned one-fifth of the land of France and claimed one-tenth of the produce of the rest. But it no longer performed its duties." The Church became discredited owing to the indifference of the higher clergy to their spiritual duties and the poverty of the lower clergy.

Economic Causes

Unjust Distribution of Taxes. The unjust and oppressive system of the distribution of taxes gave the poor a strong cause of resentment. The rich were more or less exempt from the payment of taxes and the poor were required to pay the major portion of the counrty's taxes. The system of collecting taxes as followed by officers-in-charge was most oppressive since they collected it most ruthlessly. Since the rich people evaded payment the State finances suffered seriously and its work could not be carried on. In fact no government can run its machinery without proper finances. Lack of finances due to unfair and oppressive system of taxation, luxurious and extravagant life of the French Kings and their courtiers, expensive wars made the government bankrupt and the poor discontented with the government and the nobility and the higher clergy.

To make the position worse the peasants were subjected to heavy dues by the nobles and the clergy who were masters of the greater part of land.

Extreme poverty and shortage of food led to famines in several parts of the country. The spread of a serious famine in 1789 in most parts of France made the situation in the country still worse and added to the discontentment and restlessness of the famished people.

Intellectual Causes

Revolutionary Teachings of French Political Thinkers. The teachings of the French political thinkers like Voltaire, who openly attacked the abuses of the Church, and Rousseau who preached the gospel of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,' revolutionised the minds of the people and prepared them for a great change in the Church and the State.

Rousseau's "Contract Social" which has been called the Bible of the Revolution did a lot to prepare the minds of the people for the Revolution. Napoleon said, "Without him there could have been no revolution."

Montesquieu, a political writer of great fame, beautifully wrote on the benefits of a constitutional government as against despotism. He strongly advised the people to take as much share as possible in the administrative affairs of their country.

These and other political thinkers and philosophers exposed the faults of the State and the Church and exhorted the people to fight for their rights and liberties.

Age of Rationalism. The eighteenth century was an age of free enquiry and bold criticism and so the people were no longer prepared to take things for granted or as gospel truths. People were not satisfied with ancient traditions and beliefs till they were convinved of their reasonableness and soundness. They were not prepared to tolerate invidious class distinctions and intolerable social injustice. They wanted a change in the existing social and political institutions for they had long outlived their utility.

The Influence of the American Revolution. The example of the successful rebellion of the Americans against tyranny and despotism of the English roused an enthusiasm for freedom in the minds of the French. Under the circumstances they made up their mind to be free like the Americans and they were sure that a similar political upheaval could bring them free institutions and provide a remedy for their social, economic and political ills. "The American experiment made the path of the revolution seem easy and profitable."

Besides this, the American War of Independence (1775—1783) seriously impaired the finances of France and forced the government to follow a policy of heavy taxation which was so badly graded that the nobles were practically exempt and the lower classes had to bear the whole burden of taxation. Mr. A. Young, an English writer, rightly said, "The American Revolution has laid the foundation of another in France, if the government does not take care of itself."

The Course of the Revolution. After the Peace of Versailles (1783), France was on the verge of bankruptcy, and in 1789 Louis XVI, afraid of insisting on the taxation of the nobles and the clergy, called together the *States-General*, a representative assembly of all sections of his subjects, which had not met for a long time. The representatives of the Third Estate, i.e., the Commons, compelled the representatives of the nobles and the clergy to sit with them in one Chamber, and thus form a *National Assembly*. When the king made an attempt to interfere, the mob of Paris stormed the Bastille, the

State prison in the capital, and throughout France the peasants rose and destroyed the houses of the nobility and gentry, while the National Assembly abolished all the special privileges of the upper classes. Many of the nobility ran away from France; in 1791, the king himself and his family attempted to leave the country, but were discovered and brought back prisoners to Paris. In 1792, the revolutionaries, incensed at the intervention of Austria and Prussia, abolished the institution of monarchy and declared *France a Republic.* In January 1793, Louis XVI was executed and in the following October his wife (Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria and noted as one of the most beautiful women of her time) suffered death; in the *Reign of Terror* that followed, thousands of nobles, priests and royalists without any distinction were put to death. Lawlessness, chaos and 'might is right' had the upper hand for some time and gradually all power came to be wielded by a strong man—Napoleon Bonaparte who proclaimed himself Emperor of France in 1804.

Q. What were the immediate and ultimate effects of the French Revolution on (a) the world and Europe, (b) France (c) movement of Political Reforms or the course of party politics in England. *Or,*

Discuss the general importance and effects of the French Revolution. *Or,*

What contemporary and subsequent effects did the French Revolution have upon Great Britain?

(P.U. 1959, 54, 53, 52, 47, 43)

(A) *The influence of the French Revolution on the World and Europe.* The influence of the French Revolution was on the whole beneficial to the history of the world and Europe:—

(1) It introduced into politics a new force, i.e., the force of the people, and marked the rise of a democratic tendency. The idea of 'equality before law' for all classes in the community became prominent. The Revolution strengthened the great political idea that government must be carried on by the people and in the interest of the people. It helped the growth of the principle of the 'sovereignty of people' which was to become powerful in course of time.

(2) It set in motion salutary waves of reforms; and 'liberty, equality and fraternity' became thereafter the watchwords of future democracy.

(3) It created a demand for constitutional government and furthered the rise of constitutionalism.

(4) It introduced a new epoch in human history and spread a new spirit throughout Europe. The idea of real political freedom permeated all over Europe. All the great revolutionary movements of the 19th century were more or less due to the influence of the French Revolution.

(5) The theory of 'Divine Right of Kings' began to be discarded and, as said above, the great principles of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' of men began to influence political actions everywhere.

(6) The period of depression and suffering followed the close of the long struggle.

(7) Finally, a new political system was established and it was characterised by the meetings of "Congresses of the Powers" for the purpose of avoiding war. For sometime Metternich, the Austrian statesman, opposed national claims and his tyranny succeeded Napoleon's and differed from it only in its outward legality and in its avoidance of war. In the long run the basic principles established by the Revolution survived, and we see them triumphant in the world of to-day.

N.B.—Constitutionalism aims at setting up democracy on a broad and national basis and tends to secure the widest political rights for the individual; it has its limitations according to the peoples and places where it works. It is a modern movement which aims at the establishment of government on the basis of a written or unwritten constitution, containing provisions for every aspect of government.

(B) *Influence of the French Revolution on France.* The French Revolution ultimately proved beneficial for France. The Revolution gave a death blow to the Grand Monarchy, the Nobility and Feudalism in France. It is true that the Revolution was followed by an era of dreadful struggles over land and sea as well as the military despotism of Napoleon Bonaparte which lasted for about twenty years, yet the ultimate gains of the Revolution for France were in no way mean. Uniform laws were enforced throughout France and legal and class privileges were done away with. Religious disabilities were no longer allowed to exist and large estates whch were once the property of the Crown and Nobility were parcelled out and sold at nominal prices to men of the middle and lower classes. Thus many social ills and evils which had sapped the vitality of France were removed once for all and ultimately left France purged of all its evils.

(C) *Influence of the French Revolution on Internal Politics of England.* The outbreak of the French Revolution was at first well received in England but its excesses led the political leaders of England to change their opinion. The fear that the English people might imitate the example of the French was considerably responsible for Pitt, the then head of the administration, to stop his policy of Parliamentary and political reform. He gave up his liberal views and adopted repressive measures to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas in England. Thus the immediate effect of the French Revolution was to arrest the progress of political reform in England for about a generation. England appeared to be the land of "ancient regime." Of course there was an agitation for reform and some societies also cropped up to bring about reform in the country but they could not achieve much.

Ultimate Effect. The main ultimate effect of the French Revolution on England was to bring to naught the promising movement of Parliamentary Reform and to diminish the traditional liberty of thought and speech which was the most precious inheritance of the

British Commonwealth. But side by side it also brought to an end ancient epoch of "Old Regime" and opened a new one. Certain principles gained ground—the principle of the 'sovereignty of the people' and the principle of 'nationality'. These principles had immense influence in moulding the future politics of England and the world.

Q. Describe the causes and progress of the War between England and Revolutionary France up to the Peace of Amiens (1802).

ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT WAR (1793—1815)

How the English people looked upon the French Revolution. The French Revolution, it is no exaggeration to say, affected profoundly the politics, both internal and external, of almost every State in Europe. Its ideas of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were popular with all European peoples, while they were looked upon with suspicion by all European monarchs. In Great Britain, at first, the Revolution was regarded with sympathy. The English people saw in it the dawn of people's liberty and poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge saw in it the dawn of a new era of happiness and freedom and even wrote poems in its praise. The radical clergymen and politicians supported it with great enthusiasm and even formed revolutionary societies. The Whigs thought it bore resemblance to their own Glorious Revolution of 1688; and Fox, the chief Whig leader, in particular, gave the Revolution his enthusiastic approval, exclaiming at the capture of the Bastille—"How much the greatest event that has happened in the world, and how much the best!"

But, as the Revolution became violent, these opinions began to change. Burke, the greatest of all Whigs, who from the very beginning had regarded it with a suspicious eye, published in November 1790, his "*Reflections on the French Revolution,*" in which he expressed his detestation of it and prophesied that its ultimate result would be anarchy. His book made a profound impression not only in Great Britain but in all European courts. This change of opinion compelled England and other European Powers to take up arms against the Revolutionaries who now tried to spread their ideas everywhere.

Causes of England's interference in the French Revolution. (1) England was a monarchical country and as such sympathised with French monarchy, but when France declared herself a '*republic*' she declared war against her.

(2) France annexed Holland and Belgium which was not liked by the English statesmen because Holland was "a pistol aimed at the heart of England." She could be invaded from there at any moment and this induced England to declare war against France in self-defence.

(3) England calculated that taking advantage of the confusion in France, she might annex her remaining colonies. This fact largely accounts for her continuing the war and even all her allies had con-

cluded treaties with France. The coalitions of European Powers had failed and most of the time England had to fight single-handed.

French Victories on Land. In 1793 England, Spain and Holland formed the first Coalition to check the progress of France. During the war, however, the French were victorious on land and succeeded in breaking up the coalition. The result was that Holland and Spain joined France, and Prussia made peace with France, but England continued to fight single-handed. The French also succeeded in capturing Holland.

English Victories on Sea. England was more successful on the seas. The English Admiral, Lord Howe, succeeded in defeating the French off *Bust* in 1793. This was followed by the defeat of the Spanish fleet off *Vincent* in 1797. This victory gave a death blow to the projects of France which wanted to invade England with the help of the Spanish fleet. The Dutch fleet was also defeated off Camperdown. These victories saved England from a threatened invasion by France, Spain and Holland.

Battle of the Nile (1798). Just at this time, Napoleon Bonaparte the "Corsican adventurer", came to the forefront. In him England found a great enemy. Napoleon was a great genius and it was he who terrified England most. He had been successful in turning the Austrians out of Italy and making it a French dependency. In 1798, he became the Chief Commander of the French forces. He succeeded in capturing Malta and conquered Egypt and even dreamt of capturing the Eastern Empire of England. But he found a great opponent in the English admiral Nelson, another great admiral of the 18th century. He completely defeated the French in Aboukir Bay near the mouth of the Nile in 1798. The famous Battle of the Nile decided the fate of France for ever. It not only established the supremacy of England over the Mediterranean but also shattered Napoleon's hopes of capturing her Eastern Empire.

Battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (1800). This victory saw the formation of a second coalition, consisting of Austria, Russia and England. Napoleon now continued his warfare on the Continent and succeeded in defeating Austria in the Battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden. Austria was thus compelled to make peace with France and gave up all claims over Italy. Thus Napoleon succeeded in establishing his supremacy over Italy. The coalition was again broken like the previous one and England was once more left alone to face the great adversary.

The Armed Neutrality. England at this time began searching the ships of neutral Powers and claimed her right of capturing vessels containing contrabands of war bound for a port declared blockaded. This roused the feeling of neutral Powers like Russia, Denmark and Sweden, who now (1800) formed the Armed Neutrality to resist England's claim to search neutral vessels for French goods.

Battle of Copenhagen (1801). The year 1801 was thus a very critical year for England. Her allies had deserted her and the Armed Neutrality threatened her with war. But soon England came out victorious. Abercromby succeeded in winning brilliant victory over France at Alexandria which ultimately led to the capitulation of the French forces five months later. Two days after this battle the Tsar Paul was assassinated and with his death the Armed Neutrality was broken. The new Tsar, Alexander I, was favourable to the British and made a treaty with them. Meantime, the British fleet succeeded in vanquishing other allies of the Armed Neurality. The British captured the Danish and the Swedish islands in the West Indies and Nelson completely annihilated the Danish fleet at Copenhagen in 1801. The Danish Government was forced to renounce the Armed Neutrality and opened the Baltic to the British fleet.

Peace of Amiens (1802). Pitt, who carried on warfare against France, fell from power in 1801 and was succeeded by a more peaceful minister, Addington, who brought the war to a close by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. But this was not a lasting peace and the next year saw the breaking out of war again. But the Peace of Amiens is important because it gave a breathing space to England and thus helped her to make preparations for the Napoleonic Wars. As a result of this Peace, England gave back most of the territories she had conquered from France and her allies but she got Trinidad from Spain and Ceylon from the Dutch. Malta was to be returned to its former owners, the Knights of St. John. England recognized the French Republic.

The Peace, though disadvantageous to Great Britain, was popular. "It was a peace," said Sheriden, "of which every one was glad, but nobody proud."

Q. Describe the Napoleonic Wars or the war between England and France from 1803—1815.

THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1803—1815)

Causes. 1. Napoleon wanted to make himself the monarch of whole Europe. He was bent upon building up a world-empire. Ambitious colonial projects of Napoleon alarmed Britain.

2. Napoleon seized several states in Italy and sent troops to occupy Switzerland. In spite of the peace he continued his aggressive policy.

3. England was asked to give up Malta but she refused to do so as a protest against the inordinate ambition of Napoleon who threatened to crush the liberty of entire Europe.

In 1805, England, Russia, Austria and Sweden joined against France forming the Third Coalition.

Events. 1. In 1805 the English general, Nelson, defeated the French and Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar.

2. In 1805, Napoleon defeated the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. This victory broke up the Third Coalition and Austria was forced to accept the humiliating Peace of Pressburg, which left Napoleon supreme both in Italy and Germany. In less than a month

after the Peace of Pressburg, Pitt died exclaiming with his dying breath, "Oh, my country, how I love my country!" Prussia now declared war against France but Napoleon crushed the Prussian armies at Jena and Aurestadt in 1806. The Russians were defeated at the Battle of Friedland and made peace by the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. All Europe was at his mercy and only England remained unconquered.

Napoleon issued the Berlin and Milan Decrees or what is known as his Continental System which declared the English ports under blockade and forbade France and her allies to trade with England. The English issued 'Orders in Council' forbidding trade with France and her allies. Portugal refused to accept the Continental System and to close her ports to British trade. The Continental System was a serious mistake on Napoleon's part. It proved fatal to his cause and made his rule hateful to the European nations.

The Peninsular War (1808)

Causes. 1. Portugal refused to accept the Continental System and closed her ports to British commerce. So Napoleon sent an army which occupied Portugal.

2. Taking advantage of a quarrel between King Charles IV of Spain and his son, Napoleon compelled both of them to give up their claim to kingship in favour of his own brother Joseph. The Spaniards revolted against the French and started a national resistance against Napoleon.

The English took up the cause of the Spaniards and the Portuguese and thus the war began in 1808.

Events. An English army was sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley who defeated the French at Vimiero in 1808. Shortly after, the French agreed to evacuate Portugal by the Convention of Cintra. Napoleon then himself took the command and captured Madrid. Sir John Moore, who had arrived to help the Spaniards, retreated before Napoleon and fought a battle with the French at Corunna in which he fell after repulsing the French. About this time Napoleon's attention was drawn to Austria, which had again taken up arms against him. Taking advantage of this, Wellesley defeated the French at Talavera in 1809 but was forced to retire to Portugal. Wellesley (now created Viscount Wellington) next constructed double chain of entrenchments called the Line of Torres Vedras to check the advance of the French army. He retired behind these lines after defeating the French at Busaco in 1810. Having secured his hold on Portugal, Wellington was again able to take the offensive. He defeated the French at Fenentesd. Onoro and his subordinate, Bresford, gained a remarkable victory at the desperate battle of Albuera. Wellington then stormed the fortress of Cindad Rodrigo and Badajos and obtained a decisive victory over the French at Salamanca in 1812. He then entered Madrid in triumph. But having receiving a check at Burgos he had again to retreat to Portugal. Taking advantage of Napoleon's disastrous campaign to Moscow, Wellington again took the offensive and defeated the French at Vittoria in 1813. Shortly after, the French were driven across the Pyrenees and Spain was cleared of the French.

Napoleon's Russian Campaign (1812). Russia was not observing the Continental System. Others had begun to follow her example. In order to punish Alexander of Russia, Napoleon collected a vast army in 1812 and invaded Russia. He defeated the Russians at Burdino. He then entered Moscow but it was given up and burnt by patriotic Russians. Napoleon had to retreat and suffer great losses on account of winter and famine. This disastrous campaign to Moscow is one of the causes of Napoleon's downfall.

The War of Liberation, 1813. Napoleon had suffered heavy losses in the Russian campaign. So Prussia took up arms against him and was joined by Austria and Russia. Napoleon defeated them at Lutzen and Dresden. But he was completely defeated at the Battle of Leipzig, also called the 'Battle of Nations', in 1813. France was now invaded by the Allies on all sides and Paris was taken. Napoleon had to abdicate and retire to Elba. The second Treaty of Paris was signed in 1814. By it Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, was placed on the French throne and the boundaries of France were pushed back to those which she had in 1791; the affairs of Europe were to be settled by a general Congress to be held at Vienna.

In 1815, Napoleon escaped from Elba and set himself as Emperor of France. Louis XVIII fled the country. Napoleon then defeated the Prussians at Ligny but was himself completely defeated by the combined British and Prussian armies at Waterloo in 1815. He abdicated and was sent as prisoner to St. Helena, where he died six years later. The period of Napoleon's escape from Elba to the Battle of Waterloo is known as the 'Hundred Days'.

The Treaties of Paris. The First Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, ended the Seven Years' War. *The Second Treaty* between Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia and France was signed in 1814, after the first abdication of Napoleon. Its chief terms were.

(i) The limits of France should be as they were in 1791, with some slight additions.

(ii) Holland, with Belgium annexed, should be resorted to the House of Orange.

(iii) Switzerland should be free.

(iv) Malta, the isle of France, Tobago, and St. Lucia should be ceded to Britain; but all other British conquests from France should be restored.

(v) A Congress of all European Powers should meet in Vienna for the settlement of all other questions.

By the third Treaty of Paris, between France and the Allies, signed in 1815, after Napoleon's second abdication:—

(i) The limits of France were reduced.

(ii) A war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs was exacted from France. During this time Allied armies were to occupy her border fortresses.

(iii) The restoration of the art treasures taken by Napoleon was demanded.

The Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna which was the most representative assembly, sat for about a year and handled the very difficult problems which came before it. Every European State, except Turkey, had its representatives, but the four great Powers —Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia—played the chief part.

The Reconstruction of the Map of Europe. The diplomats, who were the members of the Congress of Vienna, planned to restore Europe to its position before the war. The following important changes were introduced, which practically reconstructed the map of Europe:—

(i) France was allowed to keep her frontiers of 1791; the war indemnity imposed on her was not very unreasonable and she was able to pay it within three years.

(ii) Russia was allowed to have a large part of Poland.

(iii) Austria gave up the Netherlands, but received Milan and Venice, i.e., Italy was handed over to it.

(iv) Prussia got most of the districts on the left bank of the Rhine and became a purely German power. This made her a strong opponent of France on the Rhine.

(v) Norway was taken away from Denmark and joined to Sweden.

(vi) Belgium was joined to Holland.

(vii) England got a number of French and Dutch colonies and also a number of trading ports as her share of the spoils of victory. The possession of these trading ports scattered all over the world, made England the centre of an extra-European Empire of unprecedented magnitude and variety. She was undoubtedly the great power in the world and her prestige was at its height.

Criticism and after-effects of the Settlement. While settling the boundaries the European monarchs and diplomats cared only for their own interests and completely ignored the feelings of the people. The principles of 'Nationality' and 'Liberalism' had some influence in shaping the Settlement, but they were not adopted as the guiding principles. Only France was allowed to keep her original frontiers, otherwise both 'nationality' and 'popular liberty' were disregarded in the rest of the Continent. An attempt to unite Sweden and Norway and then again Holland and Belgium was evidently against national principles. The division of Poland, Germany and Italy by the rulers of Russia, Prussia and Austria was a total disregard of national sentiments. The new idea of freedom and nationality, aroused by the French Revolution, found no room in the Settlement and hence it did not make for lasting peace.

Surely the Settlement of Vienna gave Europe forty years of peace but ultimately it gave rise to bitter discontent and eventually the whole settlement was upset. The defects of the Settlement of Vienna rendered war certain in the end—a war to assert the national and popular aspirations which had been criminally disregarded in 1815. The Vienna settlement was therefore not satisfactory and could not ensure permanent peace.

What was done by the Congress of Vienna was upset in the next century, rather earlier. To quote Ramsay Muir, "the result was that the next century, the 19th, was to be a period of greater and more rapid changes than any previous century."

Q. What was Napoleon's Continental System? What were its fatal effects? What were the causes and factors leading to the failure of the Continental System?

What was Continental System of Napoleon? Having failed in his designs to destroy the English navy, Napoleon resolved to close the ports of Europe against England and thus bring her to knees by commercial warfare and starving her to death. England lived on he commerce and Napoleon by shutting out British merchandise meant to strave Britain to surrender. In November, 1806, he issued the Berlin Decrees and in 1807, the Milan Decrees, which together formed what is known in history as Napoleon's Continental System. By these Decrees all ports of Europe were shut against British trade; in other words all English ports were to be in a state of blockade, and all nations were forbidden to trade with Great Britain. England retaliated by issuing 'Orders-in-Council' (1807) declaring the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and all the states under Napoleon's control had no choice but to submit to the System.

Fatal effects of the Continental System

(i) At the outset England had to suffer heavily from the trade restrictions imposed on her to starve her to submission as she depended on foreign lands for much of her food and most of her trade. Due to shortage of food supplies, the prices of corn went terribly up, and her products having lost their markets on the continent, a large number of workers in factories and workshops was thrown out of employment. There were riots and disturbances all over the country and the starving mobs did great harm to mills and machinery.

(ii) The effects of the Continental System proved more injurious and fatal to Napoleon himself. The British fleet having control of the sea, no colonial goods could be obtained except through British vessels. There was a serious dislocation of trade and gigantic system of smuggling developed which only served to raise the prices of articles of common use in all countries. Prices of sugar, coffee, calico and other necessaries of daily life went up very high on the continent and this resulted in bringing about great distress to consumers and merchants. The industry and commerce of the neutral countries were completely dislocated. The trade of Holland and the industries of Switzerland, for example, were ruined. The Baltic States groaned under the ruinous pressure of the Continental System. A strong feeling against Napoleon manifested itself for the first time amongst the conquered nations. The Continental System was a great political blunder of Napoleon for it made his rule hateful to European nations which ultimately brought about his ruin.

Failure of the Continental System. The factors and elements which finally contributed to the failure of the Continental System may briefly be mentioned as follows:—

(i) It was beyond Napoleon's power to keep an efficent watch on all ports of the Continent. Consequently, smuggling was carried on freely and this hampered the effective working of the Continental System.

(ii) The British navy was too strong to be easily coped with by Napoleon. He had done his best to prevent the transport of corn from the continent to England but he could not achieve much.

(iii) Napoleon's attempt to make the Continental System successful led him into a number of enterprises which wasted his strength and led indirectly to his downfall. His attempt to force Portugal to act on the Berlin Decrees was evidently one of the causes of the Peninsular War (1808—14) and his ultimate ruin.

(iv) Russia had to suffer immense losses by the Continental System and her inability to follow the system was one main reason for Napoleon's expedition to Moscow in 1812.

(v) A feeling of irritation against Napoleon permeated Europe, for the people were deprived of those necessaries of life which England used to supply. There was widespread discontent in Europe against Napoleon's tyranny. He appeared in the role of a merciless dictator and was confronted with national patriotism in the countries conquered by him. Thus the Continental System of Napoleon proved more ruinous to himself than to any other nation.

Speaking of the Continental System, Ramsay Muir writes, "Napoleon's Continental System inflicted terrible distress upon Britain; but it failed in its purpose, and in the end played a very great part in arousing the revolt of the nations of Europe which brought down the proud fabric of the Napoleonic Empire in ruins. It was a universally false policy, just because it was fundamentally unjust.

Q. Discuss how Great Britain organized Coalitions against France during the Revolutionary era. What were the consequences of this step? Briefly mention the factors and circumstances that contributed to their failure. *Or,*

Describe the various coalitions formed by Great Britain to fight against Revolutionary France. Why did they fail?

(P.U. 1958, 55)

COALITIONS ORGANIZED BY GREAT BRITAIN AGAINST FRANCE

Pitt, essentially a peace minister, wanted to keep England out of the war against the French Revolution for it was only in peace that he could carry out his useful reforms. But when Louis XVI was executed and France had annexed Holland and Belgium, public opinion in England turned strongly against France. English people regarded Holland "a pistol aimed at the heart of England", i.e., England could be invaded from Holland at any time. This induced England to declare war against France in self-defence. Pitt, who had the interests of England dearest to his heart, did not like to fight single-handed against France but he wanted to build a strong front of the European Powers with a view to crush the enemy that had disturbed the peace of the whole of Europe. Pitt's idea was to use the enormous wealth of England to subsidise her allies who faced the struggle on the Continent, while the English navy was to maintain the supremacy of the seas.

First Coalition 1793—1797. In 1793, Young Pitt, Prime Minister of England, formed the First Coalition with Holland, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Sardinia and Prussia against France. The Allies were successful in the beginning and chased the French out of Belgium but the tide soon turned and the French were victorious on all fronts. The French leaders made a touching appeal to the patriotic sense of their soldiers and the result was that they fought most desperately for their land. The appeal of the French patriot leaders had the desired effect. The Coalition broke up; Holland and Spain joined France and Prussia made peace with her. Austria and Portugal alone stood by England but they too were spent up and ultimately made peace with France. England was left single-handed to face the formidable foe. England, with the help of her strong navy, won several victories on the sea which saved her from a threatened invasion by France, Spain and the Dutch.

Second Coalition 1798—1802. In 1798 the English admiral Nelson completely defeated the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile and Napoleon found himself locked up in Egypt. The famous Battle of the Nile decided the fate of France for ever. It not only established the supremacy of England over the Mediterranean but also shattered Napoleon's hopes of capturing England's Eastern Empire. Napoleon's dream of conquering the East remained a dream never to be realized.

The victory of the Nile led to the formation of a second Coalition consisting of Austria, Russia and England. Napoleon now continued his warfares on the continent and inflicted defeat on Austria in the battles of Marengo and Hohenlenden. Russia also suffered some defeats. Austria and Russia had no alternative but to make peace with France and the Coalition fell to pieces. England was once more left alone to face the great adversary.

Meanwhile Pitt resigned and he was succeeded by Adington who was also anxious to make peace. For the time being both England and France wanted peace. The Peace of Amiens was concluded (1802) but in fact it was a truce as the war broke out again in 1803 on account of the ambitious schemes of Napoleon and his aggressive policy.

Third Coalition (1805). The Peace of Amiens concluded in 1802 did not prove permanent. Napoleon was restless to become the master of Europe and had an ambitious programme to follow. He made elaborate plans and preparations for the direct invasion of England. This caused much alarm and Pitt who was in office again formed Third Coalition with Austria and Russia against France. Napoleon, however, defeated the Austrians at Ulm (1805) and the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz (1805). The Third Coalition met a fate like that of the First and Second and England was again left alone to fight the enemy.

Fourth Coalition 1806—1807. Pitt died in 1806 at the age of forty-six. Lord Grenvill became Premier, with Fox as Foreign Secretary. Fox died within six months and was succeeded by Earl Grey. The new Foreign Secretary succeeded in forming a Fourth Coalition against France. It was joined by Russia, Prussia and Saxony. Napoleon inflicted a crushing defeat on Prussia in the battle of Jena and Auerstadt in 1806. Napoleon defeated Russia in the battle of Friedland and forced the Czar to conclude the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) by which the Czar promised to carry out the Continental System of Napoleon. Practically the whole of Europe lay at Napoleon's feet. The Fourth Coalition automatically broke down. Only England remained unconquered and Napoleon was on the zenith of power.

Consequences and Criticism. Failure of the Coalitions. The Coalitions proved short-lined and did not serve very useful purpose. In every Coalition England played the role of the paymistress. 1. The Coalitions had no common interests that could hold them together and make them capable of offering strong resistance. The members of the Coalitions had selfish interests and they hardly missed an opportunity to join the opposite side when they were sure of greater and more permanent gains. 2. The other factor that was equally responsible for the failure of the Coalitions was the success of the French generals against the individual members of the Coalitions. If England was victorious on the sea, France was no less victorious on the land. Her great victories over the members of the Coalitions filled them with awe of the French superiority and often led to their surrender. Each time the Coalition broke down and England was left alone to fight the formidable forces of France. A wiser policy would have been to spend money for the better training and equipment of British soldiers and supplying their other needs than subsidizing the Coalitions. England had to pay almost all expenses incurred for the formation and maintenance of the Coalitions. England ought to have created permanent interests for members of the Coalitions if she wanted them to serve as useful allies. The Coalitions were failures in the sense that they did not help England in achieving as much as she expected, but we must admit that the Coalitions did one good thing at least, that is, they kept Napoleon engaged all the time and were partially responsible for the exhaustion of Napoleon and France.

Q. How would you criticize Pitt the Younger's war policy in the struggle with Napoleon? *Or,*

What is your estimate of Pitt the Younger as War Minister as judged from the conduct of war with Napoleon?

Pitt the Younger's shorcomings and blunders or a criticism of his war policy in the struggle with Napoleon. Pitt, the Younger was essentially a peace minister and it was most reluctantly that he allowed Britain to be drawn into the struggle with Napoleon. He hated war and lacked capacity to manage it. He presented a great contrast to his father in this respect. His father Chatham was a very capable war minister and perhaps the greatest that England has known. Some of the shortcomings and mistakes that Pitt the Younger committed in respect of the conduct of war may briefly be noted as follows:—

1. *Pitt's Miscalculations.* He made all sorts of miscalculations and utterly failed to see the magnitude of the forces he had to fight against. He thought that a couple of campaigns would see England through the war whereas the war actually lasted for 22 years. He made arrangements for a short war, failing to anticipate the period for war with France. Pitt had neither insight nor foresight regarding the French Revolution.

2. *Reduction of the Armament of England.* Since Pitt had failed to estimate the gravity of the situation rightly, he committed several serious mistakes in the course of the war. Instead of strengthening the armament of his country he followed the policy of reducing it.

3. *Unpreparedness of the Army and the Navy.* Pitt started with a mistaken hypothesis—that the conflict with France would be over in one or two campaigns, and it led him to be indifferent to the proper preparation of the army and the navy. The men were ill-paid, ill-fed, recruited forcibly and often treated with severiy. Many of the ships badly needed repairs, only 90 being ready for service when the war began. "He failed to co-ordinate the activities of the Army and the Navy."

4. *Selection of Unsuitable Persons.* He lacked the judgment for selecting suitable persons for responsible posts. He chose the wrong commanders, like the King's son Duke of York and his elder brother. He retained them in employment until "the English army was the laughing stock of Europe". His appointments to the high naval commands tell the same disappointing tale. He appointed second-rate men like Bridpost and Colpoys, though able admirals like Hord. Howe and Duncan were available.

Pitt made a great mistake in leaving the management of war administration to his friend Dundas who did not possess the necessary training and experience. "His plans were often ill-laid and the men who executed them were often ill-chosen."

5. *Formation of Short-lived Coalitions.* He formed a number of alliances and coalitions of European Powers against France and spent a lot of money in subsidies but he failed to hold them together. The members of the coalitions had each of them its own object to serve and the lack of common interest failed to bind them together. Aus-

tria wished to get Piedmont and parts of Bavaria and Poland; Prussia wanted Hanover and Russia was anxious to get Poland. The coalitions proved short-lived and each time left England to grapple with the enemy alone.

6. *Lack of Capacity to Direct Distant Campaigns.* Pitt did not possess the capacity to direct distant campaigns and the power to inspire people with confidence. The "higher direction" of the war was hopelessly inconsistent.

7. *He Did Not Know Where to Strike.* He failed to keep enemy fleets blockaded in their harbours and then instead of making a concentrated attack upon France wasted the resources of England in isolated expeditions.

8. *He made no Use of the Principle of Nationality.* Napoleon's fall began and his power was checked when he roused the opposition of nations rather than rulers. Pitt learnt this truth rather late that mere opposition of governments was futile against France and there must be a war of peoples.

9. *Wrong Method of Financing the War.* He should have financed the war with money by raising as much as possible in the form of taxation but instead he financed it from the first mainly by means of loans. As a result of this, the National Debt reached a staggering figure and the country was faced with an enormous burden of debt.

The early defeats and disadvantages in the war that England had to suffer from time to time were mainly due to the incapacity, wrong management and a number of serious shortcomings on the part of Pitt, the Younger, as described above.

Q. Give a brief account of Napoleon's career and character.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769—1821)

A Brief Survey of Napoleon's Career. A brief history of Napoleon's career can be conveniently divided ino three parts. Napoleon's ideal was that the whole of Europe should be subject to one Emperor, namely himself, and that he should be able to reward the most noble and devoted of his officers with kingships over the countries of which the continent was composed." (Davies). Three parts—(1) Up to the year 1808, (2) from the beginning of the Peninsular War in 1808 to his banishment to Elba, and (3) from his escape from Elba to his death.

(1) *Up to the Year* 1808. Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1769, in an ordinary family. From the very beginning he liked fighting and military life. In course of time he turned out to be a military genius. He joined the army when he was very young and distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon. He took a very prominent part in the French Revolution. On account of his great gifts and powers he soon became a general and gained many victories over the Austrians from whom he took the southern part of Italy. After the battle of Camperdown, he was made Commander-in-chief of the larger part of the French army. He then proceeded to Egypt

where although he was defeated at the Battle of the Nile, he attempted the conquest of Syria. Crossing the desert he stormed Jaffa and marched on and laid siege to Acre where he was repulsed by the Turks, assisted by Sir Sidney Smith. Retreating to Egypt he defeated the Turks at Aboukir, and then hearing that the French were being defeated in Europe he returned to France where he was made First Consul in 1799. He then marched to Italy and there defeated the Austrians at Marengo in 1800 and forced them to make peace at Luneville, 1801. He was a very ambitious man and fired by great zeal. In 1804, he became the Emperor of France. He ruled France with a firm hand giving her good laws, and putting an end to riots and disorders, so that she once again became a great power. He wished to be master of the whole of Europe and attempted an attack upon England, in 1805, but was defeated at Trafalgar by Nelson. The same year he crushed the armies of Austria and Prussia at Austerlitz. In 1806, he gained a victory over Russia and Prussia at Jena, and passed the famous "Berlin Decrees." In 1808 he seized the crown of Spain and invaded Portugal.

(2) *From the Beginning of the Peninsular War* (1808) *to His Banishment to Elba*. From 1808 to 1814 he was busy in the Peninsular War. In 1812, he marched into Russia, and after a fearful battle at Borodino pushed on to Moscow. The Russians burnt Moscow and fled. Napoleon's soldiers had neither food nor shelter and were pressed to retreat under great hardship. His army was destroyed by Russians pursuing him in the rear, and Austria and Prussia rose on his flank. Hastening back to France, he gathered an army, returned, and won three more battles at *Leutzen, Bautzen* and *Dresden*. In 1813 he was utterly defeated at Leipzig after three days' fighting. He was forced to fall back on the Rhine. During the early part of 1814, he struggled successfully against the overwhelming number of his enemies; but when at last the victorious allies entered Paris, he gave away. He abdicated the throne on April 6, and was banished to the island of Elba on April 25, 1814.

(3) *From His Escape from Elba to His Death*. In 1815, Napoleon escaped from Elba, landed at Cannes and was welcomed on all sides by his old comrades. In three weeks he was Emperor again and Louis XVIII, who had been placed on the throne, fled. The Allies lost no time. England, Prussia, Austria and Russia gathered for an attack. England and Russia alone were ready, and Napoleon hoped to defeat them separately before they could meet. On June 16, he repulsed the Prussians at Ligny; but on the same day Wellington successfully opposed Marshal Ney at Quatrebas, and took up a strong position near Waterloo. Two days later was fought the famous Battle of Waterloo in which Wellington and Blucher completely defeated Napoleon who fled to Paris and abdicated in favour of his son. He then tried to escape from France, but finding all ports guarded, he gave himself up to Captain Maitland of the English ship *Bellerophon*. He was taken prisoner and sent to the island of St. Helena, and there he died on May 5, 1821. His body was later brought to Paris for burial.

Napoleon's Character. Napoleon was one of the greatest generals that the world has ever produced. He was a capable administrator and took keen interest in the welfare of his people. He gave perfect religious liberty to his people, spread education and prepared a code of laws known as 'Code of Napoleon'. His reforms were of more practical value and benefit to the people than his victories on the battle-field. Whenever he advised a man he said, "Be a man of action and high character. It is cowardice to commit suicide. Do you know what is more hard to bear than the reverses of fortune? It is the baseness, the hideous ingratitude of man. Victory belongs to the most persevering." He was a man of indomitable will, boundless energy and unusual fearlessness. He looked upon nothing as an impossibility and he used to say, "The word 'impossible' is found only in the dictionary of fools." His personality was magnetic, so that his soldiers were whole-heartedly devoted to him. His chief weakness was that he was inordinately ambitious and wanted to make himself the Emperor of the whole of Europe. His inordinate ambition and several blunders committed by him combined to bring about his ultimate ruin.

Q. Discuss the causes and factors responsible for the downfall of Napoleon and the ultimate success of the English in the struggle between England and France. *Or,*

Q. Why was Napoleon beaten? Why did he fail to hold Europe? *Or,* (P.U. 1957, 53, 52, 49)

Q. Why did Napoleon fail to conquer Great Britain?

Causes of Napoleon's Downfall. The important causes which shattered the Napoleonic Empire and conributed to his downfall are following:—

1. *Empire of Napoleon was Built on Force.* The Empire of Napoleon was vast and imposing in outward appearance but concealed within itself the germs of its own dissolution. "Built up by war, by conquest, it was necessarily environed by the hatred of the conquered. With every advance, every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discontent. Based on force, it could only be maintained by force." Again, founded and upheld by his genius alone, the permanence of his empire rested solely upon his life and fortunes.

He wanted to crush the liberties of all the nations and create for himself a world-wide Empire. This set the nations against him.

2. *Bitter Enmity of England.* This furnished another important cause for his downfall. From the very beginning of the Napoleonic Wars, England offered the stoutest and most determined resistance to Napoleon's every act of aggression. She was the paymistress of repeated coalitions against France. Her supremacy of the seas foiled Napoleon's various attempts to strike at England and it could not be better demonstrated than in the brilliant English naval victories on the mouth of the Nile and at Trafalgar. Indeed, Great Britain had defeated Napoleon on the seas.

"England was the most determined and persistent enemy of Napoleon. England remained constant in her opposition and her successful plans against Napoleon went a long way in thwarting his designs."

Besides, England carried on a vehement propaganda against France by freely criticising her acts and policies in neutral countries. Thus France lost their moral support.

3. *Continental System.* The next cause of Napoleon's downfall was furnished by his "*Continental System.*" It is true enough that as a result of this system Great Britain suffered, but she was far from being ruined. It was never possible, in fact, to seal up the whole continent. The English manufactures and the colonial goods which Napoleon intended to exclude, contrived to creep, nevertheless, within the bounds of his empire. The only effect of the Continental System was that, through the suffering and loss it inflicted, particularly upon the maritime countries of Europe, it caused feeling of strong resentment against Napoleon throughout the continent.

4. *Napoleon's Long Quarrel with the Pope.* Again the Continental System brought Napoleon into *trouble with Papacy.* Pope Pius VII refused to enforce the blockade against England. Thereupon Napoleon declared that the Pope "was no longer a secular Prince" and captured his dominions. In June 1809, Napoleon was excommunicated by the Pope and next month the Pope was thrown into the jail by the orders of Napoleon. This harsh and cruel treatment meted out to Pope had alienated the sympathy of Catholic Europe and created resentful feeling among pious Catholics.

5. *Napoleon's War Against Russia.* It served as another potent cause of his downfall. His dismal failure in the Russian campaign not only entailed the loss of the 'Grand Army' on which his military strength depended but it also gave new heart to the enemies of Napoleon. Every one knew that Napoleon was not a superman; he had been thoroughly and decisively beaten. "Henceforth he was thrown on the defensive, compelled to fight for the retention of his control over Central Europe and with forces that were not the equal of the army he had lost in Russia." The Russian expedition greatly weakened Napoleon because in Russia he had lost his veteran cavalry and the best part of the artillery.

6. *Rise of the Spirit of Nationalism.* But the active force which was to overwhelm Napoleon's empire and free Europe from his tyranny was the *sentiment of national patriotism* that was being awakened in the dismembered and dependent States and also where independence was threatened. Up to the time of the invasion of Spain (1808), Napoleon had fought against Kings and Princes and easily overthrown their Governments as they were not based on the love and loyalty of their subjects. But now Napoleon, led by his devouring ambition to make himself master of all Europe, was contemptuously disregarding the claims of race and nationality. "His empire threatened to become the Tomb of the Nations." In the face of this danger, national patriotism was being aroused everywhere and *it was this spirit of national patriotism which crushed Napoleon.*

7. *Peninsular War and National Risings.* In the beginning the people looked upon Napoleon as their liberator, and so lent him every support, but in course of time they began to realise that Napoleon's object was not to liberate the conquered people but to reduce them to abject slavery and subjection. This became specially clear with the conquest of Spain during the Peninsular War. The national hostility of many European countries like Spain, Prussia, Austria and Russia was roused and they combined together to crush the power of Napoleon. Napoleon himself confessed that the "Spanish ulcer" ruined him. Possibly he could have cured the Spanish ulcer but for English infection which aggravated it into a running sore.

8. *Military Reason.* At first all the wars which France had to wage in Europe were short. The Peninsular War was the first long war with which Napoleon had to grapple. The long struggle in Spain gave Europe time to rally.

9. *Strong and Superior British Navy.* The principal exploit of the British Navy during the Revolutionary Wars was Howe's victory of "The Glorious First of June", over the French fleet off Brest in 1794. The next exploit was the British victory at St. Vincent and Camperdown in 1797. In 1798, Nelson won a splendid victory at the Battle of the Nile over the French and put an end to Napoleon's scheme of establishing an empire in India. Again, Nelson destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Ultimately the British Navy crushed the French Navy and the latter could accomplish nothing. The British Navy was decidedly superior to the French Navy.

10. *Achievements of Wellington and the Serious Defeats Sustained by the French.* Wellington was a great general. He was a military genius of high order and possessed admirable power of organisation. His victories in the Peninsular War saved Europe from many dangers and raised the prestige of Britain. Napoleon made a great political blunder in leading a campaign to Russia. Owing to lack of provisions, incessant attacks of the Russians and the bitter cold, Napoleon's Grand Army was completely destroyed. The whole of Europe was now up in arms against Napoleon in a war of liberation. In 1813 Napoleon was routed in the battle of Leipzig, also known as the Battle of Nations. France was captured and Napoleon was forced to abdicate. Wellington, finally, defeated Napoleon in 1815 at the Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon was sent to St. Helena where he died of cancer in 1821.

Wellington by his glorious victories added to the military fame of Britain and he rendered services to his country which no honour could repay. 'France possessed no commanders of the stature and calibre of Wellington and Nelson'.

Q. What part was played by the British navy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars? *Or,*

Q. What part did English naval power play in the downfall of Napoleon? *Or,*

Q. Explain how the British people contributed to the overthrow of the domination of Napoleon over Europe?

(D.U. 1954, 51 46).

Ever since the time of Elizabeth, England had been a great naval power. The destruction of the great and invincible Armada established her naval supremacy for ever and, save for the inglorious period of the first two Stuarts, her navy always played a prominent rôle in world politics. In the 18th century she became a great commercial and colonial power and with her strong navy she was able to maintain her hold on India, America and other parts of the world. She was able to crush the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French who were her rivals. It was her navy that saved her from the fury of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars; with her strong navy she was able to withstand the force of the greatest man of the world—Napoleon.

Battles of Brest, Vincent and Camperdown. Several important factors forced England to take up arms against France and she formed a coalition with Spain and Holland in 1793. France succeeded in persuading Spain and Holland to come to her side and give up the Coalition. But England continued the war with France single-handed. The English admiral, Lord Howe, defeated the French off Brest in 1793 in the famous action of "the Glorious First of June." This was followed by the defeat of the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent in 1797 This victory gave a death blow to the project of France which wanted to invade England in combination with the Spanish fleet. The Dutch, who were now the allies of the French, had their fleet completely routed at Camperdown by the English. Thus, through these naval victories, England was able to save herself from the threatened invasion by the combined forces of France, Spain and Holland.

Battle of the Nile, 1798. In 1798, Napoleon planned an invasion of Egypt. On his way, Bonaparte took Malta from the Knights of St. John. He then easily conquered Egypt which he saw to be the key to the East, and the highway to India where Tipu Sultan of Mysore, the old enemy of the English, had made an alliance with the French leader against the English.

Napoleon's head was filled with all sorts of wild schemes. He dreamt of conquering Turkey, destroying the English power in India, and finally taking Europe. Sir Horatio Nelson, the real hero of the Battle of St. Vincent, now sought to destroy the fleet which was meant to take Bonaparte to the East. Taking an advantageous position, he was able to destroy the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile. "Never was a naval victory more complete than that of the Nile. Of thirteen French men-of-war nine were taken and two burnt; and of four frigates, two escaped. By this brilliant victory the army of Napoleon was imprisoned amid the sounds of Egypt. Napoleon secretly escaped to France." This battle foiled Napoleon's plans. It established British supremacy over the Mediterranean, and put an end to Bonaparte's visions of conquest of the East. Later on Egypt was also occupied and restored to the Turks. Thus the British navy saved Egypt, Turkey and the Eastern Empire of England. "This defeat of Napoleon shattered the hopes of Napoleon to conquer the East. So far Napoleon was successful on the land but the English were generally victorious on the sea."

Defeat of the Danish and the Swedish Fleets. After the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Nile, England formed a second coalition with Austria and Russia. But Napoleon succeeded in breaking this Coalition by defeating Austria in the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden. In 1800 Russia, Denmark and Sweden formed the famous Armed Neutrality, as a protest against England's search of neutral ships for contrabands of war. But the English fleet once more saved the critical position of England by defeating and capturing the Danish and the Swedish fleets. Russia also made peace with England and thus the Armed Neutrality which formed a serious menace to England came to an end. Pitt resigned in 1801 and his successor Adington brought the war to a close in 1802 by the Treaty of Amiens and the hostilities were suspended for a short time.

Battle of Trafalgar, 1805. After the Treaty of Amiens (1802), which was merely a truce between England and France, Napoleon once more tried his luck against the English but in the end he badly failed. He had realised from his early defeats that the only way to conquer England was to defeat the English fleet. Napoleon in order to increase his own naval strength forced his dependent, Charles IV of Spain, to build a great navy. The English got scent of this and declared war against Spain. The French navy then joined the Spanish navy and the joint fleet challenged Nelson. In 1805, Nelson sailed to Spain and Napoleon ordered Villeneuve to take the sea against him. On October 21, the fleets met off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson divided his fleet in two divisions and attacked the enemy from two sides. Although Nelson was mortally wounded in the action, he lived to see the fruits of his victory. Henceforth until the end of the war the command of the seas remained absolutely in English hands. For nine years no enemy fleet ventured to leave port against the English; all fears of invasion were at an end, and Britain could safely defy Napoleon the master of Europe.

"Nelson's glorious victory at Trafalgar destroyed French and Spanish naval power, and frustrated for good Napoleon's plans for invasion of England. Trafalgar saved England from invasion, annihilated the French fleet, and secured for the British navy the command of the sea. It compelled Napoleon to abandon all hopes of a direct attack upon Britain and push forward an alternative method (Continental System) of overcoming her—a method which ultimately led to his downfall. The restrictions imposed by Napoleon on commerce by means of the Berlin and Milan Decrees collectively known as the Continental System ultimately aroused the people of the continent and became the important factors of his downfall."

The Copenhagen Expedition. Napoleon was trying to draw Denmark into the conflict, but before Denmark could actually join Napoleon, an English fleet sailed from Yarmouth for Copenhagen. The Danes refused to deliver up their fleet, therefore Copenhagen was bombarded. The Danes at last yileded; Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was taken off to Britain with an immense quantity of naval stores and artillery. The Copenhagen Expedition deprived Napoleon of Danish help and thus weakened his cause. It added to the power and resources of England.

Thus the Battles of the Nile (1798) and of Trafalgar (1805) really paved the way for the ultimate downfall of the French power. So long as the English remained supreme over the sea, no power could defeat her on land either on the continent or in India or even in other parts of the world. The same factor accounts for the failure of the Continental System of Napoleon. The French Emperor could not control the seas and his system could not be effectively put into practice. On the other hand, the English were able to cut off France from the rest of the world by their strong navy. In the end England came out victorious, not only in Europe but also in India where Lord Wellesley and Hastings succeeded in defeating the schemes of Tipu Sultan and Maratha chieftains. The British navy thus saved England from the master of Europe.

Failure of Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon soon discovered that it was difficult for him to defeat England on the seas; he decided to give a heavy blow to England's trade and commerce and thus bring her to her knees. The enforcement of the system led to wholesale annexations. His annexation of Spain and the consequent national rising offered England an opportunity to strike Napoleon on land. During the whole of the Peninsular War (1808—14) England fought with dogged determination till the French were driven out of Spain. Napoleon himself confessed that the "Spanish ulcer ruined him".

Napoleon had to undertake an expedition to Moscow to enforce his Continental System but it proved an utter failure and ruined Napoleon.

The Continental System of Napoleon proved a failure because Napoleon could not enforce it rigorously due to the supremacy of England on the sea. England also readily helped the enemies of Napoleon and thus weakened his power.

After Napoleon's return from Elba, England was the moving spirit of the new coalition. The credit for the final blow at Waterloo goes largely to England. It should be noted that England played the most important part in bringing about the overthrow of Napoleon. She proved to be the most persistent enemy of Napoleon and very often had to carry on the war single-handed, when her allies were compelled to make peace. She had enormous resources with which she helped her allies and, above all, she had the command of the sea. Her naval victories at the Battle of the Nile and Trafalgar frustrated the well-laid plans of Napoleon. In the Peninsular War England took the most active and successful part and she had the chief share of the glory in the crowning victory at Waterloo. Napoleon surrendered and was sent as a prisoner to St. Helena where he died in 1821.

Q. Review briefly the effects of the Napoleonic Wars on the social and economic life in England. *Or,* (P.U. 1954, 44, 37)

"For England the decade after Waterloo was of peace without plenty." Discuss. *Or,* (P.U. 1953, 52)

Portray the economic and social condition of England in 1815. *Or,* (P.U. 1955, 57)

"Years 1815—1822 were full of distress for England." Discuss.

During the War, the years, particularly between 1806—15 were full of misery and degradation for the mass of English people. The reasons for this unhappy state of affairs may be enumerated as follows:—

1. *Shortage of Food Supplies.* The population was increasing with incredible rapidity but food supply was not enough to meet the growing needs of the rapidly increasing population. The trouble was further aggravated by several bad harvests and the supply fell short to the extent of creating a state of famine.

2. *High Prices.* Prices rose terribly high but the wages did not rise in proportion and this compelled the working classes to seek relief from the Poor Law authorities to maintain their existence.

3. *Acute Unemployment.* A large number of labourers were thrown out of employment on account of restrictions on exports due to war, and introduction of power and machinery.

4. *Passing of the Corn Law,* 1815. To protect the agricultural classes from foreign competition a Corn Law was passed in 1815, prohibiting the import of foreign corn until British corn reached the price of 80s. a quarter. But the benefit of this high price went almost wholly to the landlords and the misery of the labourers ultimately increased.

5. *Disbanding of the Great Armies and Fleets.* The disbanding of the great armies and fleets which absorbed half a million men as soldiers and sailors, poured upon the land large numbers of unemployed and unskilled men, who added to the food and employment problem.

6. *Cessation of the Demand for Military Supplies.* The cessation of the demand for military supplies, especially clothing and boots for the continental armies, caused many mills to close down and plunge their workers into aweful poverty.

There were large-scale industrial strikes all over the country. Riots occurred in many places, machinery was destroyed and murders were committed.

After the War. Up to 1815 the masses had suffered hardships patiently looking forward to the end of the war to bring back better times, but the situation did not improve. Social and political unrest continued for the following reasons:—

1. *The Waste of War.* Great wealth had been spent in fighting the enemies but it bore no fruit. The National Debt had increased enormously and several new taxes were imposed to lessen it but the new taxes affected most adversely the economic life of a vast majo-

rity of workers thrown out of work. The condition of the labouring classes steadily grew worse.

2. *No Demand for Military Supplies.* The war being over a large number of soldiers and sailors were disbanded, thus adding to the ranks of the unemployed ones. There was no demand for food-stuffs, clothing, or munitions for war purposes as the fighting was over. "The sudden close of a long war dislocated commerce and industry."

3. *Fall in Foreign Trade.* The foreign trade suffered heavily for the countries of the continent were so adversely influenced by the war that they were not in a position to buy British goods. "With the cessation of war the demand for British goods decreased, resulting in unemployment of a large number who had hitherto earned a good wage."

4. *Introduction of the Powerloom.* It created distress among the handloom workers. They were practically thrown out of work. The number of discontented labourers swelled and there were disturbances all over the country.

5. *Lack of Food.* The acute shortage of food increased the hardships and grievances of the workers and thus discontent spread all over the country.

6. *Corn Law.* In passing the Corn Law, i.e., preventing the import of corn unless its price rose to 80s. a quarter and in adopting no other alternative to make bread cheap, the government followed a short-sighted policy. This made the bread of the poor dearer so as to bring them to the verge of starvation.

7. *Rise in the National Debt.* The National Debt which at the end of Seven Years' War (1763) was £139 million and at the end of the American War (1783), £268 million had reached the enormous sum of £880 million in 1815. The annual interest on this debt was £30 million. This was a burden which was too heavy for the country to bear, especially in the years of trade depression after 1816.

8. *Financial Depression.* The protracted wars with France had proved enormously expensive and they had strained but not broken the finances of Great Britain. When, however, the war ended, industry was seriously depressed. 'The markets were over-stocked, large quantities of goods lay unsold or unpaid for and numerous failures were the consequences.' Under these circumstances financial depression was bound to come.

9. *Unsympathetic Attitude of the Government.* Lack of sympathy on the part of the Government helped to aggravate trouble in the country. Even to demand parliamentary reform was looked upon as sedition, and in 1819 a mass meeting of Lancashire reformers who marched in military order to a small waste plot in Manchester, called St. Peter's Field, was dispersed with unnecessary violence by a cavalry charge. The affair was magnified and described as the Massacre of Peterloo. It alarmed the ministers so much that they passed

through Parliament a series of repressive measures known as the Six Acts and the right of public meeting was strictly restricted.

N.B. *The Six Acts* or *the Gag Acts*, 1819. To put an end to popular agitation and riots, the Government passed what are known as the Six Acts:—

(i) An Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour.

(ii) An Act for the punishment of persons convicted of publishing a libel.

(iii) An Act to prevent insurrections. It prohibited the training of persons in the use of fire-arms.

(iv) An Act authorising magistrates to seize all arms collected in the sixteen disaffected counties.

(v) An Act for the regulation of the Press. Publishers were to be held responsible for any libel printed in their papers.

(vi) An Act to restrict public meetings. No meeting of fifty or more than fifty persons could be held without six days' notice to a Justice of the Peace, and only the inhabitants of that particular place could attend.

"England was now at peace. She had done her duty to Europe. Those who do their duty must not expect that it will bring no hardship with it. For a man to do his duty means that he is ready to give up many things that are pleasant, and to suffer much what is unpleasant. It is so with nations as well as men. There was terrible suffering after the war. Millions of pounds had been spent and lost to the country in supporting the war. This and other causes brought about the ruin of manufacturers and farmers. The ruin of manufacturers and farmers brought sharp distress to the labourers and the artisans. Poor men were more ignorant then than they are now, and they broke out into riots, as if rioting would give them work, or earn them money." (Gardiner).

Q. Account for the social and political unrest in England in the first half of the 19th century.

Ans. Causes of Social Unrest.

Please consult previous answer.

Causes of Political Unrest

1. *Uneven Distribution of Wealth.* The Industrial Revolution had led to the birth of new classes of people in the country—landowners, capitalist organisers and the labourers. The wealth brought in by the war mainly went to the landowners and the capitalist organisers of industry and trade but the labourers were left awfully poor for they were not allowed to share the new wealth. The political power lay solely with the landowners and the capitalist organisers and a very definite cleavage was taking place between them and the

labouring class who formed the bulk of the nation. The country was thus divided into two big hostile classes.

2. *Labouring Class had no Votes.* The labouring masses who formed the great majority of the nation had no votes and thus Parliament was not thoroughly representative of the nation.

3. *Defective System of Seats and Franchise.* Seats were not distributed according to population and the qualifications for franchise were not uniform.

4. *Bribery and "Pocket" Boroughs.* The owners of the "Pocket" boroughs obtained undue influence in the Commons. The members of the House of Lords through their influence over 'pocket' boroughs nominated a large number of members to the House of Commons. Bribery was general and it deteriorated moral tone of the people.

5. *Repressive Policy of the Government.* The Government had no sympathy with political reform and suspected every motion for reform as a conspiracy for revolution. The government freely used coercion to put down every agitation for political reform. People urgently demanded reform but the reactionary Tory ministry of Liverpool persisted in its policy of repression. The Tory Government passed several reactionary measures such as the Six Acts, Corn Law, etc. It was only from the year 1822 that a change took place in the attitude of the Government when the moderate Tories like Peel, Canning and Huskisson took the place of hard Tories like Addington and Castlereagh.

Q. What were the results of the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic periods for Europe?

Ans. Results of the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic periods for Europe.—Hints for expansion:—

(i) Rise of the idea of equality before law for all classes in the community.

(ii) Rise of the idea of nationality.

(iii) Rise of the idea of political freedom.

(iv) Immediate result: a period of depression and suffering, owing to the reaction felt after the close of the long struggle.

(v) Establishment of a new political system characterised by the meetings of the Congresses of the Powers of the world for the purpose of avoiding war. Maternich's tyranny succeeded Napoleon's and differed from it only in its outward legality and in its avoidance of war.

(For details see Answer to the Question—General importance and effects of the French Revolution—already discussed).

CHAPTER XXIII

1. THE IRISH ACT OF UNION

2. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

3. METHODIST MOVEMENT

> *The Legislative Union of 1800 was the most miserable of failures."*
>
> —SEELEY

Q. Give a brief account of the Parliamentary Union between England and Ireland or the Act of Irish Union of 1800. How would you contrast it with the Scottish Act of Union passed in 1707? *Or,*

"The Legislative Union of 1800 was the most miserable of failures." (Seeley). Comment.

Causes of Irish Dissatisfaction. In Ireland there had been a growing spirit of dissatisfaction with the British Government from the beginning of the reign of George III. The Legislative dependence upon Great Britain, the harsh oppression to which the Roman Catholics, who formed the majority of the Irish people, were subjected and restrictions placed upon Irish trade led to an agitation for greater freedom. Protestants and Roman Catholics combined in opposition to the injustice of Government; and in 1878, the British Parliament, though strongly Protestant, removed some of the worst disabilities under which Irish Roman Catholics laboured. At the same time the British Parliament withdrew some of the restrictions on Irish commerce and in 1872, through the efforts of Irish orator *Henry Grattan*, Ireland was granted legislative independence.

Formation of the 'United Irishmen'. For a time, the Irish were appeased, but there were other causes for disaffection. The wretched condition of the poor classes, and the need for complete religious freedom and reform of Parliament were strongly felt; and in 1791 the influence of the French Revolution was seen in Ireland by the formation of the *United Irishmen*, a party consisting of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, with the object of severing Ireland from Great Britain and establishing an Irish Republic. The Irish looked to France for help, and in 1796 an unsuccessful expedition was sent to the South-west of Ireland. Two years later, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, goaded by repression and outrage, were in a state of open revolt. The rebels took Enniscorthy and Wexford, but they were routed by an army of Orangemen under General Lake at *Vinegar Hill*. Then ensued a *Reign of Terror* in Ireland. All prisoners were treated with utmost severity and cruelty, and horrible atrocities were perpetrated by Roman Catholics and Orangemen alike. Too late to be of any service, a small French force landed in Ireland and routed a militia force at *Castlebar*, but the French troops were afterwards defeated and compelled to surrender to the British general at *Longford*.

Terms of the Act of Irish Union. When the rebellion was put down, Englishmen and Scotchmen turned their thoughts to a union of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland as the surest way of ending the disorder in Ireland. The Irish were strongly averse to the proposal; but the liberal gifts of place and money bought over the 'opposition', and in spite of the oratory of Henry Grattan, the Irish Parliament agreed to the union. A similar measure was passed by Parliament at Westminster, and in 1800 the Union took place. The chief terms of the Union were:—

1. From January 1, 1801, Great Britain and Ireland should form one kingdom and be called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. There should be one Parliament for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Ireland should be represented by thirty-two peers (twenty-eight temporal lords and four spiritual lords) and one hundred commoners.

3. England and Ireland should have the same privileges with regard to trade.

4. The churches of England and Ireland should be united in one Protestant Episcopal church.

5. The laws and courts of each kingdom should remain unaltered except by Act of Parliament.

6. Ireland should provide two-seventeenths of the national expenditure.

Results of the Irish Union. The Act of Irish Union was a sad failure. It did not solve the problem of religious disabilities of the Catholics who formed the bulk of the population. The Catholics were at the mercy of the Protestants, who though in minority, were powerful in the country. In order to remove the religious disabilities of the Irish Catholics, Pitt introduced a Bill known as the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1801. But George III opposed the Bill and refused to give his assent. Pitt resigned. The Act of Union, without removing the religious troubles of the Irish Catholics, was only a half-measure and it was bound to fail, for the Irish who were mainly Catholics had to pay tithes for the support of the Protestant Established Church. Besides, the Act of Union did not solve the land problem. The poor farmers had to pay heavy taxes as before and there was great misery among them.

The Irish Union Contrasted with the Scottish Union.—Irish Union a Failure and the Scottish Union a Success. The Scottish Union was a success but the Irish Union was a failure. The Scottish Union was the Union of two equal and free nations but the Irish Union was not so. The Scottish Union was brought about by common consent and free dissenssion of the two nations—Scotland and England—but in the Irish Union the Irish people were not consulted. The Irish Union was purely a one-sided measure and Ireland's approval was not sought. It was a settlement by compulsion and not by consent and, therefore, it possessed no moral validity. It was brought about by underhand means like the use of force, bribery, etc. Pitt wanted to grant emancipation to the Irish Catholics but his plans failed due to the opposition of the king. Thus the Act of Union only prolonged Protestant ascendancy and hence failed to pacify Ireland. Nothing was done to solve the economic and political problems of Ireland. Hence before long the Irish Union failed and the Home Rule Movement became the burning topic of the 19th century. The very fact that Ireland was not consulted nor taken into confidence left the Union full of defects. *The Act did not fully solve economic, religious and political problems of Ireland and so it was bound to fail.*

Causes of its Failure

Economic Problems. The land problems were not solved and the agrarian difficulties remained as they were. The taxes were still heavy on poor farmers as before. The tenants could not enjoy the fixity of tenure and were at the mercy of the landlords.

Religious Problem. Nothing was done to do away with the religious disabilities of the Catholics who formed the bulk of the population in Ireland. They had to labour under religious restrictions and, though in majority, they had to pay tithes for the support of the Protestant Established Church.

Political Problem. The union with Great Britain prevented the Irish from securing recognition to the national individuality. The symbol of Irish nationhood was sacrificed.

Thus the Act which was passed with the most generous intentions failed most miseraby.

The 18th century consequently ended with Catholic emancipation still unsecured, with the Irish land question still unsolved, and the Irish remaining a dissatisfied nation on the whole.

The failure of the Irish Union was the deepest of the blots on Pitt's reputation as a statesman.

Q. What do you understand by the phrase Industrial Revolution? What were its causes or what changes took place in industry in the 18th century England? What were its economic, political, social and intellectual effects? *Or,*

(P.U. 1955, 58; D.U. 1953, 57)

What benefits and inconveniences did the Industrial Revolution bring to Great Britain? *Or,* (P.U. 1954)

Why did Great Britain become industrially supreme in the latter half of the 18th century? *Or,*

"The Industrial Revolution had momentous consequences".

Or,

How did the Industrial Revolution affect the social and political life of the English people in the 19th century?

(P.U. 1953, 52, 46, 43, 36)

Meaning of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th Century. In the latter half of the 18th century remarkable inventions led to increased production and revolutionized the character of British industry. Machinery for spinning and weaving flax, wool and cotton was introduced. The power to drive these machines was obtained from rivers. Bowlton and Watt transformed the steam engine into an inexhaustible source of energy. The above changes combined with many other converted England, hitherto an agricultural country, into a manufacturing one. All these changes taken together are known by the term Industrial Revolution. "Its essence was the adoption of large-scale production by means of power-driven machinery in big factories, which could only be established and maintained by a large expenditure of capital, and only worked by organized gangs of wage-earning hands."

Causes of the Industrial Revolution

1. *Mechanical Inventions*

(a) Hargreave invented the Spinning Jenny in 1773. By it one could spin several threads at a time.

(b) Arkwright invented the Waterframe in 1773. This machine was driven by water and spinning was carried on by rollers.

(c) Crompton invented the Mule in 1779. This machine combined the principles of the Spinning Jenny and Waterframe.

(d) Cartwright invented a machine worked by steam in 1785.

(e) Watt, who had produced steam engine in 1760, improved it later on. Steam soon replaced water power in driving the new machinery.

(f) Stephenson invented the first Locomotive in 1814.

(g) Humphery Davy invented the safety lamp in 1815 for the use of miners. Without its use employment of the steam power was impossible.

These inventions threw million of people out of work. The machinery which substituted labourers cheapened and quickened the output of materials.

2. *Improvements in the Means of Transportation.* The necessity for carrying the enormous quantity of goods turned out by the factories called for better means of transportation. Foulton's steam boat "The Clarmont", the first of its kind, was launched in 1807. William Hedley constructed in 1873 a locomotive which worked fairly well. Stephenson perfected it.

The first canal in England was made by Brindley in 1758. By the end of the 18th century London. Bristol, Liverpool and Hull were connected by water. The second half of the 18th century saw vast improvement in roads. In 1814 John Macadam first disclosed his new method of making roads by spreading pieces of stone on the ground. which was soon adopted. Steamships were introduced which facilitated the task of carrying goods across the sea.

3. *Increased Demand for Manufactured Goods.* Increase of population at home and in the colonies necessitated an increase in the production of goods. The geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had opened up new markets in Asia and America. Machinery was found to be the most suitable for the production of goods demanded by those markets.

4. *Growth of the Iron Industry.* Great improvements were effected in the iron industry. Instead of charcoal, coke and coal began to be used for smelting iron. New methods of rolling and puddling iron were invented. The age of iron began. The year 1777 saw the first iron bridge and 1790 the first iron steamship.

5. *Peculiar Position of England.* England enjoyed a number of peculiar advantages and so the Industrial Revolution first took place in England. England had a vast colonial empire, a developed system of credit banking, a people trained in large-scale business, big iron mines and coalfields, easy access to her overseas markets by sea and certain other advantages and facilities.

Effects of Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution had momentous consequences. Some of them may be given as follows:

Industrial Effects. England became the leading manufacturing country of the world. She set up big cotton and woollen mills, cutlery factories, and big works for iron and steel goods. Goods were manufactured on a large scale and the manufacturers were anxious to find new markets for the consumption of such goods. British coal was supplied to all parts of the world and the British ships visited all corners of the globe.

Economic Effects. (i) The introduction of machinery took the work out of the hands of the people and destroyed the domestic system of industry. The factory system took the place of the old domestic system.

(ii) Competition in trade became keen, for the employment of machines to industry increased production enormously.

(iii) Many people who used to maintain themselves with manual labour were thrown out of work and their condition became extremely miserable. Small-scale manufacturers using old fashioned tools were driven out of the market by competition. Big capitalists became captains of industry and reaped good harvests.

(iv) The distribution of wealth became more unequal than before. The coffers of the wealthy were swelled and under them were working the starving under-paid millions. Society gradually became sharply divided into two hostile camps—the 'Haves' and 'Have-nots.'

(v) Before the Industrial Revolution the population was the densest in the South and East of England. With the growth of factories the population shifted towards the North and West where iron and coal were found in abundance. It resulted in the formation of new cities where factories had been set up.

Political Effects. (i) New seats of industry sprang up. This led to many parliamentary reforms afterwards. The cities of Northern England, which grew rapidly in size, demanded that they should not remain unrepresented in the English Parliament.

(ii) The welding together of different parts of the country by the railway, steam boat, and telegraph deepened the sense of national unity.

(iii) A keen struggle began between the capitalists and the workmen. The workmen who had to work in unhealthy workshops and for longer hours than before were oppressed by their masters and were not given the wages they demanded. The unscrupulous methods of cut-throat businessmen caused great suffering. They paid the labourers ridiculously poor wages. Unemployment, distress and poverty followed. It led to a struggle between capital and labour.

(iv) It made England a rich country and thus it was able to save Europe from Napoleon.

(v) The distress of the workmen under the factory system led to the Chartist Movement.

(vi) A new class of men known as socialists arose who demanded reform for the labourers and wanted to ameliorate their condition.

Social Effects. (i) Workmen had to work in factories which were at first poorly-ventilated and poorly-lighted and were extremely unhealthy. Woman and child labour was largely used because it was cheaper. They had also to work for long hours in dirty, insanitary and ill-ventilated factories. It led to the passing of many factory laws afterwards.

(ii) The increase in urban population on account of the shifting of labouring classes from rural to urban areas led to many social evils and diseases.

(iii) The labourers began to realise that their employers were becoming richer and richer by exploiting them, so they began to unite to improve their lot by forming Trade Unions and by other methods.

(iv) Widespread unemployment was another social effect of the Industrial Revolution, which raised a serious problem for the industrialised countries.

Intellectual Effects. The Industrial Revolution brought in a new philosophy of 'Individualism.' By it each individual was to be allowed to work out his own salvation, particularly in economic affairs. Competition grew up everywhere. Conservatism disappeared and Liberalism took its place. Old habits vanished and new ones came in their place. There was a great change in the mental horizon of the people on account of telegraphs, telephones and the newspapers. Old order changed and yielded place to new. There was development in the field of physical sciences.

Constitutional Effects. The system of local government had to be changed on account of the shifting of the population to new places which gradually developed into new towns. Political reform in the 9th century was mainly the outcome of the Industrial Revolution.

Q. Give a short account of the Agrarian Revolution in England in the 18th century. *Or,* (P.U. 1943, 39, 36)

What important changes were effected in agriculture and rural life in England during the 18th century? Indicate the chief social and economic results. *Or,*

What do you understand by the term, 'The Agrarian Revolution? What effect did it have on the social and economic life of England?

The Agrarian Revolution. A series of important improvements and changes in the methods of agriculture—the enclosure of land, the breed of sheep and cattle, manure and tools, reclamation of waste land, etc.,—which led to greater and better produce are said to have brought about in England the Agrarian or Agricultural Revolution towards the later part of the 18th century.

Agricultural Improvements and Changes. A series of improvements in agriculture brought about what is known as the Agrarian Revolution.

(i) Better tools were invented and farming was done more scientifically. The soil which was now tilled more quickly and thoroughly with the help of new tools produced more.

Jethro Tull invented a machine for sowing seed, which took the place of the human-sower, scattering seed from a basket. Tull's machine was called a *drill* and he described it in these words: 'It makes the channels, sows the seeds into them, and covers them at the same time, with great exactness and precision.'

(ii) The breed of sheep and cattle was improved. Bakewell produced a new breed of sheep which gave both wool and mutton and set an example to many others to improve their breeds of sheep and cattle.

The Leicestershire sheep bred by Bakewell were very fine animals. The new breed of sheep were two or even three times as heavy as the old. Charles Colling who followed Bakewell's methods succeeded in producing the Shorthorn breed of cattle, which are now famous all over the world.

(iii) Cultivation of turnips and clover was introduced and the system of rotation of crops was adopted. This increased the quantity and raised the quality of the produce of the soil.

Townshend adopted a new rotation of crops, still known as the Norfolk or four-course system. Under the old system, the farmer had to allow one-third of his land to lie fallow each year, since the soil would not bear corn crops more than two years running. Townshend proved that by planting turnips and clover, all the land could always be kept under cultivation; and further that the planting of the turnips and clover had beneficial effects on the soil. Townshend's rotation of crops was—turnips, barley or oats, clover, wheat. This system not only had the effect of improving the land but provided winter food for cattle, which meant fresh meat throughout the winter.

(iv) New forms of manure were discovered and improved methods of drainage were introduced, so that land was not to be left uncultivated for some time for regaining fertility. A scientific system of manuring removed defects of land and made it more productive by the use of certain chemicals.

(v) New artificial food for cattle stock was discovered.

(vi) Waste lands were reclaimed and made productive by enterprising landowners. Marshes were drained and thus more land became available for growing corn.

(vii) Areas of common land and open fields were permitted to be enclosed by individuals through Acts of Parliament and made productive. "The old fashioned open field system was renounced and the new system of 'Enclosures' took its place." All these causes led to the improvement of agriculture and there was enormous increase in production.

Attempts were made to protect English corn growers by passing in 1773 and again in 1791 Corn Laws which prohibited import of corn when price was below a certain amount.

Social and Economic Results. (i) The small farmers and yeomen free-holders, who held their own small estates, had not the capital for farming on a large scale with the help of the new scientific methods. Many of them, therefore, sold their lands to the large land owners and migrated to the new towns to work in factories. The countryside suffered a severe drain in man-power. The importance of the capitalists in agriculture increased.

(ii) Those with smaller holdings and the labourers suffered great hardship from the enclosure system. Now they could not graze their cattle on the common pasture on account of enclosures. The big landowners were prospering and having additional fields, and the smaller holders were gradually disappearing. A gulf was thus unconsciously opening between the mass of landless labourers and the capitalist farmers.

(iii) The poor rates increased in the country districts and many of the dispossessed workers migrated to the new industrial centres to get work there. This led to the practical disappearance of the yeomanry and other small free-holders many of whom sank to the position of labourers. The decrease in the population led to the growth of the rotten boroughs.

(iv) The wages of the landless labourers did not rise with prices and the high prices of corn meant starvation. To supplement their insufficient wages the system of granting allowances sprang up. Though humanitarian and well-meant in its origin "it kept wages from rising, encouraged thriftless marriages and dissolute living, discouraged industry and efficient work, destroyed self-respect and pauperised the poor."

Q. Sketch the career of John Wesley (1703—1791) and mention the importance of his work, (Methodism, Methodist Movement or Oxford Movement) and Evangelical Movement.

The Methodist Movement. Causes which necessitated some reform Movements. During the early part of the 18th century the condition of the people of England was deplorable-materially, morally and spiritually. Drunkenness, gambling, growth of fashions and formalities, immorality and corruption were common particularly among the upper classes. Religion was neglected. People lacked faith in the Church and had little idea of their obligations towards religion, country and humanity. Even the clergy were corrupt and sadly neglected their duties. It was the high time when reform was urgently needed and things would have gone from bad to worse if zealous reformers had not appeared to undertake such a responsible task.

John Wesley. John Wesley the founder of Methodism or Methodist Movement, was born in 1703, to a High Church clergy man, and a clever hard working mother who brought up her large family with unusual care and discipline. After taking his degree at Oxford, he stayed there as a Fellow of the Oxford University, and with his brother and a few friends formed a group whose members lived very strictly regulated, methodical and pure lives. They spent many hours every day in study, prayer and meditation, and visited the sick and the wretched inmates of prisons. John Wesley was the most earnest of this very serious society, and, like some zealous monk of the Middle Ages, he was constantly setting himself a stricter standard of picty and duty, and calling himself to account for every moment of the day. Wesley possessed immense physical and mental energy, a strong and masterful character and great powers of organisation.

"He was zealously aided by George Whitfield, a yet more distinguished preacher, whose stirring eloquence captivated thousands." The followers of the Methodist Movement were known as the Methodists because of the strictness and regularity of their lives. Some of the rules of their life were—to observe all church fasts and festivals, visit the sick and the prisoners and hold prayer-meetings once a week. Later on he went to Georgia as a minister and on his return after two years, he once more took up his work of reform. In 1739, he built the first of his chapels at Bristol, and thus laid the foundation of the regular Methodist Societies in London. The same year saw introduction of the system of open-air preaching which was adopted to carry the message of the Gospel to the people.

John Wesley, along with his colleagues, continued his work very vigorously. John and Whitfield worked very hard and delivered thousands of sermons to large audiences. During his long life Wesley is said to have travelled 250,000 miles on horse back and preached some 40,000 sermons. Their preaching produced a marvellous effect on all classes—the miners of the Cornwall, the soldiers in the army, the negroes in Georgia as well as a selection of fashionable society in London. Their activities, however, were not confined to England and Wales alone, they made tours across the Atlantic and in other lands.

John Wesley had no desire to found a distinct sect and throughout his life he remained a member of the Church of England. But gradually the Movement became independent of the Church because his teachings concerning sin and conversion were not liked by the Anglican Church. The chapels which he had built were meant as supplements to the parish church but gradually they became rivals. In 1784, John Wesley instituted the system of ordination of ministers and after his death his followers formed themselves into a separate organization. At the present time throughout the world, there are nearly fifty thousand preachers and nearly thirty million members belonging to the Wesleyan order.

John Wesley was not only the founder of a new religious organization, but he was also a great social reformer as well as a great religious thinker. It was mainly due to his influence and untiring efforts that the principles of kindness and humaneness, which became very prominent in the latter part of the eighteenth century were introduced in the English society. It was he again, who once more revived Christianity in England. A great French thinker, who visited England just after the succession of George I, was of opinion that there was no religion in England and there is no doubt that during the early years of the Hanoverian rule, England was lacking in religious activities and enthusiasm. It was Wesley who once more restored Christianity to England and largely reformed the life of the English people. "The larger sympathy of man with man especially marks the eighteenth century as a turning point in the history of the human race."

The Evangelical Movement. The movement was started at the end of the eighteenth century. It was a sort of a revival of the early Puritanism and therefore affected both the church and other non-conformist bodies. It produced no new church but by its activities made itself widely felt and did much to uplift the masses. "It founded missionary societies, the Bible Society, and the Sunday school system, and did much to promote the movement for the abolition of negro slavery."

Influence and Results of the Methodist Movement

Moral Reformation in England. 1. The mass of the people, who were abandoned by polite society to their own barbarous habits, were brought into touch with a more Christian and civilised life. Under the new influence, common people began to hate drunkenness, gambling, brutal sports such as cock-fighting, bear-baiting, box-matches, etc. The Methodist Movement had a wonderful civilising influence on the people of the age and a Church of England clergyman wrote about the Methodists: "Those indefatigable men have perseveringly taught, gradually reclaimed, and at length completely reformed, a large body of men, who, wihout their exertions, would still have been immersed in the deepest spiritual darkness, and the grossest moral turpitude."

It is rightly said that John Wesley's influence on the moral and religious life of the English people was as great as Pitt's was on the political life. "The Methodists roused many thousands to lead new, pious and rgulated lives and to give up sloth, bad habits and brutal vices to which they had been addicted. There was a change for the better in the lives of the people, particularly the poor and the low classes who were leading a life of moral degradation."

2. The influence of Wesley did not cease with his death. At the time of his death in 1791, he had sixty thousand followers in Great Britain, and had already ordained a number of Methodist ministers. To-day there are millions of Methodists, and the name of Wesley is honoured wherever English is spoken. So strongly did the wandering life of Wesley impress itself on the movement that Wesleyan ministers to-day must change their district every three years, and overseas, Wesleyan ministers are to be found in the loneliest parts of the world. But the burning eagerness to help outcasts by joyous preaching of the Gospel, as well as by practical sympathy, has become more the feature of that powerful modern offshoot of Wesleyanism, the Salvation Army.

3. The influence of Wesley and the Methodists did much to produce a kindly and humane feeling and to develop practical efforts to deal with poverty and misery. As a result of this, philanthropic movement and humanitarian reforms followed in the 19th century.

Wesley's influence left within the Church of England itself a strong body of "Evanglicals" who did much to produce a stronger sense of personal religion and to promote good works and philanthropic efforts. One of the best results, both of Methodism and Evangelicalism, was the growth of a more humane spirit and kindly feeling in English life, which led in time to the abolition of slave trade, freeing of slaves within the British Empire, reform of penal system and jails, improvement of the lot of the factory workers and working classes, removal of evil practices, etc.

A great historian thus writes about John Wesley, "He exercised a great influence on the life of his countrymen in the 18th century. He turned his attention to social questions and tried to deal effectively with the problem of poverty. He was, above all, a religious teacher. It is the imperishable story of John Wesley that he restored Christianity to its proper place as a living force in the personal creed of men and in the life of the nation."

CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGE IV (1820—30)

> *"There never was an individual less regretted by his fellow creatures than this deceased king."*
>
> —THE TIMES

George's Accession. In 1820, on his father's death George succeeded to the throne. He had already exercised the power of a monarch during the last nine years of his father's reign, for in 1810 George III had become quite insane. When the Prince Regent became King George IV, the change had no political significance and things went on exactly as before.

His Character. He was vain, selfish, pleasure-loving and idle. He had no care for the nation's prosperity but thought simply of the gratification of his personal desires. He was thoroughly a man of disreputable character and by this he lowered the position of the Crown in the estimation of his subjects. His life was shamefully evil, most unworthy of the head of a grea kingdom. His people had no love for him. "He was the next champion immoral king of England after Charles II."

The Cato Street Conspiracy. A month after the coronation of George IV, twenty-five men with Thistlewood as their leader hatched a plot to murder all the ministers at a dinner. The conspiracy was found out and those who took part in it were arrested. Four of the conspirators were executed and five transported for life.

Trial of Queen Caroline. Queen Caroline was neglected by her worthless husband George IV, and had been living abroad for six years. When she wished to take her place as Queen in 1820, the king made the ministers to bring in a Bill to dissolve the marriage. After a long trial the Bill was dropped, but the king refused to let Queen Caroline's name be read in the Church service. She, however, died a few days after.

Q. Describe briefly the reforms under George IV, or 'The reign of George IV opened the period of Reform' or "The Reaction was followed by a period of Reforms under George IV." Justify.

George IV's Reign a "Period of Reform." The period of distress which followed the Battle of Waterloo was over and so was the Tory Government. The Government adopted a changed and sympathetic attitude towards popular feelings and aspirations from the year 1822. The moderate Tories like Peel, Canning and Huskisson began a liberal policy and identified themselves with a number of reforms in all spheres of national life, thus creating an 'Epoch of Reform'. Some of the important reforms were briefly as follows:

Huskisson's Industrial and Commercial Reforms. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, inaugrated a new era in the commercial policy of the country. (1) He reduced the duties on many articles. (2) He repealed the Act making combination of workmen penal. (3) He also repealed the Navigation Act which closed the British harbours to ships of other countries. He made treaties with foreign Powers. Protection which had so long been the keynote of England's commercial policy was thrown out and tbe policy of reciprocity was introduced.

In 1827, Lord Liverpool retired. Canning formed a ministry. Peel, Wellington and the old Tories resigned. Canning, however, formed his own party, but he too died in 1827.

Canning was succeeded by Lord Goderich in 1827. He was simply incompetent for the post and resigned. In 1828, Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, assumed office. The old Tories came back to power. Peel became Home Secretary and the Leader of the Commons. Huskisson and other Canningites resigned and the Tories had their own way.

Peel's Reforms as Home Secretary.—Reform of the Criminal Law. At the beginning of the century there were no less than 200 crimes which could be punished by hanging. Any one, for instance, who stole fish out of a pond, who hunted in the king's forests, or who damaged Westminster Bridge was liable to be hanged. The House of Commons had again and again voted that men should no longer be put to death for such things, but the House of Lords had been obstinate. Peel insisted that milder punishment than death should be imposed on those who had been guilty of at least a hundred of these small crimes. The House of Lords gave way, and it became known that there was at least one man in the Government who could be trusted to make wise improvements.

Repeal of the Navigation Act of 1651. In 1815 the Navigation Act was repealed for America and then for Portugal. In 1823 the Act was totally repealed and other Acts were passed in the direction of free trade and this tended to increase English trade.

Labour Acts. In 1824, Labour Acts were passed by which the laws allowing a magistrate to fix the wages of labourers, and preventing workmen from travelling to different parts of the country for employment were repealed. An Act was passed by which combinations of masters and labourers solely for purposes of fixing wages were declared legal.

Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, (1828). At the instance of Lord John Russel, the Ministry of Wellington repealed the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and thus removed the disability of the Dissenters.

The Catholic Emancipation Act, (1829). Roman Catholics of the British Isles were suffering from certain serious disabilities, for instance they were not entitled to become members of Parliament nor could they hold any government post.

Pitt the Younger at the time of the passing of the Irish Act of Union had promised the Roman Catholics that he would remove the disabilities under which they laboured and raised their rights and status equal to those of the Protestants; but he could not fulfil the promise as George III was against giving them any rights. The Roman Catholics made up their mind to put up a tough fight to win equal rights with the Protestants. Accordingly in 1823, the Roman Catholic Association was formed to agitate for the removal of the Catholic disabilities. The new movement started under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, a clever and eloquent Irish barrister.

O'Connell was elected member for Clare, in 1828, but could not take his seat as he was a Catholic. There was great excitement in the country and civil war seemed imminent. The Duke of Wellington surveyed the situation most calmly and decided for a surrender. Peel and the King gave their consent. The Catholic Emancipation Bill was forced through the Parliament in 1829 with the aid of Whigs and Canningites. By it

1. The Catholics were allowed to sit in Parliament;

2. The Catholics could hold all offices except those of a Regent, Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;

3. The Catholic Association was dissolved:

4. The franchise was raised from 40 shillings freeholder to £ 10 holders.

With the passage of the Bill the Tory Party was shattered.

The Reform of Police, (1829). Another improvement of a different kind was effected by Peel. The detective police of London did not efficiently discharge their duty. Peel introduced much better policemen who were well-disciplined and the old inefficient policemen were dismissed. The example was afterwards imitated in the rest of England. The nickname of 'Peeler', which is sometime used for a policeman, is derived from Peel's surname and the other nickname of 'Bobby' from his Christian name Robert.

Jail Reform. The condition of jails in England had been very miserable for a long time. Diseases in jail were very common, for no attention was paid to the improvement of sanitary conditions. New and young offenders were put along with old and hardened criminals with the result that the character of the young offenders was spoiled. The treatment meted out to the prisoners was most inhuman and they were not let off from the jail unless they had satisfied the jailor by paying him the jailor's fees, despite orders for their immediate release.

John Howard, a great philanthropist, was shocked to see the miserable conditions prevailing in jails, and he devoted himself to the task of jail reform. He visited the jails in England and all over Europe and brought home to the people the necessity of improving jail conditions. By his propaganda, pamphlets and preachings, he was able to convince the people about the importance of showing a more humane treatment to the prisoners. After his death the noble work of jail reform was continued vigorously by an English lady, Elizabeth Fry. Influenced by the energetic efforts of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry the Government took steps to improve jails and the prisoners were soon much better than what they were a century back.

Q. Give a brief account of the Greek War of Independence (1821—1829).

Ans. The Greek War of Independence (1821—1829)

Causes. For nearly four centuries the Greeks had been a downtrodden race, subjected to various forms of cruelty and tyranny by the Turkish Government. The Christian subjects of the Sultan of Turkey were not prepared to tolerate any more his mis-government and oppression. Feelings of nationality among the Greeks had been roused by the "Association of Friends" and the Greeks were now determined to release themselves from the control of the oppressive rulers.

In their struggle for independence, the Greeks had the sympathy of George Canning, Lord Byron, and many other Englishmen, some of whom volunteered their services against the Turks.

Events. The Greeks fought heroically and continued their struggle for independence for more than five years. The Sultan of Turkey found the Greek revolt difficult to put down, and called in the aid of his vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet Ali sent his army to Morea, the centre of the Greek revolt, and a war of extermination commenced, whereupon Canning brought about a coalition between England, Russia and France to interfere in order to end the struggle between the Turks and the Greeks. The Turks refused to accept a truce as proposed by the allied Powers. At the refusal of the Turks the allied fleets of England, Russia and France destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian fleets at the Battle of Navarino in 1827.

Results. The victory at the Battle of Navarino in 1827 practically secured the independence of Greece. Two years afterwards, the Sultan of Turkey was compelled to grant complete independence to Greece by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829.

Q. (a). Give a clear estimate of the Domestic and Foreign Policies of Canning. *Or,*

"Canning merely continued on the road indicated by his predecessor (Castlereagh)". How far is this a correct estimate of the foreign policy of Canning? *Or,*

(P.U. 1958, 55, 49)

Compare and contrast the foreign policy of Castlereagh and Canning. *Or,*

"The accession of Canning to the Foreign Office was an event

of real significance alike for England and for Europe." Discuss.
(P.U. 1953, 50)

Castlereagh controlled the foreign policy in the Ministry of Lord Liverpool from 1812 to 1822. Castlereagh committed suicide in a fit of depression in 1822 when Lord Liverpool selected Canning as Foreign Secretary. Canning was a great force in the House of Commons by virtue of his great ability as a practical statesman, his eloquence and his forceful personality.

Canning's Domestic Policy. Canning belonged to the liberal and enlightened section of the Tory party. He had much in common with the Whigs and his followers, the Canningites were afterwards merged in the Whig party. He very well understood the needs of the suffering people and was in perfect sympathy with them. He gave full support to the commercial measures of Huskisson and to Catholic Emancipation but he was opposed to Parliamentary reform. He thus stood "half-way between the new and the old." Like Peel and Huskisson—Tories of the liberal school of thought, Canning abandoned the old unintelligent reactionary policy in favour of one of moderate reform.

Canning's Foreign Policy.—Its Principles. (1) Canning intensely loved his country and his constant anxiety was to safeguard the interests of England and keep peace. He wanted to keep England aloof from continental complications and to follow the principle of 'non-intervention.' He held that each country should have perfect freedom to manage its own affairs without any external interference. But he favoured intervention in continental affairs when the interests of England required it. In his foreign policy, he had in fact but one thing in view—the interests of Great Britain. (2) In consonance with the more democratic and inquisitive spirit of the age, unlike his predecessor Castlereagh, he loved to appeal not only to the House of Commons but to the people at large. Foreign affairs were no longer a mystery and they began to be published. (3) He introduced an element of more active opposition to the reactionary parties on the continent and acted as the friend of freedom and national rights in certain cases.

Holly Alliance. The rulers of Russia, Austria, Prussia and Spain formed the Holy Alliance apparently to maintain world peace by promoting goodwill and better understanding between nations but in fact their object in forming this Alliance was to aid one another in repressing the growth of republicanism and demands for political reform in their own territories and also in those of their neighbours. They wanted to put down ruthlessly all democratic and national movement and suppress liberty in all its forms. Britain was asked to join, but she refused to countenance the Alliance. Canning set his face against the Holy Alliance and emphatically protested against the policy of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries which the Holy Alliance had adopted.

Spain. Austria and France were commissioned by the Holy Alliance to suppress agitation for constitutional reform in Spain by force of arms. Canning protected Spain. The great historian Davies writes, "The English statesman George Canning had predicted that Napoleon would eventually be defeated by a war of nations, and that this war of nations would start in Spain. His prediction was amply verified."

Spanish Colonies. The Holy Alliance wanted to aid Spain in putting down the risings in the Spanish-American colonies against Spain but Britain prevented France and the Holy Alliance from suppressing the independence of the Spanish Colonies.

Fortified by the strong support of the American President Monroe, he recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies in America." With justifiable pride he could say, "I called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old," for it was with help from British volunteers that Spanish-American Colonies managed to break away from the mother country and set up independent republics.

Greece. In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt against the Turkish masters. Canning's policy was to stand aside and allow the Greeks to fight out their cause. But when the combined forces of the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt were crushing Greek resistance, Canning changed his mind and sided with France and Russia for the protection of the Greeks. With the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at the Battle of Navarino, Greek independence was practically secured.

Portugal. Canning prevented France and Spain from interfering with the newly-formed constitutional government of Portugal.

Government by Congress. Canning also objected to the government of Europe by Congress, as favoured by the despotic powers.

Foreign Prestige of England. Under Canning British influence was used to promote constitutional government throughout Europe. Ordinarily England was against interference in the affairs of Europe, but when it did interfere, it did so with commanding force. Under Canning England was supreme over the whole continent and it owed its foreign prestige to him.

(b) *How far Canning continued on a Road indicated by Castlereagh.* This is true that England owed her foreign prestige to both Castlereagh and Canning but one cannot altogether admit the truth of the statement that "Canning merely continued on a road indicated by his predecessor (Castlereagh)". Of course Canning followed the foreign policy as set by his predecessor Castlereagh but not in the same spirit, on his becoming Foreign Secretary in 1822, Canning began a new liberal foreign policy. A comparison and contrast of the foreign policy as pursued by them will enable us to judge for ourselves the extent to which Canning continued on a road indicated by Castlereagh.

How they agreed and disagreed with each other or salient points in the comparison and contrast of the foreign policy of Canning and Castlereagh.

1. Both were the political disciples of Pitt; but they differed with each other on some of the important issues of the time. No doubt

Canning was a Tory, but he belonged to the liberal section of the Tories. Once the personal relations between them were so much strained that Canning thought of accepting a responsible post in India. Canning was about to embark as Governor-General of India when he heard of the suicide committed by Castlereagh. On his death Canning became Foreign Secretary in 1822.

2. Both were opposed to the policy of the Holy Alliance but Canning was its stronger opponent. The Holy Alliance formed between Russia, Prussia and Austria apparently declared that its object was to keep peace in Europe and maintain good understanding between the nations of Europe, but in fact it aimed at putting down every constitutional agitation and struggle for popular rights and liberty in any country including their own. Truly speaking, it wanted to continue despotism and suppress aspirations of the people. Whereas Castlereagh simply kept aloof from the Holy Alliance, Canning condemned its policy in strong words and opposed its unholy activities, with all the force at his command.

3. Both adopted the policy of 'non-intervention' but Canning interpreted it in his own way and applied it to his own satisfaction. He was of opinion that ordinarily England would not interfere in the affairs of other nations, but she may have to interfere in the end when the parties concerned could not come to an amicable settlement and the war became inevitable. Moreover, if England interfered at all, she must do so with a commanding force; she must be supreme over the whole continent, and any association of European powers that offered a menace to this supremacy, must be suppressed.

4. Castlereagh was in favour of holding periodical congresses in Europe in order to resolve the differences of parties and create better understanding between nations, but Canning did not countenance the idea. He was strongly against intervention in the affairs of other States. Canning wanted that each country should manage its own affairs without interference of any outside influence. His motto was. "Every nation to itsef, and God for us all."

5. Canning was more particular about the 'interest of Great Britain than Castlereagh. In his foreign policy he had always one thing in view and which he could not forget—that was his care for Great Britain. His constant anxiety was to keep Great Britain aloof from Euopean politics and protect its interests at all costs. He wanted to make England strong and supreme on the continent, but he would like to use its strength and influence to promote constitutionalism against despotism.

CHAPTER XXV

WILLIAM IV—THE SAILOR KING (1830—37)

> *"The House is not the representative of the people of Great Britain, it is the representation of nominal boroughs of ruined and exterminated towns of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."*
>
> —THE YOUNGER PITT

His Accession. George IV was succeeded by his brother William IV, a rough sailor-king. The year of his accession was a momentous one in Europe. It was a year of revolutions in the West. Charles of France was driven from the throne, and Louis Phillip was made a constitutional monarch. The Belgians rose against the Dutch. Thus the vain dream of the powers who met in the Congress at Vienna to make a final settlement of Europe was totally frustrated. The Poles whose country had long been divided by Austria, Prussia and Russia rose in rebellion. Thus the year 1830 was a year of revolutions and the revolts, and full of great political significance.

His Character. He was a simple and homely man. He was easy-going, good-natured and well-meaning. He had been a sailor and had passed through all the grades of the service. He was genial in his ways and very popular with his subjects. Unlike his brother George, he was a man of upright character and plain manners.

Q. Review the causes that brought the question of parliamentary reform to the forefront in the early thirties. Trace the progress of the Reform Bill of 1832 and give its main provisions and basic principles. *Or,*

Discuss the evils existing in the pre-reform electoral system and show how far they were removed by the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867. *Or,* (D.U. 1953, 55; P.U. 1954, 58)

Give a brief account of the Movement for Parliamentary Reform which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832. How did this movement affect the balance of political power in Great Britain? (P.U. 1946, 44, 36)

Ans. The chief causes that brought forward the question of parliamentary reform or the defects of parliamentary system:—

1. *Parliament did not Represent the General Will of the People.* After the Revolution of 1688, Parliament became a sovereign body, no doubt, but it did not represent the general will of the people. The whole parliament was an organized oligarchy under the guise of election. Votes were purchased by paying very high prices. Hence such members, instead of representing the electors, pleased their pat-

rons by carrying out their wishes. The House of Commons was thus a most undemocratic body, as it did not represent the people. The House was controlled by the Crown and great landowners.

On one occasion the Younger Pitt rightly said, "The House is not the representative of the people of Great Britain; it is the representative of nominal boroughs of ruined and exterminated towns of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."

2. *Electoral changes had not kept pace with Economic Development.* Many ruined and insignificant boroughs continued returning members to Parliament, while the big commercial towns that had sprung up as the result of the Industrial Revolution, returned no members. Some old towns were reduced to mere hamlets and yet returned members whereas new towns and cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Halifax, etc., went unrepresented. Manufacturers, merchants, professional men and all who were leading the Industrial Revolution had no voice in the Government. There was, therefore, an urgent necessity of redistributing the seats.

3. *The System of Representation was not Satisfactory.* There was no uniformity of franchise, as for instance, in counties, forty shillings freeholders and a few other classes had the right of voting; in some boroughs the rate-payers were entitled to vote; in others only the hereditary freemen; in some only members of the town council had the right to vote. The system of franchise was therefore most inquitous and needed a thorough and immediate revision.

4. *The House of Commons was controlled by Great land-owners.* The great land-owners controlled the House of Commons by exerting direct influence over counties and indirect influence in boroughs. Bribery and corruption were rampant. Conditions were most disgraceful and overhauling of parliamentary system was badly needed.

The Younger Pitt once said, "The House is not the representative of the people of Great Britain, it is the representation of nominal boroughs of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates." It was stated in 1817 "that seats were bought and sold like tickets at the opera."

Progress of the Reform Bill or the Struggle over the Bill. In 1810 Lord Grey's Ministry came into power at once took up the matter of parliamentary reform. In 1831 Lord John Russel, a member of the ministry, introduced the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. He pointed out the faults of the old system, namely, the rotten boroughs returned members whereas large and populous towns such as Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, etc.. were unrepresented. The ministry proposed to take away the right of returning members from small boroughs and to give the seats, thus vacated, to large towns. The first Reform Bill was defeated in the House of Commons. After a general election it was introduced for the second time. It passed through the House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords. This led to a serious breach of peace and furious riots in different parts of the country. The King was urged to create new peers to defeat the 'opposition'. The 'opposition' itself yielded to the demands of the Reformers. The Reform Bill was introduced for the third time in 1832 and was passed.

Its Main Provisions (I). *Redistribution of Seats.* 1. All boroughs containing less han two thousand inhabitants were disfranchised and thus 111 seats were made vacant.

2. All boroughs with a population between 2,000 and 4,000 were to return only one member to the Parliament and thus 32 seats were made vacant.

In all 143 seats made vacant by disfranchising small boroughs were distributed among the large countries and towns which were not so far adequately represented.

(II) *Franchise.* 1. In boroughs any house-holder paying £10 and upwards got the franchise, i.e., the right of voting.

2. In counties, all who owned lands worth £ 10 a year or who paid a yearly rental of £ 50 for their holdings, were given the franchise.

The net result was the addition of some 455 thousand electors to the old, an addition which more than tripled the electorate. "Thus altogether 455,000 additional persons came on the list of voters." Before the passage of this Act there were only 160 thousand voters in the whole of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland with a population of 16 million.

The Tories were led to think that the Reform Act would revolutionise England, but in fact it was only a mild measure. In spite of the apparent increase in the number of voters, only one person out of 22 persons of the whole population of England had a vote. The real and great advantage of the Act was that the monopoly of the House of Commons held by the landlords was now broken through and the middle class got some political power. The political power began to be transferred from Aristocracy to Democracy. After the Act the number of voters rose to 615 thousand.

Basic Principle of the Act. The basic principles of this Act was to adjust the system of elections to the economic progress of the country as a result of the Industrial Revolution. That is why the Act abolished old and depopulated boroughs and created new and more populous ones. The Act also redistributed the seats made vacant on a just and sound principle. The conditions of franchise were sufficiently lowered so that all duly qualified persons could exercise the right of vote. The Act so far did not extend franchise to the labourers, but placed a part of the political power in the hands of the middle class.

Q. Give some account of the movement for the reform of Parliament which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832. How did this measure affect the balance of political power?

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Describe the effects and significance of the Reform Act

of 1832 and point out its defects and shortcomings. In what ways was it not a final settlement? *Or,*

How far did the Reform Act of 1832 make Great Britain a democratic country?

THE EFFECTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REFORM ACT

1. The Reform Act of 1832 transferred the political power from the lords and landowners to the middle class and thus broke down the monopoly of power so long exercised by the peers and the great land-owning class. It made Parliament democratic for the first time. It changed the balance of power in national politics. It was only the beginning of the transition of political power from aristocracy to democracy.

2. Uniformity of franchise in boroughs was introduced for the first time.

3. The House of Lords had its control weakened over the Lower House which became conscious of a new independence. Till the Reform Act of 1832 the House of Lords was definitely superior to the House of Commons and it exercised all sovereign power. The House of Commons was a subservient body, i.e., its members were nominated by the House of Lords and it simply gave its assent to all measures of the Upper House. But from 1832 the House of Commons became a true representative body of the nation.

4. On account of the change in their outlook, the Tories changed their names into Conservatives (holding old views with some modifications) and the Whigs turned Liberals (large-minded) to accommodate new changes. Thus the Act of 1832 brought a great change in the character of old parties—the Whigs and Tories.

5. The importance of the Reform Act lay not in what it actually did but what it ultimately brought about. The Bill did not bring in democracy but prepared the way for it. "Though it did not establish a democracy, it took a long step in that direction." The passage of the first Reform Act naturally led to the passing of the other Reform Bills.

6. The bond between the two Houses was broken and the harmony between them was disturbed by frequent collisions. The members of the House of Commons were drawn from the middle class which was now conscious of its constitutional rights.

7. "No law since the Bill of Rights is to be compared with this Act in importance." It weakened the influence of the Crown and the landed aristocracy, and increased the political power of the middle class, thereby inaugurating "the rule of the middle class." The Act was not the final word in the demand for Parliamentary reform. Its natural results were chartism and the further democratisation of the franchise.

Trevelyan calls the Reform Act of 1832 the "modern Magna Carta". It brought about a constitutional revolution in England.

The way the first Reform Act was passed clearly pointed out that sovereign power lay with the House of Commons and not with the House of Lords.

Shortcomings and character of the Reform Act. The Act was not a final settlement. It was not the sovereign remedy for all electoral and political ills.

1. The Reform Act was large in scope and was wisely conceived but failed to satisfy the working classes. The Act did not give the right of vote to labourers and to the poor middle class. The average ratio of voters to the whole population of Great Britain was about one to thirty. Complete democracy was brought about by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 and then by the 4th and 5th Reform Acts of 1918 and 1928.

2. The Reform Act led to the development of a new movement known as Chartism, for the Act gave a rude shock to the hopes of the labourers and artisans and fell short of their political aspirations. The Act was not a final settlement. It was not the sovereign remedy of all electoral and political ills.

3. The Act broke the principle of aristocracy though it failed to establish democracy in the country in the real sense. It only marked the beginning of the transition of political power from aristocracy to democracy and could not go beyond that.

4. The Act failed to secure representation for minorities.

"The Reform Act of 1832 marked a revolution in English History, but a revolution of a very English kind".

The Reform Act of 1832 in English history, was a revolution as it transferred political power from the landed aristocracy to the mercantile and middle class elements. But, unlike the European revolutions, it was not attended with violence and bloodshed. On the contrary, it was passed by constitutional means, and was loyally accepted and put into effect by the whole people, both those who had resisted it and those who had pressed for it by every means constitutional. Again, the Reform Act was not a very democratic measure; it destroyed, no doubt, the monopoly of political power by the landed aristocracy and forced them to give a share of it to the middle classes; but the franchise was still beyond the reach of artisans and agricultural labourers.

In that the Act transferred political power from the aristocracy and the great land-owners to the middle classes, the traders and the manufacturers, it was a great revolution in the constitutional history of England. But it must be clearly borne in mind that it brought no new change of principle. Only the evils and abuses (bribery, inequality of representation, etc., etc.) were removed and the system of representation was reformed. There was nothing new but the old principles were adapted to new circumstances. The franchise was broadened but the landed gentry and wealthy classes still dominated the Parliament. Hence, like other English revolutions, it was conservative in character and of a very English kind. It is, therefore, rightly said that, "the Reform Act of 1832 marked a revolution in English history, but a revolution of a very English kind."

Q. Give an account of the reforms or beneficial measures that were carried out in the reign of William IV or the work of the First Reform Parliament. *Or,*

Describe the principal measures of social and economic amelioration adopted after passing of the first Reform Act. *Or,*

Give a brief account of the social and economic reforms in England in the first half of the 19th century. (P.U. 1952)

(The Question means that we should describe the reforms of the reigns of George IV and William IV). The period of reforms which opened in the reign of George IV, continued during the reign of William IV, and during the seven years' time many useful reforms and beneficial measures were passed. Some of them may be noted as follows:—

(i) *Parliamentary Reforms,* 1832. The first Reform Act of 1832 deprived the deserted areas of the right of representation and gave it to the new populous towns that had sprung up as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The system of franchise was improved and defects in the system of election were removed. The number of voters immensely increased and Parliament became more representative than before. The political power was transferred from the rich landlords to the middle classes and thus the centre of gravity in politics was completely changed. The monopoly of political power till now enjoyed by the land-owners was broken. The Act established the principle that the nation was empowered to change the constitution according to its needs. (For more details, see previous Answer).

(ii) *Social Reform: Abolition of Slavery.* Perhaps the noblest achievement of the eighteenth century was the movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade. Africa was a slave market for Europe since Roman times. In Elizabethan days, the English seamen, led by John Hawkins, began to carry on a lucrative slave trade between Africa and West Indies or Southern States of America. "Negroes were captured from the west coast of Africa and taken to Europe and America to be sold as slaves. This was very inhuman as they were treated like animals." This trade had become more than hundred years old when Pitt came to power and Britain had the greatest share of it. In 1787 there was formed a society for the suppression of the 'Slave Trade.' The two most prominent members of this society were *Thomas Clarkson* and ***William Wilberforce***, a prominent member of Parliament and a friend of Pitt the Younger. The British merchants resisted abolition of *Slave Trade* and the House of Commons could pass no Bill. But the increasing exertion of Wilberforce and Clarkson in rousing the public conscience to the bestial nature of the trade ensured the ultimate success of the movement. In 1807, the Abolition Act ended the British slave trade. In 1833 Great Britain went a step further and prohibited slavery in British dominions. To compensate the loss sustained by the British planters in West Indies and in other overseas regions a sum of £ 20 million was voted to them by the British Parliament. At the same time, the slaves were to work as apprentices to their old masters for a definite period. But the apprentice system was a sad failure and led to the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1838.

(iii) *Poor Law Reforms.* The Poor Law had been there since the time of Elizabeth but no distinction was made between the able-bodied and the disabled and grants were made to supplement wages. The Poor Law Reform Act of 1834 provided that in future no outdoor relief should be given to any but the aged and the infirm. The able-bodied persons must go to work-houses to earn relief.

(iv) *Municipal Reforms.* The towns were in a bad condition. Essential functions such as street-cleaning, drainage and lighting were performed by special bodies set up by Local Acts of Parliament. The sanitary condition in towns was generally injurious to health and morals. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 set up elected municipalities in every town of a certain size, with powers to raise rates. This gave a chance to public-spirited men to render public service and things very much improved.

(v) *Judicial Reforms.* In 1833, Parliament established the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which eventually became the central court of appeal for the whole Empire. It reformed the land laws.

(vi) *Education.* In 1833, Government made grants to societies which were maintaining elementary schools. In 1839, the grants were increased and a Committee of the Privy Council was set up to administer them with a staff of inspectors. This was the beginning of national education.

(vii) *Factory Legislation.* In 1833 was passed the Factory Act on the initiative of Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury). It prohibited the employment of children under nine and reduced the hours of work to nine a day. Inspectors were appointed to go round the factories and see that the new rules were adhered to.

Q. Discuss the chief humanitarian measures carried out in England during the first half of the 19th century.

The chief humanitarian measures that were carried out in the first half of the 19th century were Jail Reform, Abolition of Slavery, Poor Law Reforms, Education, Factory Legislation, Penal Code, Public Health Act, Mines Act. (For details please consult previous Answer).

CHAPTER XXVI

QUEEN VICTORIA (1837—1901)

> *"The Victorian Age was a century of hope. It was also an era of crowded activity in political, economic, social and intellectual sphere."*

Her Accession. George IV and William IV having no heir, Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent (fourth son of George III), became Queen of England. She was the only daughter of Edward, the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III. She was born in 1819 and her father died when she was only eight months old.

When Victoria succeeded to the throne of England, Hanover separated from England as the laws of Hanover required a male heir to the throne. The Duke of Cumberland, the Queen's uncle, became King of Hanover.

Her Marriage. In 1840, Victoria married her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe Coberg. 'The Prince Consort', as he was called, possessed very high character and noble ideas and proved a faithful friend and useful adviser of the Queen. He was never ambitious of power and served England to the best of his capacity.

Her Character. She was self-reliant and conscientious, thoughtful for others and strict in the performance of duty. As a ruler, she was just and sympathetic. She showed rare courage and discretion and made herself popular by her modest and dignified manners. She never lost faith in herself and faced all difficulties and problems with a brave heart.

In spite of her masterful personality and strong will, her rule was constitutional. She possessed great political knowledge. Her mind was as energetic as her body. Her strength of character and her strong sense of duty won for monarchy the affections and respect of her people. She had been carefully and wisely educated for the high station which awaited her. As such she was able to devote her full attention and energy to the task of administration and take a lively interest in it. She was a typical constitutional monarch. She never swerved from the path of duty and virtue.

Queen Victoria a typical Constitutional Sovereign. Lord Melbourne, even in her early years, had instructed Victoria in the duties of a constitutional ruler. Throughout her long reign of sixty-three years Queen Victora admirably played the role of a constitutional head of the government. It is said of her reign that "for the first time in England's history the theory of limited monarchy was translated into fact". The statement means that Queen Victoria was the first sovereign of England who behaved as a constitutional monarch in the real sense of the term. This is true that her predecessors were constitutional sovereigns but they were not as much constitutional as Queen Victoria proved herself to be.

The Glorious Revolution had placed strong restrictions on the powers of the Crown but its ancient prerogatives were still retained to a certain extent. As for instance George III ousted the Whigs from power and he governed without party making the Cabinet a mere instrument of the royal will and Parliament the pensioner of the royal bounty. George III thus acted more as a party leader than as a constitutional sovereign. In the same way William IV ousted his Whig ministers in 1804 for the simple reasons that their views on certain issues were different from those of his.

Queen Victoria, however, had a different conception of her duties as a constitutional ruler. She never looked upon herself as the head of a political party, but she discharged her duties by acting with the advice of her responsible ministers and never tried to assert herself by setting aside their decisions. She was intelligent enough to form her independent opinions on the right lines but she never enforced her views on others. She never defied popular wishes or disregarded the advice of her ministers.

Again, she exerted her utmost influence for all healthy and constructive purposes. She would bring party differences to a minimum by her intervention. She also put in her best efforts to make up the differences between the two Houses of Parliament as she did in the Reform Bill of 1884.

Most simple and unassuming, she played the role of a sovereign who remains within the limits of law, scrupulously observes the legal retraints and acts in the most constitutional and constructive manner, never forgetting that the well-being of her subjects was her most sacred charge. In foreign affairs, particularly, her close family connections with most of the crowned heads of Europe, enabled her to exercise a very healthy and moderating influence in the foreign policy of her Cabinets.

Her faithful devotion to duty, her extreme purity and nobility had won for her the affection and respect of her subjects and of all those persons who came into contact with her.

"She passed away without an enemy in the world; for even those who loved not England, loved her." (Balfour). She will always be remembered by her countrymen as an excellent sovereign, as an admirable constitutional ruler and as the best benefactor of mankind.

Q. Give a brief account of the Ministry of Lord Melbourne (1834—1841).

LORD MELBOURNE

The Melbourne Ministry. After the resignation of Earl Grey in 1834, Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister for the first time. In November of the same year the King, whose sympathy with the Whigs had declined, dismissed Lord Melbourne and asked the Duke of Wellington to form a ministry. On the advice of the Duke, Sir Robert

Peel was made Prime Minister. Although in an appeal to the country the new Conservative party gained one hundred seats, the Whigs still had a majority. After being in office for four months, Peel was forced to resign, and Lord Melbourne again became Prime Minister. The following measures of reform mark the second Melbourne Ministry:—

(i) *The Municipal Corporation Act,* 1835. The Government of the towns and cities of the country was in the hands of small, and often corrupt corporations. The members of the governing bodies retained their position for life, and when a vacancy occurred it was often filled by the remaining members from among their own friends. Moreover, the proceedings of the corporations were kept secret, and the townspeople knew nothing how the money collected by the corporation was spent. The municipal corporations were, in fact, as corrupt as the House of Commons had been before 1832, but the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835 effectively purified municipal administration. The Act provided that, with the exception of the Corporation of London, the members of Town Councils should be elected by the rate-payers, that the aldermen should be chosen by the councillors, and that corporation should publish accounts showing how the public money had been spent.

(ii) *The Marriage Act,* 1836. In 1836 a Marriage Act was passed to allow marriages to be performed in Non-conformist places of worship or before the Registrar of the district, and this was followed by an Act for the General Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths.

(iii) *Penny Postage System,* 1839. His other important measure was the introduction of a uniform penny postage system. Before this the postage on letters was high and varied according to distance. At the suggestion of Rowland Hill, the ministry of Lord Melbourne adopted a uniform system of penny postage throughout Great Britain in 1839. This was highly appreciated by the people who looked upon the system as a great boon.

(iv) *His Irish Policy and Measures of Relief,* 1839. Early in the reign of Victoria the Government of Melbourne passed small measures of relief for the Irish. A Tithe Act was passed which provided that henceforth the landlords and not the tenants were to pay tithes. A Poor Law was passed which gave some relief to the starving Irish.

Palmerston was the Foreign Minister under him. He followed a bold and forward policy and involved England in war with Afghanistan and China. Melbourne possessed neither ability nor strength of will as a politician. However, he gave a careful and tactful training to Queen Victoria in the task of administration. He regarded her with paternal fondness and led the girl Queen through the mysteries of her manifold monarchical duties.

After the fall of the easy-going Melbourne Ministry, Peel the leader of the Tory formed the Cabinet.

Q. Attempt a brief account of the Chartist Movement or

Chartism. Why did the Movement fail? What was the significance of the Movement? *Or,*

Discuss the nature and consequences of the Chartist Movement in Great Britain. *Or,*

Q. Write a short essay on the Chartist Movement.

The Chartist Movement. The Chartist Movement or Agitation was started just after the Reform Act of 1832 and continued up to 1850. It began seriously in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. "Chartism was an attempt to remedy the social and economic evils by changing the character of Parliament and by giving to the working classes the rights that the Reform Act of 1832 had given to the middle classes." It aimed at a complete change of the social and political order. Its supporters were divided into Physical Force and Moral Force Chartists. The former believed in violent action, in the immediate declaration of a general strike and the arming of the masses. The latter hoped to persuade the government by the method of peaceful agitation and educating public opinion.

Causes

Social and Economic Causes. The Industrial Revolution had brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people. The working classes had been most adversely effected. Many labourers were thrown out of work on account of the introduction of machinery. Keen competition greatly reduced their wages which scarcely reached subsistence level. The Corn Laws put heavy duties on imported wheat and thus price of bread rose high. The miseries of working classes knew no bounds. They were overworked, ill paid, ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-housed. Thus from social and economic point of view the working classes had serious grievances which ultimately found vent in Chartism or Chartist Agitation.

Political Causes. The Reform Act of 1832 gave political power to the middle classes only and neglected the interests of the working classes. The working classes had no franchise, no representation, no political power in spite of their full share in the agitation which resulted in the passage of the First Reform Act, 1832. They knew that political power given to the middle classes by the First Reform Act had very much improved their condition, they thus naturally believed that if they wanted to improve their condition, they must have political power. They looked upon political power as the only remedy of all their evils. The distressed and discontented labourers and artisans organised themselves into a league under the leadership of Lovett and Feargus O'Connor and drew up a programme setting forth their demands called the People's Charter. Working-men's associations, social societies and clubs all began taking interest in the new agitation.

Demands. The chief demands of the Charter were six in number, *viz.*, (1) universal man suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual Parliaments, (4) abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, (5) payment to members of Parliament, and (6) equal electoral districts. Their popular rhyme demanded: "Eight hours for work, eight hours for play, eight hours for sleep and eight shillings a day"!

In 1839, the extremist Chartists, called the Physical Force Body, held large meetings and organised riots. The movement lasted for ten years (1838—1848) and it had periods of quiet followed by those of activity. The movement was revived in 1848, owing to the great revolutions all over Europe. Now its leader was an able Irishman and orator named O'Connor. He prepared a huge petition containing more than five and a half million signatures, but on a closer examination by the Government, the petition was found to contain more than half fictitious signatures. The Chartist Movement was thus greatly discredited and gradually died out.

Reasons for the apparent failure of the Movement. 1. Those who supported the Charter thought that as the acquisition of political power had enabled the middle classes to redress their grievances, the working class would in like way be able to redress theirs. They did not recognize the unfortunate truth that the working class still needed the political education without which political power was dangerous even to those who exercised it.

2. The Chartists were divided amongst themselves on account of certain differences. The Irish leader, O'Connor, tried to bring them closer by sinking their differences but his efforts failed. The movement, therefore, could not win popular sympathy and support.

3. When it was discovered that the petition of the Chartists contained more than halfforged signatures, the movement lost its moral force and brought discredit to its leaders.

4. The movement could not win the sympathy of the whole nation and inspire general confidence because it was organized only by interested groups of leaders.

5. Its demands were too premature at that time and hence failed to create national interest and appeal to popular imagination.

Consequences. Though Chartism, judged by its immediate result, was a failure and died a natural death, but the objects for which the Chartists fought were secured by other agencies. Suffering was considerably done away with by the better administration of Poor Laws, the cheapness of food was brought about by the repeal of the Corn Laws, by the growth of trade, by Factory Acts and the improvements of sanitation. Of the 'six points' all except annual Parliaments have since become a part of the law of the land. *Universal manhood suffrage* required four Acts—1867 (all town householders), 1884 (all country householders), and 1918 and 1928 (all other adult males and females). *Vote by ballot* was achieved by the Ballot Act of 1872. *Property Qualification for M.P.'s was abolished in* 1858. *Payment of M.P.'s* dates from 1911. *Equal Electoral District* was granted in 1885.

Significance of the Movement. The Movement though apparently not so successful in fact prepared the way for future constitutional reforms. Gradually all the demands of Chartists were fulfilled. Most of the original demands of the Chartists were secured in course of time. Chartism gave a great impetus to the democratic movement towards the close of the 19th century. It was mainly due to the influence of this movement that John Stuart Mill. Christian Socialists, Disraeli and many other reformers took up the cause of the rights of the people working in factories and removal of injustice done to the labourers by the capitalists. Regarding the movement Carlyle wrote, "The matter of Chartism is weighty. deep-rooted. far extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end to-day or tomorrow."

NOTE ON CORN LAWS

Corn Laws. In 1815 Corn Laws were passed by which a heavy duty was imposed on imported corn. The object was to protect the wheat growers of England so that they might not suffer loss by selling their corn cheaper. The Corn Laws helped to restrict the import of foreign corn and thus the price of bread went high. As a consequence poor men suffered much and there was great discontent in the country, as the British landlords had the monopoly of the market at the cost of the common people. The people at last decided to have the Corn Laws repealed for there was no other way to lessen their sufferings.

Anti-Corn Law League. In 1831, a big meeting was held in Manchester. and an association was formed to press the Government to take the duties of foreign corn. This was the beginning of the Anti-Corn Law League. Its leaders were Richard Cobden and John Bright. They organised meetings, circulated pamphlets and carried on agitation with great energy telling the people how unjust the Corn Laws were to the poor. The object of the League was to get the Corn Laws repealed so that the poor people might have cheap bread. Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, felt the force of this agitation and modified the Corn Law in such a way that the duty of foreign corn was to vary according as the price of the home-grown corn went up or down. But this failed to satisfy the leaders of the agitation for its total repeal was the only alternative to give the poor people cheap bread.

Repeal of the Corn Law. In 1845 the potato crop in Ireland failed and there was a terrible famine, for the potato was the staple food of the Irish. To save the starving millions, Peel managed to have the Corn Laws repealed on June 25. 1846. and thus free trade in corn was established in England.

SIR ROBERT PEEL (1788—1850)

Describe the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel with particular reference to his Financial reforms, Home, Foreign and Irish Policy. What is your estimate of Peel's work and achievement?

(P.U. 1958, 1955, 1944, 1941)

Peel's Political Career. Robert Peel, the son of a wealthy Lancashire spinner, was born in 1788. He graduated at Oxford in 1808 and entered Parliament as a Tory in 1809. He soon made his mark by his immense power of work and clearness of intellect. In 1811, he became Under-Secretary for Colonies and served as Irish Secretary under Liverpool from 1812 to 1818. In 1822 he became Home Secretary and in 1828, the leader of the House of Commons. He became Prime Minister for the first time in December, 1834, and remained in office up to April, 1835. His second Ministry which was a period of great administration began in 1841 and lasted till 1846.

His Political Views. He entered Parliament as a Tory, but he never adhered rigidly to the opinions once formed and allowed them to change if circumstances so required. His mind was always open to conviction and he cared more for the interests of his country than for the principles of his party. He reconstructed his party on a more liberal basis and introduced a new conception of Toryism which later on became known as Conservatism. "He offered a programme of good government, sound finance, moderate reform, and the preservation of the existing constitution in Church and State." Peel showed that he was a liberal Tory when he whole-heartedly accepted the first Reform Act of 1832. He was the first statesman to realize that if Toryism was to survive, it must adapt itself to the changed political and economic structure of the country.

Peel was not a Tory of the old School and instead of surrendering himself to the doctrines and theories he tried to understand the facts clearly. His was not the party of resistance but that of reconstruction. He was not at all reactionary of the old Tory school. It was for his liberal Tory views and his strong and sound commonsense in understanding and dealing with the problems of the time that "Peel was the most characteristically British of the 19th century statesmen."

PEEL'S ADMINISTRATIVE AND FISCAL REFORMS

Peel's Reforms as Home Secretary.—(i) *Reform of Criminal Law.* He reformed the Criminal Code and relaxed its barbarous severity. There were about two hundred offences for which the sentence of death could be legally inflicted. He reduced the number of such offences and thus liberalized and humanized the old criminal law by legal measures. By his humane spirit the English law was greatly purged of its savagery.

(ii) *Repeal of the Navigation Act.* In 1823, the Navigation Act was totally repealed and other Acts were passed in the direction of free trade which resulted in increasing the trade of the country.

(iii) *Passing of the Labour Acts.* In 1824, some Labour Acts were passed to give more facilities to labourers and making combination of masters and labourers solely for purposes of fixing legal wages.

(iv) *The Reform of Police.* The London police was organised and policemen were required to observe better discipline and to have a better sense of duty and responsibility. He abolished the much hated internal espionage system which was often used by the government in those days.

(v) *Judicial Reform.* Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was set up as the final court of appeal for the whole Empire.

(vi) *The Catholic Emancipation Bill*. This was passed in 1829 by which the Catholics were entitled to equal rights with the Protestants except that they could not be Regent, Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant for Ireland and the objectionable oath was replaced by a declaration of loyalty. Here Peel acted against his own conviction and betrayed his party (for the Tories did not approve of Emancipation). For this betrayal many have blamed Peel but it must be said to his credit that he acted wisely and in the true interests of his country.

Peel as Prime Minister

His First Ministry. He was Premier for the first time from December 1834 to April 1835 and before he could achieve any reform, he had to resign after his "Hundred Days" of power and the Whigs returned to office with Lord Melbourne as Premier.

His Second Ministry, 1841—1846. As Prime Minister, he was the undisputed leader of the great Conservative Party, and his Cabinet was exceptionally strong. He brought the Cabinet System to a height of perfection never equalled before or since. Under him the Cabinet worked as a team, and its collective responsibility was a reality.

His Home Policy and his Fiscal (Financial) Reforms: *Peel's greatness at Home*. It is Peel's fiscal reforms or financial measures that have been considered as his supreme achievement and they formed his main contribution to the work of national reconstruction.

(i) *Peel's Budget of* 1842—1845. The first object of Peel's attention was the reorganization of the national finance. In these budgets he proposed to decrease taxation, for he believed that a decrease in the duties would help to increase revenue and revive trade.

During his five years of office he reduced more than a thousand customs duties and abolished over six hundred. As a result of this the raw materials for manufactures were obtained far more cheaply and the cost of living was reduced.

Tax on the import of raw materials was very much reduced. Custom duties on other articles were revised and greatly reduced. Besides, he permitted the British machinery to be exported and the machinery became the most important part of the British trade for some time.

(ii) *Imposition of Income Tax*. He imposed an Income Tax of 7d. on £1 on all incomes over £150. This very much helped to put a stop to recurring deficits and lessened the burden of the customs duties.

(iii) *Reorganization of the Banking System*. He also reorganised the banking system by his Bank Charter Act of 1844. This Act limited the issue of Bank notes payable on demand and thereby placed the banking organisation on a sounder basis. Previously these notes were issued by the bankers with dangerous profusion. The restrictions on the issue of bank notes stabilized the currency system.

(iv) *The Repeal of Corn Laws.* There was a strong agitation in the country for the repeal of Corn Laws. To meet this agitation he devised the sliding scale of duties by which the duty on foreign corn varied according to the price of the home-grown corn. Many of his party members were against the repeal of Corn Laws and consequently they went over to the Opposition. But with the aid of a section of Whigs and Radicals, he managed to have the Corn Laws repealed on June 25, 1846. On the same day he was defeated on the Irish Coercion Bill and he resigned.

(v) *He Encouraged Free Trade. Victory of Free Trade.* When Peel came to power, England was under a protective system. During his regime Free Trade policy was gradually introduced. The income-tax (7d. on £1 on all incomes over £150) brought the Government so much of money that Peel was in a position to sweep away a vast number of duties upon imports and lower such duties in many other cases; whilst at the same time he put an entire end to all duties on exports. This policy led to the increase in trade which had previously suffered to a tremendous degree.

His budget of 1842 forms a prominent landmark in the history of free trade in England. The result of his measures was that manufactures were encourged and the cost of living was very much reduced in England. His next budgets too resulted in the further extension of free trade principles. His budgets and financial policy led to the repeal of corn-laws, made living cheap and stimulated commerce and industries.

Efficient Home Government. Peel took a personal interest in the administration of the country and was always in touch with all the departments of Government. He tried to bring in more efficiency in the administration of the country. His cabinet was equally vigilant and took keen interest in all problems of nation-wide importance. During his regime as Prime Minister, the cabinet developed 'collective responsibility' in the real sense.

(N.B. Peel's home policy and financial reforms have established his claim to greatness at home. It is thus truly said, "It is at home that Peel's greatness lies." Peel is essentially the minister of business classes).

Peel as a Financier. (See his financial reforms just mentioned).

Peel's Irish Policy. There was a strong agitation in Ireland for the repeal of the Union Law. The agitation was led by O'Connell who held large meetings to intensify the agitation. Peel faced the situation with a firm hand and appointed the Devon Commission to enquire into the grievances of the Irish people. In order to pacify the Irish, Peel increased the State-grant to the Catholic college of Maynooth and established three more colleges to give non-sectarian education to the Irish people, but all his measures failed to conciliate the Irish. The grievances of the Irish were mainly economic but Peel had failed to remove them. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 did not remove the discontent of the people, and they continued their agitation as before. The tenants became terrorist in their activities and resorted to murders and outrages. Peel brought in an Irish Coercion Bill but it was defeated and he resigned in 1846.

Peel's Foreign Policy. Peel wanted peace and his greatness as Prime Minister lay in peace. When he came to power, the outlook was gloomy abroad. England was at war with China, a rupture with Afghanistan seemed imminent and relations with France were no better. Moreover, England had a boundary dispute with the United States of America. Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Minister under Peel, was essentially a peace minister and was more anxious for peace than Palmerston, his predecessor. He gave up the aggressive policy of Palmerston, which had brought England almost to the brink of war. Friendly relations with France were restored and the boundary dispute with the United States was amicably settled. Thus all efforts were made to avoid war and to follow a policy of peace and conciliation.

Peel's Work and Achievements: An estimate of Peel.—A liberal Tory open to Conviction. Peel was one of the greatest Prime Ministers of England. He cared more for the interest of his countrymen than for his own principles or the principles of his party. He was a Tory but he was a Tory of the liberal type and always open to conviction. His great anxiety was to improve national finance and the economic condition of the people. He dealt with financial questions very ably and successfully and set the national finance in order.

Stabilised Currency. In 1819 as Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Currency, he arranged the return to cash payments by the Bank of England, suspended during the war. This stabilisation of currency did much to end the post-war slump.

Reformed Criminal Code. During 1822—1827 as Home Secretary in Liverpool's Ministry he reformed the Criminal Code and relaxed its barbarous severity.

Passed Test, Corporation and Catholic Emancipation Acts. During 1828—1830, as Home Secretary in Wellington's Ministry he founded the modern police system, consented to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act.

Tamworth Manifesto. During 1830—1841 as leader of the Opposition, he created the Conservative Party out of the old Tory Party and declared its programme in his famous "Tamworth Manifesto". This manifesto contained a general promise "to advance soberly and cautiously on the path of improvement".

Abolished Customs Duties. As Prime Minister (1841—1846) he abolished many of the customs duties that were seriously hampering the trade of the country.

Repealed Corn Laws. He had real sympathy with the poor and his knowledge of the conditions of the labourers and artisans had made him realize the supreme importance of cheap bread. It was thus to save the poor people from starvation that he agreed to the repeal of Corn Laws in 1846. This led to the establishment of free trade in corn in England.

Made England a Free-Trade Country. By his financial measures and fiscal reforms he made England a free-trade country, improved her finances and served as an important foundation for the victorious commercialism of England in the following generation.

Peel a Great Reformer and Administrator. Peel lives in English history as a great reformer and a great administrator. His success was solid and very few can lay claim to that service which he rendered to his country.

Peel a Great Prime Minister. Peel was a conservative Prime Minister but had much in common with a modern liberal. He thoroughly understood the needs of the country and adapted himself to the circumstances. He had an open mind for all practical reforms that would do good to his people. He peferred national interest to all others and would make any personal sacrifice to achieve the good of his country. His manifold reforms, his deep interest in the problems of his country, his untiring efforts to improve the tone of administration, his clear-headedness and his most conscientious and selfless work as minister entitle him to a place among the great Prime Ministers of England. A wise and cautious reformer, he left a solid record of his achievements. He was a great statesman in the real sense of the term.

Q. (a) "It is at home that Peel's greatness lies." Discuss.

(b) Clearly discuss the merits of Peel as financier. "He was essentially the minister of business classess." Comment.

(a) See previous Answer regarding his home policy and financial reforms.

(b) See previous Answer for his fiscal reforms or financial measures.

Q. Sir Robert Peel was "the most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals." Justify.

It is rightly said of Sir Robert Peel that he was the most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals. The following points will justify the above statement:

Conservatism or New Toryism. Peel entered Parliament in 1809 and was a Tory by conviction. The Tories had long been in power and they were against any change and reform. But Peel soon recognised that if Toryism was to survive at all, it must be of the liberal type, it must adapt itself to the changing circumstances and follow a programme of good government and advance in the path of progressive improvement, though soberly and cautiously. Peel was thus able to give a new conception to Toryism which later on became known as Conservatism or New Toryism.

His reforms in different capacities throughout his political career, his attitude towards Catholic Emancipation, the first Reform Act, repeal of the Corn Laws and his sympathies with Irish grievances show that he was a liberal Tory and justify the truth of his being styled as "the most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals."

His Reforms. As Home Secretary he relaxed the severity of the English Criminal Code, reorganised police and abolished espionage. As Prime Minister he reduced and abolished many duties, reorganised the English Banking System and tried to satisfy the Irish by passing a number of conciliatory measures.

His Liberal Attitude Towards Catholic Emancipation Act. The Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in 1829 by the ministry of Wellington of which Peel was an important member. The agitation for it in Ireland under O'Connell made it clear to Peel that further resistance to it would be useless and he was even convinced that passing of bill was a necessity. The rules of party discipline did not permit Peel to favour the passing of the Bill, but he was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the measure and he wanted to act with the best of motives. Service to the nation and mankind at large was far more important than mere allegiance to party. He said that he could sacrifice his party but not his country.

His Liberal Attitude towards the First Reform Act. Sir Robert Peel whole-heartedly accepted the first Reform Act (1832). The reactionary Tories in general, and the House of Lords in particular, had opposed the Bill because they were unwilling to grant franchise to the middle classes.

His Liberal Attitude towards the Repeal of Corn Laws. A strong agitation was going on in the country for the repeal of the Corn Laws which had raised the price of bread. An association was formed known as the Anti-Corn Law League to get the Corn Laws repealed. Peel was convinced that the distress of the people was mostly due to the existence of the Corn Laws. The outbreak of a famine in Ireland further assured Peel that nothing but the total repeal of the Corn Laws could save the country. Peel and his party were committed to the maintenance of Corn Laws, but at the cost of "betraying" his party he carried through the Bill for repeal though some of his partymen deserted him and went over to the 'opposition'. But he was not frightened, he repealed the Corn Laws. He paid the price for his disloyalty to the party by losing his office, but the future course of events justified his courageous action.

All the above facts show that he was not a champion of the *status quo* (things as they are), nor was he an advocate of violent changes. He was a liberal Tory prepared to adjust his views according to needs and circumstances and would willingly give up his party and principles for the greater good of his countrymen. He cared more for the country than for the party and always readily carried out such moderate and well-considered reforms as he found to be necessary in the interests of his countrymen. Thus Peel was a statesman very near the borderline between the two parties and he has been truly called "the most liberal of the Conservatives and the most conservative of the Liberals."

[N.B. He has been blamed by his party for betraying it in the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. But his party was not justified in the charges against him. Peel was not a diehard but he was a Conservative with liberal leanings, with a mind always open to conviction. He was not opposed to change for he realized that change was inevitable in a progressive country like England. He was more anxious for the interests of the nation as a whole than for the principle of his own party. He cared more for necessity and utility than for a mere formality. When his views were changed on Catholic Emancipation and the Corn Laws and he became convinced of their utility, he ceased to care for the principles of his party and followed the most liberal policy that the interests of his countrymen demanded.

Q. "Seldom has any great society undergone within so short a time a greater change in structure and spirit." Explain this with reference to the era of Liberal Reconstruction between the years 1830 and 1850 in England.

Period of 20 *years* (1830—1850) *Unparalleled in British History.* An activity in reconstructive legislation unparalleled in any earlier period of British hisory began with the Reform Act of 1832. In 1830, Britain was ruled by a privileged oligarchy; her whole social system was deeply affected by old prescription and rigid tradition; her people were suffering from bitter distress; but within twenty years every aspect of the old prescriptive and traditional system in Church and State was overhauled and the British people entered upon an era of prosperity and contentment.

The measures of Liberal Reconstruction during 1830—1850 may briefly be mentioned as follows:—

A. *External.*—(i) *Abolition of Slavery.* In 1833, an Act was passed to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire. By this Act all slaves in the British Empire were set free and the Government gave large compensation to the slave-owners for the loss of the services of their slaves (details already given).

(ii) *Charter of the East India Company,* 1833. By this the Company's 'China Monopoly' was abolished, and as a compensation for the loss of their commercial privileges the Company was to receive a lage sum of money from the revenues of India.

(iii) *Durham Report on Canada,* 1835. Durham's Report marks an epoch in the history of British Colonial policy and it may be looked upon as the Magna Carta of colonial rights. The importance of Durham's report lies in the fact that it determined the lines of evolution of self-government in all colonies. Parliamentary Government was established in Australia and New Zealand.

Internal—(i) *Finance.* The Bank Act of 1833, finally destroyed the remnants of the monopoly of the Bank of England and encouraged the growth of Joint-Stock Banks. Peel's Bank Act of 1844 settled the dispute between the Banking School and the Currency School. The tax on newspapers was reduced which made possible the rise of the popular press.

(ii) *Penal Code*. The Penal Code was reformed and humanised by abolishing death penalties for about one hundred crimes by Russel's Acts in 1837 and 1841. The system of flogging in the army and navy was altogether done away with.

(iii) *The Church Act of* 1836 removed the claim of the Church over marriages and over the registration of births and deaths. By another Act, the payment of tithes was converted into money payments on a fixed scale.

(iv) *Education Act*, 1833. By the Education Act of 1833 elementary education of the poor was encouraged by governmental aid. In 1839, a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to control and supervise popular education.

(v) *Municipal Reform Act*, 1835. An elected Municipal Council chosen by the whole body of rate-payers was set up in every large town by this Act to perform its functions efficiently and empowered to raise rates.

(vi) *Poor Law of* 1835. The children and the sick were to be provided with necessary relief but the able-bodied workers could not get relief unless they worked for it.

(vii) *Public Health Act*, 1842. Local Boards of public health were set up to look after health and sanitary conditions and these Boards were given large powers.

(viii) *Factory Legislation*. The Factory Act of 1833 declared it illegal to employ children under nine in factories. The Factory Act of 1844 fixed working hours for women and young persons at ten a day. Another Factory Act forbade employment of children in the sweeping of chimneys.

(ix) *The Mines Act*, 1842. By this Act, boys under ten and girls under thirteen could not be employed in mines and were protected from ill-treatment.

Q. What do you understand by the Liberal Construction from 1830 to 1850?

The various Acts and Laws passed in England between 1830 and 1850 form what is called the Liberal Construction in history. (For details please consult previous Answer).

Q. What are the main features of Benthamism? How did they effect the social reforms carried out in Great Britain in the nineteenth century? *Or,*

Discuss the effect of Jermy Bentham's teachings upon the British political institutions. *Or,*

Examine the significance of the work of Bentham.

Jeremy Bentham. Born in 1748, Jeremy Bentham led an uneventful life and proved to be a shy recluse of unimpressive speech and appearance. He died in 1832 just when his principles were beginning to invade the seats of power, he was never the man of the moment, but his influence was a force in history during more than a hundred years.

His Principles of Political Philosophy. Bentham had been early trained in legal studies, and he regarded the whole structure of English society with the precise mind of a lawyer. His test question, with regard to any law or institution was: What is the use of it? Examined by this standard, Bentham found that many laws ought to be abolished, and many institutions reformed.

His 'Fragment on Government' published in 1776 challenged the legal doctrine of the age that law was a fixed and authoritative science and the British constitution perfect. Bentham proclaimed both law and politics to be perpetual experiments in the means of promoting 'utility' or happiness. For Bentham, the one supreme fact was that all men desire happiness, and that this desire is ultimately the motive of all their actions. The creation of happiness must, therefore, be the purpose for which men set up states; and the aim which every state ought to set before itself must be 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. This is 'utilitarian' philosophy, i.e., real utility of the state lies in contributing to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. He was impatient of all theories. The famous phrase ('the greatest happiness of the greatest number'), which swept away all theories of abstract rights, all claims to enjoy privileges of class and sect, all traditional obligations, if they did not contribute to the one supreme end, was to exercise a powerful influence in the time to come.

His Effect on Social Reforms and Political Institutions. His most famous works were 'Fragment on Government', 'Catechism of Parliamentary Reform,' 'Usury,' 'The Principles of Morals and Politics.' Bentham's works were not widely read; but those who did read his books became determined to reform the social and political institutions in the country. His 'Catechism of Parliamentary Reform' exposed the absurdities of the existing system of representation and argued that a more democratic form of government would help to produce 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. His books and political philosophy had a considerable effect on thinking people and they succeeded in producing the desired effect. 'Philosophic Radicals' like James Stuart Mill. Frances Place and Robert Owen. the father of the factory laws and the co-operative movement were inspired by Bentham and did very useful work in reforming social abuses and introducing humanitarian measures in the country. It was mainly under the influence of his principles and political philosophy that the penal code of England was reformed and jail reforms were introduced. Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 was passed. slavery was abolished. the Factory Acts. the Education Acts, the Poor Law Amendments Act. the Municipal Corporation Act. Public Health Act. Mines Act. and so many other Acts which aimed at abolishing social abuses and reforming political institutions were passed. His cardinal principle that 'every state must have its utility and that utility lies in creating the greatest happiness of the greatest number' did much to influence the thoughts of social and political reformers and to bring about the gradual reform of English institutions that were time-ridden and most unsuited to the condition of a growing people. The reign of George IV (1820—1830) which opened the 'period of reform' and the next twenty years (1830—1850) which are known as the 'era of reconstruction' in English history were the direct outcome of Bentham's political teachings. It is rightly said of these thirty years (1820—1850). 'Seldom has any great society undergone with so short a time a greater change in structure and spirit.' Thus his theory greatly influenced the legislation and the economic policy of the first half of the 19th century.

THE CRIMEAN WAR 1854—1858

Q. Give an account of causes, events and results of the Crimean War. *Or,*

What were the causes of the Crimean War? Why did the British soldiers suffer at the beginning of this war.

(P.U. 1955, 1950, 1947)

Why so Called? This war is so named because practically all the battles in this war were fought in Crimea, a Peninsula in the South of Russia, jutting out into the Black Sea. The Crimean War is part of the Eastern Question which disturbed the relations between European States for over three centuries.

Causes. 1. The Czar Nicholas of Russia wanted to extend the export trade of his country and for this purpose, he thought it essential to have access to the Mediterranean Sea. The Czar had therefore designs upon Constantinople and only a pretext was required for this purpose.

2. At this time Turkey was in a state of decay; her former greatness and power had gone. The Sultan was a mere figurehead and he had failed to keep his possessions strongly under his control. His decreasing influence and political strength led other powers to speak of the Sultan of Turkey as the 'Sick man of Europe.' The countries of Europe were eager to take advantage of the weakness of Turkey and were expecting the dissolution of the Turkish Empire.

3. Napoleon III of France was anxious to strengthen his position in France by winning military glory abroad and so he supported the claims of the Latin Church in a dispute that had been going on between the Latin and Greek monks in Palestine about the possession of certain holy places in Jerusalem. France espoused the cause of Roman Catholics or the Latin Christians.

4. The treatment of Turkey towards her Christian subjects was far from satisfactory. When the Czar came to know of this, he demanded that he should be recognised as a guardian of the Christian subjects living in the Turkish Empire. The Sultan of Turkey protested against the demand of the Czar of Russia whereupon the Czar

declared war against Turkey in 1854 and sent his armies into Moldavia and Wallachia.

Parties. It was against the interests of England to allow Russia to take hold of Turkey because it would immensely add to the power of Russia and thus upset the balance of power and thereby endanger England's Indian Empire. England thus got ready to help Turkey against Russia. The ambitious Napoleon III of France, who was fond of some military exploits, joined Turkey against Russia. Thus on one side, there was Russia and on the other side a coalition of powers—England, France and Turkey, called the allies.

Events.—Battle of Alma. In 1854, the combined armies of England, France and Turkey defeated the Russian army at Alma and then laid siege to Sebastopol.

The Siege of Sebastopol. The allies besieged Sebastopol which was a centre of Russian strength in the Crimea. The allies exerted all their strength to capture the fort of Sebastopol but their efforts failed, and the siege dragged on for eleven months. The British soldiers had to suffer a great deal. They had to face many troubles and consequently the siege was protracted.

Battles of Balaclava and Inkerman. These battles were fought during the siege of Sebastopol. The Battle of Balaclava is memorable of the fatal charge of the Light Brigade—a body of six hundred brave English cavalry. The Russians were defeated first at Balaclava and then at Inkerman.

Fall of Sebastopol. Owing to the intense cold in the Crimea and the gross mismanagement of the Allies, the allied troops suffered terrible hardships; in fact at one time half the army was in hospital and the soldiers were so badly attended that they died in hundreds. Newspaper correspondents made the wretched condition of the army known in the British Isles, and public indignation drove the Premier and War Minister from office. Lord Palmerston then became Prime Minister; supplies and reinforcements were hurried to the scene of warfare and Florence Nightingale with a band of nurses, by careful treatment of the sick and wounded, checked the terrible mortality in the hospitals at Scutari. In March, 1855 the Czar Nicholas died, but his successor Alexander II, continued the struggle. At last Sebastopol fell, mainly as a result of the unbounded zeal and interest of Palmerston, and the war was then brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

The Causes of the Sufferings of the British Soldiers at the Beginning of the War. Breakdown of the Transport system, the unbearable Crimean Winter, undesired hospital system, lack of proper interest on the part of the Aberdeen Government were among the chief causes responsible for the sufferings of the British soldiers.

As last Florence Nightingale a noble woman of great sacrificing spirit was sent to Scutari to reform hospital conditions. She insisted on the provision of proper beds, food, medicine, and dressings for the sick, and she refused to listen to the word "impossible. She succeeded in saving the lives of thousands of British soldiers and set a new standard in nursing. She and her band of trained nurses worked unceasingly and the death-rate at Scutari was reduced from 420 to 22 per thousand. There was such an outcry against the Government (Aberdeen Government) that it had no alternative but to resign. New Government was formed with Palmerston as Prime Minister. He began to work most vigorously and the condition of the army was soon improved.

Treaty of Paris, 1856. The following were the chief clauses of the Treaty:—

1. The independence and integrity of Turkey was recognised by the Powers and the Sultan of Turkey promised to treat his Christian subjects better. Turkey was admitted to the Concert of Europe.

2. Russia promised neither to re-fortify Sebastopol, nor to keep a fleet in the Black Sea.

3. Russia gave up her claim to be the guardian of the Christian subjects in the Turkish Empire.

4. Conquests were mutually restored and a strip of land at the mouth of the Danube was ceded to the Sultan of Turkey who promised to grant new liberties to the Christian subjects in his dominions.

5. No country was to maintain a war fleet in the Black Sea.

6. The Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were made autonomous, but Turkey was allowed to retain her suzerainty over them.

7. The navigation of Danube was made free.

Q. (a) "The Crimean War is said to be the most useless war of the 19th century "the results of the peace had no permanent value." (b) The War was a 'History of Blunders' and (c) it was also a "Crime". How far do you agree with these views? Give reasons.

(a) The Crimean War was the most useless war of 19th century for the following reasons:—

1. The Allies gained nothing from this war, either morally or materially. The war cost the Allies a great deal in men and money but no substantial results were achieved.

2. The war weakened Russia for some time so that she was unable to hold out to Turkey the threat of immediate dissolution. But some time after the war, Russia turned her attention to Asian expansion, which made Britain more nervous about India than ever. Russia began to keep warships in the Black Sea in contravention of the terms of the Treaty of Paris by which the Black Sea was neutralised. Neither France nor Britain was in a position to resist Russia and thus the "Eastern Question" disturbed the peace of Europe within twenty years of the Crimean War.

3. The Turks had time enough to remove the evils of their administration but they paid no attention to it and Turkey remained

unreformed. Turkey's treatment of the Balkan Christians was as bad as before, thus causing a rebellion in 1876.

It is clear from the above that the war served no useful purpose and none of its results had any permanent value.

(b) *The Crimean War a 'History of Blunders.'* 1. The Allies lacked cohesion and unity as a result of which many favourable opportunities were wasted and operations delayed. Immediately after the victory in the Battle of Alma, Lord Ranglan, the British Commander, wished to attack Sebastopol, but the French did not agree to this proposal. According to Lord Ranglan, Sebastopol, if attacked would have been soon captured and thus ended the war victoriously.

2. The Commanders-in-Chief of the Allies were incompetent. Lord Ranglan, the British Commander, was weak in strategy and lacked resources. Arnaud, the French Commander, lacked competence and was no more than a brave adventurer. The Allied Generals, on the whole, were men of no military ability. Those who had seen active service were now too old to be efficient or to face the hardships of warfare. The English soldiers were excellent fighters but they had no practice in manoeuvring on a large scale and no experience of campaigning.

3. There was gross mismanagement. The winter was a cold one and the sufferings of the Allies were frightful, for no adequate provision was made for a winter campaign. The cold was intense, food and clothing were scanty, the transport animals had all perished. The country round Sebastopol became a sea of half frozen mud, impassable for carts and even for pack horses. Hence the English soldiers were starving in the trenches, while sacks of provisions were lying at Balaclava a few miles away. The camp hospitals were miserably provided with necessaries for the sick and wounded. The soldiers were suffering from fever, dysentery, cholera and scurvy and at one time the sick soldiers in hospitals outnumbered the fighting men. Things improved only when the Aberdeen ministry resigned and Palmerston became Prime Minister.

(c) *The Crimean War was a 'Crime.'* 1. The Crimean War resulted in a great loss of men and money and served no useful purpose. It proved a futile and wasteful conflict. The Treaty of Paris was an utter failure as a solution of the Eastern Question. A particularly futile war had a particularly futile end and the sacrifice of a huge number of human lives and the loss of millions of pounds had no justification.

2. The belligerent countries were solely inspired by selfish motives. England was afraid of the growing power of Russia who might threaten her supremacy in India. France was anxious to revive her glory by military exploits.

The Allies in helping Turkey were not siding a just cause. In the first place, Turkey was notorious for oppression and misgovernment and secondly, Turkey was wrong in refusing the Vienna Note. The Vienna Note was sent to the Sultan of Turkey, jointly by Britain, France, Prussia and Austria as the result of a conference held at Vienna in 1853, containing a proposal that he should grant the claim put forward by Czar in the matter of protecting the Christians of the Greek church.

Looking from the above points of view, Crimean War can be said to be a crime.

LORD PALMERSTON 1794—1865

Q. Give a short account of Palmerston's political career.

Palmerston's long and Varied Political Career. Palmerston was born in 1784 and showed abilities very early. Few could have had a larger experience of political life than he had. He had been given a 'rotten borough' to represent in 1807 and remained a member of the Commons till his death in 1865. He held office, with a few intervals, for almost half a century. He served four sovereigns. He served under ten Prime Ministers, and was himself Prime Minister twice—once from 1855 to 1858 and again from 1859 to 1865.

Palmerston began his life as a Tory in politics but he was what we may call a liberal Tory. Perhaps it is better to describe him neither as a Tory nor as a Whig, but as a statesman who tried to adjust his ideas with the forces of the age.

After long service in Tory administrations as War Minister, Palmerston joined Lord Grey's Whig Government as Foreign Secretary in 1830. For the next 35 years (1830—1865) with occasional breaks, he was either as Foreign Secretary or Prime Minister, the most dominating personality in British politics.

Lord Palmerston was one of the greatest statesmen of England in the time of Queen Victoria.

First Ministry, 1855 *to* 1858. He was Prime Minister for the first time from 1855 to 1858. The important events of this ministry were:—

1. By his vigour and energy he brought the Crimean War to a successful end in 1856 by the Treaty of Paris.

2. He successfully coped with the Great Rebellion of the Indian people in 1857.

3. In 1857 Palmerston declared war against China which Parliament thought unjustifiable. He resigned in 1858 as the House of Commons voted against him.

Second Ministry 1859—1865. He became Prime Minister for the second time in 1859 and held this office till his death in 1865. He was buried in the Westminster Abbey.

In 1861 there broke out a Civil War between the Northern States and Southern States of America over the question of slavery. England remained officially neutral, but an English warship, the *Alabama,* in sympathy with the Southern States, did great harm to the ships of Northern States. When the war was over, the President of America claimed damages but Palmerston refused to entertain the claim. During the first ministry of Gladstone, the claim having been reconsidered by an arbitration, England had to pay a large indemnity.

He helped Belgium in regaining her freedom, gave support to the constitutional Queen of Portugal against her self-willed uncle and backed up Queen Isabella of Spain against Don Carlos who wanted to dispossess her of the throne. He lent moral support to the Italians and thus to a great extent helped the cause of the Italian liberation. He strongly upheld the cause of Turkey as he believed that Russia's growth of power and influence in the East would seriously prejudice interests of Great Britain.

Q. What is your estimate of the Home and Foreign (Internal and External) policy and work and achievement of Lord Palmerston? *Or,* (P.U. 1956, 1948; D.U. 1957, 1954)

"Palmerston was a Conservative at home but a Liberal and Revolutionist abroad." Explain. *Or,* (P.U. 1952)

"Palmerston made up for his Conservatism at home by his Liberalism abroad." Or, "Palmerston was a living compromise." Justify. *Or,*

What does England owe to Palmerston?
(D.U. 1959, 1956; P.U. 1954, 1949)

The era of Palmerston was that of peace and complacency at home, the main political events of the period were those of foreign affairs. In fact Palmerston was born to shine in foreign politics and he shone with a lustre that no one can deny. His home policy was conservative and reactionary and no reforms were passed, neither was there any such possibility till he lived.

Palmerston's Home Policy. He was a liberal Tory and he was not much in favour of reform and change. He acted on the maxim, 'Let sleeping dogs lie.' He was averse to the advance of democracy and extension of the franchise. In domestic affairs he favoured change only when the nation as a whole demanded it and it was unavoidable to yield to that demand.

The fact that his domestic policy was conservative is borne out by the following facts:—

1. He looked upon the Reform Act of 1832 as a final settlement and strongly opposed further extension of the franchise.

2. He raised strong objections against the repeal of Paper Duties proposed by Gladstone.

3. He was not in sympathy with the grievances of the Dissenters.

4. He failed to appreciate the importance of the colonies and his attitude towards them was one of absolute lack of sympathy.

5. He showed no sympathy with the grievances of the Irish tenants; on the other hand he supported the cause of the Irish landlords who were cruel to the tenants.

He was standing obstacle to the triumph of democracy as long as he remained in power. He had no faith in political democracy. He had an attitude of extreme indifference towards home affairs and it has been rightly said that 'domestic indifferentism' was the keynote of his policy.

Palmerston's Foreign Policy. General Principles of his Foreign Policy. The general principles by which Palmerston was guided in foreign affairs may be briefly mentioned as follows:—

1. He was bent upon maintaining and extending the influence of Great Britain in foreign affairs and upholding her honour on the Continent. To him a British subject was a *Civis Romanus*, and however disreputable he might be, in foreign lands he could look for protection from injustice to the imperial might of Britain. This contributed enormously towards the popularity of Palmerston in his own country.

2. He believed that the maintenance of peace was the first interest both of Great Britain and of the world.

3. He believed that the best guarantee of peace lay in the establishment of a permanent balance of power.

4. He sympathised with all movements having for their object the establishment of independent nationalities, and constitutional governments resembling that of Great Britain.

5. In the matter of the Eastern Question he was a great opponent of Russia and strongly upheld the integrity of the Turkish Dominions.

6. He succeeded in his attempts to make the English and the French better friends than they had been for centuries.

Thus we see in Palmerston a living compromise. He was a Tory at home and a Liberal abroad. He was a Whig by association but conservative by sentiment. He was the Tory Chief of a Liberal Government.

Achievements in Foreign Affairs. Palmerston's foreign policy was eminently successful and he did much to enhance the prestige of England on the Continent. He gave strong support to national and liberal movements against the despotic attitude of countries like Russia. Australia and Prussia. The following are some typical examples of his foreign policy:—

1. As Foreign Secretary, under Grey in 1830-1831, he helped Belgium in winning her independence from Holland and did not allow other powers to interfere with the independence of Belgium (Belgium had been united to Holland by the Vienna Settlement of 1815).

2. There was a rebellion in Poland in 1830 and Palmerston did not favour the interference of other powers with the constitution guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna. The Russians were displeased at this attitude of Palmerston.

3. He saved Portugal and Spain (1843—1847) from despotism.

He sent a British fleet to Portugal to suppress an insurrection against Queen Maria. But when later she refused to grant constitutional reforms she was compelled by Palmerston to grant the same.

4. He asserted the neutrality of Switzerland as guaranteed in 1715 and maintained its independence against Austria and France.

5. *The First Chinese War*. In 1850 the Chinese Government prevented the importation of opium from India. He crushed the resistance of the Chinese Government and compelled her to cede Hong Kong and to open five other 'Treaty Ports' to British shipping.

6. *The Second Chinese War*. In 1856 the Chinese Government siezed the *Arrow* (a ship) on a charge of piracy. She was owned and manned by the Chinese, but had been registered as a British ship. Palmerston declared war against China and the latter had to pay an indemnity of £ 4 million.

Palmerston thus maintained the opium trade and received Hong Kong as a chief trading port.

7. In the Crimean War Palmerston joined hands with France to checkmate Russia. He fought the War to a successful issue thus checking Russian designs on Turkey. Turkey was again put on her legs.

8. *The Don Pacifico Affair*. Don Pacifico, a British subject and a jew, lost some property in a riot at Athens in Greece. He made a much exaggerated claim against the Greek Government and Palmerston backed this claim with a threat of war (1850). In his famous speech "*Civis Romantus*" Palmerston declared that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect a British subject in whatever land he may be.

9. *During his Second Ministry* (1859—1865). Palmerston showed great sympathy for the patriotic movement of the Italians when led by Garibaldi and Covor they became a united nation under King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. He gave moral support to the Italians and thus to a certain extent helped the cause of the Italian liberation.

10. There was a Civil War in 1861 between Northern and Southern States of U.S.A., over the question of slavery. The Palmerston Ministry remained officially neutral.

11. He successfully formed the Quadruple Alliance between England, France, Spain and Portugal for preserving the thrones of Spain and Portugal on behalf of Isabellla and Maria. He made the English and the French better friends than they had been for centuries.

12. *The Eastern Question*. With regard to the Eastern question he strongly upheld the cause of Turkey for he suspected Russia's designs upon that country. He steadily opposed Russia for he believed that the extension of Russian influence in Eastern Europe and central Asia was dangerous to British interests.

Thus Palmerston strongly favoured liberal and constitutional movements abroad and used British influence to persuade rulers to grant reforms and the reformers to modify their demands. "In foreign policy Palmerston was always liberal, always fighting for the cause of infant nations, always helping the progress of democracy."

An Estimate of Palmerston or His Work and Achievement. No English statesman, excepting Gladstone, could lay claim to that vast experience which distinguished the career of Palmerston. He was against reform and increase of democracy in home politics. During the time he was in power, political life was stagnant at home and any measure that aimed at reform was rejected. He was so strongly opposed to popular reform at home that there was no chance of any such agitation being successful as long as he lived. It is somewhat strange that the statesman who did not allow artisans at home to get the vote should have fought for the cause of nationalism and democracy all over Europe. It is true, however, that the real importance of Palmerston's career in English history lies in the fact that he gave his country an honoured place in the Council of Nations.

In the sphere of foreign policy Palmerston played an immortal part. From 1832 to 1865, with a few intervals, he dictated the relations of England with the world. In foreign policy his voice was supreme. He was aggressive and dictatorial, always bent upon vindicating the power and influence of England. Under his guidance England played really a vital part in all international affairs. Very few English statesmen have occupied so important a place on the wider stage of European History.

Yeoman's Service as Foreign Minister. As Foreign Minister he rendered yeoman's service to his colleagues, by keeping the Continent at peace while they passed their Bills.

England owes much to his patriotism and sound commonsense. He had a great belief in his country and in the British Constitution. He voiced the popular feelings of Britain against foreign despots, as he was the last man in the world to be intimidated by royalty. He followed a bold and vigorous foreign policy by helping all movements which aimed at the establishment of independent nationalities and constitutional governments. He regarded himself as a torch-bearer of liberty in Europe. His foreign policy was eminently successful and this raised the status of England in Europe. He did much to increase England's honour and prestige abroad. "Lord Palmerston was a statesman who was always prepared to defend the rights of his country. He tried to maintain the balance of power in Europe by his foreign policy. He always looked to the honour and advantage of England. His policy raised England to a high pedestal of glory in the eyes of Europe. He was one of the foremost of the *imperial* statesmen of his time."

He was opposed to the expansion of democracy in home politics, but he favoured a certain degree of popular control over foreign policy, for he considered himself, as Foreign Minister, responsible rather to public opinion than to his sovereign or even to his colleagues. He stimulated a new popular interest in foreign questions.

He was a highly popular man. His countrymen loved him and gave him the affectionate nickname of "Pam".

Q. "Not that Lord Palmrerston was a typical Whig....still less was he a typical Tory....Politically, indeed it is not very easy to label him....It is as a Foreign Minister, not as a domestic reformer, that he will be remembered." (Marriot) Discuss.

Please study previous Answer for his foreign policy and achievements.

Q. What was Palmerston's attitude towards the Eastern Question?

Palmerston's Attitude Towards the Eastern Question. Turkey was gradually becoming weak and its growing weakness made European powers take deep interest in her. European powers rightly called Turkey the 'Sick Man of Europe'. Russia was particularly anxious to add to her strength by occupying several parts of the Turkish Empire. The Turkish Empire served, as a key to the East and Russia's hold on Turkey's possessions would have easily given her a passage to the Mediterranean Sea. If Russia's power and influence had grown in the Near East that would have served as a direct menace to British supremacy in the Far East. An extraordinary addition to the strength of Russia would weaken the power of Great Britain and thus upset the balance of power. England was thus naturally anxious not to allow Russia to follow her ambitious designs, and aggressive policy. England's safety lay in checking the expansion of Russia's influence and territory.

Besides, Palmerston was a friend of the weak nations and wanted to defend them against the tyranny of the strong. He always espoused the cause of nationalism and democracy and extended his aid to the nations struggling to safeguard their liberties.

He himself said, "Our policy is not to intermeddle in the affairs of other countries, but by the legitimate exercise of the influence of Great Britain, to support other nations in their struggle to obtain for themselves institutions similar to those, which have been described as forming the boast of this country." He was a zealous friend of the Liberal Movements on the Continent. When in 1830 the British Government had to decide its attitude towards the constitutional movements in Europe, it was under Palmerston's direction that it decided to have an attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards Liberal Movements on the continent. This is true that Palmerston's home policy was conservative, but on the other hand his foreign policy was liberal and he strongly sympathised with the nations of the continent that were struggling for political freedom.

It can be said of Palmerston in very clear and unequivocal terms that his attitude to the Eastern Question was to maintain the integrity of the decadent Turkish Empire and to checkmate Russia's designs on 'The Sickman of Europe' as the Czar described Turkey. While describing Palmerston's attitude towards the Eastern Question an eminent author has rightly remarked: "He (Palmerston) was the founder of the traditional British policy towards Turkey and Russia—that of hostility to Russia and of friendliness to Turkey." This attitude of Palmerston was amply demonstrated by his policy in the Crimean War (1854—1856).

War Between Turkey and Russia. As already stated, Russia had since long designs on Constantinople, which would give her access to the Mediterranean and was ready to avail of any pretext for interference in Turkey. The Czar of Russia claimed the guardianship of the Greek Church and the right to protect the (Greek) Christian subjects of the Sultan of Turkey. England was unwilling to allow Russia to dismember Turkey or to reach the Mediterranean. Moreover, she was suspicious of Russia's designs on India. She accordingly advised Turkey to repudiate the Russian claim. Napoleon III of France, who was eager for military glory, joined England.

When the Russian army occupied the Danubian provinces, the English and French fleets were sent to the Dardanelles to help the Sultan and entered the Black Sea. The Russians were defeated in a number of battles but owing to the intense cold in the Crimea and to gross mismanagement at home (Aberdeen was Prime Minister) the English and French troops suffered terrible hardships. The wretched condition of the army made the public indignant which ultimately drove the British Premier and the War Minister from office. Palmerston then became Prime Minister and conducted the war with vigour and enthusiasm. Supplies and reinforcements were hurried to the seat of war and Florence Nightingale with a band of nurses, by careful treatment of the sick and wounded, checked the terrible mortality in the English and French forces. Russia suffered great losses and the Allies (England and France) emerged victorious and Turkey was again put on her legs.

Conclusion. England, under the direction of Palmerston, who guided the foreign policy of England for thirty-five years, adopted an attitude of determined hostility towards Russia. This attitude of strong hostility of England to Russia, was due more than anything else to the growing apprehension lest her expansion may upset the 'balance of power' and enable her to interfere with India. There was a strong and growing belief among the English people that any more extension of Russian power was sure to endanger the supreme position of England in India. It was this conviction that led England to safeguard the interests of Turkey against Russia and plunge in the Crimean War. The Allies (England and France) came out victorious in the war. Turkey was saved and she gained time which she could have used to set her house in order and remove the evils in the administration which had provided Russia a pretext to interfere in her affairs. The victory further weakened Russia so much that for some time to come she could not hold out a threat of immediate dissolution to Turkey.

Q. Lord Palmerston's death 'closed an epoch' and 'left the door open to Gladstonian radicalism.' Elucidate. ***Or,***

Elucidate the statement that "the death of Palmerston may be said to have closed the transition period through which England passed in its progress from aristocracy of democracy." ***Or,***

"Modern politics began at the death of Lord Palmerston." Explain this statement and give an outline of the political and constitutional progress of the following twenty years.

The question can be divided into two parts:—

(a) Lord Palmerston's death closed an epoch; and

(b) His death left the door open to Gladstonian radicalism.

How Lord Palmerston's death 'closed an epoch'. In home affairs Palmerston was opposed to all reform, increase of democracy and extension of franchise. His motto at home was 'Let sleeping dogs lie.' He was a Whig, i.e., liberal in his attitude to the Church and foreign affairs, but he was a strong Tory or illiberal in other questions. He looked upon the Reform Act of 1832 as a final settlement and a necessary evil. He set his face against all reform movements in Great Britain after 1832. He was not in favour of further Parliamentary reform. No reformative legislation was possible on account of his presence in successive Liberal Cabinets. No agitation for progress was successful as long as he lived. Political life was dead in Great Britain during the era of Palmerston. The Whig and Tory parties had differences of opinion on the question of Free Trade, but they were both opposed to popular reforms and the increase of democracy.

(For details please read previous Answers).

His death, however closed an epoch, i.e., the era of political deadness and stagnation of progress and reform, and 'left the door open to Gladstonian radicalism,' i.e., for political and constitutional progress.

How Palmerston's death left the door open to Gladstonian radicalism. In matters of reform, progress and increase of democracy and extension of franchise at home Gladstone was the antithesis of Palmerston. The next twenty years of British History were the age of two great and powerful personalities—Gladstone and Disraeli—and the former was a zealous supporter of democratic institutions and England made rapid progress towards democracy. After Palmerston. Gladstone became the leader of the Whig Party and Disraeli of the Tory Party. The old Whigs joined hands with the Radicals and a new Liberal Party was formed with Gladstone as leader. It passed a number of useful laws regarding domestic problems and tried to remove the abuses from every walk of political life. There was great economic, political and constitutional progress during the twenty years that followed the death of Palmerston.

Gladstone carried out extensive reforms in all directions. He reformed national finance, the army, education, administration, system of parliamentary representation and in fact no department of national life was left unreformed. Finally he reformed the land-laws and the church in Ireland.

All this shows that the death of Palmerston marked the close of one era—era of political stagnation and absence of reform and democratic institutions—and the beginning of another era when Gladstone was a powerful personality and it was an era of domestic reforms, progress, increase of democracy and extension of franchise and popular rights or when old methods and politics ended and new ways and modern politics began.

(For economic, political and constitutional progress please consult the Home Policy and Domestic Reforms of Gladstone).

PALMERSTON AND PEEL COMPARED

(Hints for expansion) Palmerston and Peel were unquestionably the two most important figures in the British politics of the fifty years that followed Waterloo. Curiously enough, they were at school together at Harrow, and Palmerston, though he outlived Peel by fifteen years, was only three years older. They have certain points in common. Both of them were intensely busy, practical men who, as it were, made up their policy as they went along taking their cues from the circumstances immediately confronting them. They do not belong to the class of statesmen who are dominated by a single great principle and work for a single great aim; they were in no unworthy sense of the word 'opportunists'.

But here the resemblance ends. Peel's interests were social and commercial, and his achievements those of a wise and cautious reformer. Palmerston was ever ready to leave domestic affairs to look after themselves or be looked by his colleagues. His interest was to see that his country played a great and worthy part in the affairs of the world particularly as a champion of freedom against despotism. He revelled in the excitements of foreign politics and the more dangerous the game the more he seemed to enjoy it. Yet he was no mere gambler and his boldest strokes were generally but not always, based on shrewd calculation. In personal character, again, Peel was reserved and shy, revered by those that knew him best but hardly a popular hero. Palmerston, on the other hand, was a perfect specimen of the sportsman and the man of the world, and such qualities made him, towards the end of his life, the most popular statesman since Chatham. People spoke of him affectionately as 'Old Pam,' whereas no one would ever have thought of talking of Peel as 'Old Peel'. Though Peel was a Conservative Prime Minister, he had much in common with a modern Liberal of the more cautious type and though Palmerston belonged from 1830 onward to the Whig party, his views on domestic affairs were very much those of an old-fashioned Tory. He never liked the Reform Bill but accepted it as a necessary evil.

Q. Give a brief account of the Second Reform Act of 1867, the Third Reform Act of 1884, and the Act of 1885, with particular reference to their constitutional significance.

THE SECOND REFORM ACT, 1867

Its Necessity. People were not satisfied with the Reform Act of 1832, because the artisans and labourers were not given the right to vote. Before 1867, several half-hearted attempts were made for parliamentary reform, but it was Disraeli who seriously took up the reform work as soon as he came to power. He wanted support for his Conservative Party and so he favoured the policy of giving franchise to the artisans whom he expected to be a source of great political power for him. Disraeli did the work which the Liberals intended to do.

Its Provisions. In the *boroughs* all house-holders who paid poor-rate obtained votes. Moreover, all lodgers in lodgings of the yearly value of £ 10, were also given the right of voting.

(ii) In *counties* those who paid a rent of £ 12 a year obtained the right of voting.

(iii) Some small boroughs were disfranchised and those having a population of ten thousand were now allowed to return only one member each instead of two, previously returned by them. The seats thus vacated were distributed among new boroughs, bigger counties and some very large centres got additional members.

(iv) Minority representation was a new feature of the Act. The framers of the Act wanted to secure the representation of the minority parties. One in twelve of the population got the right to exercise vote.

Its Constitutional Significance. This Act gave the right of vote to almost all labourers and artisans living in towns, thus establishing household suffrage in towns and boroughs. The artisans and working classes gained political power and henceforth began to take interest in politics.

The Act considerably reduced the property qualification and thus one million more obtained voting rights. Moreover, the idea of minority representation was an advance towards democratization of Parliament.

Labourers living in villages, however, could not obtain the right of vote.

This Act led to closer party organization and strict discipline. The dependence of the House of Commons upon the electors was gradually increased.

N.B. The students must carefully remember that the Reform Act of 1832 has greater constitutional importance than the Reform Act of 1867.

Reasons. 1. It did away with the rotten and pocket boroughs.

2. It brought about the franchise reform which was long overdue and also shattered 'the age-long charm of constitutional sanctity. It did not bring about a great change in the existing situation, but it introduced a new principle of change by pointing out the direction and the channels into which the tide of democracy was to flow.

3. It introduced an activity of constructive legislation which led to new reforms and changes in society to suit the new environments.

4. It made the Parliament for the first time democratic for it was now that the political power was transferred from the nobles and great landlords to the middle classes. The Act was not 'Final' but

it prepared the way for other Acts till the country became a thorough democracy.

It is rightly said of the Reform Act of 1867 that it was not a predecessor, but only a successor, not a guide but a follower.

THE THIRD REFORM ACT, 1884

Its Necessity. The Second Reform Act of 1867 did not extend the franchise to the agricultural labourers living in villages. Hence this Act was introduced by Gladstone in 1884 to give the right of vote to the agricultural labourers and was passed the same year.

Its Provisions. (i) The franchise in counties was made the same as in boroughs, i.e., any inhabitant occupier of a dwelling house in a county got the right of vote.

(ii) Any lodger of lodgings of the yearly value of £10 in a country got the right of vote.

(iii) Occupier of any land or tenement of the value of £ 10 in the county got the right of vote.

Its Constitutional Significance. This Act did for the counties what the Second Reform Act of 1867 had done for the boroughs. It extended the household franchise and lodger franchise to the counties. Thus the agricultural labourers were enfranchised in England, Scotland and Ireland. The Act added two million voters to the existing roll of voters and England became practically a thorough democracy for all sections of people—the middle class, artisan class and the agricultural labourers were now fully represented in Parliament. One in seven of the population got the right of vote.

THE ACT OF 1885

Its Necessity. This is known as the Redistribution of Seats Act. By the various Reform Acts, the number of voters had increased but the Parliamentary seats so far were not distributed in proper proportions. This Act aimed at proportionate distribution of seats and thus gave equal representation to all parts of the country.

Its Clauses. (i) All boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 were completely disfranchised and absorbed in their respective counties.

(ii) All boroughs with a population of more than 50,000 were to have one seat.

(iii) All boroughs with a population of more than 50,000 and not more than 165,000 were to have only two seats.

Its Constitutional Significance. Except for 22 towns having a right to return two members each and except for certain universities all other counties and boroughs were divided into single-member constituencies. This was based on the principle of proportionate representation. Equal electoral districts were thus established.

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CHAPTER XXVII

LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

> *"My mission is to satisfy Ireland."*
>
> —GLADSTONE

The Age of Gladstone (1809—1898) and Disraeli (1804—1881)

Gladstone and Disraeli were two great political opponents and their political ideals differed as widely as their characters, yet both of them possessed immense courage and were adventurous even to recklessness. Their struggle brought forward important political and constitutional issues and opened a new era in the field of politics.

1. For the first time the Parties received their modern characteristics.

2. The spirit of imperialism had its origin in these days.

3. The Eastern Question opened with new complications, arousing keen controversy about the British Foreign Policy concerning the Ottoman Empire.

4. It was in these days that England started her rapid progress towards Democracy.

Q. What were the political principles of the Liberal Party under the leadership of Gladstone and the Conservative Party under the leadership of Disraeli or the two great political parties. (P.U. 1958, 1955, 1946, 1940, 1934)
Or,

What were the distinguishing features between New Liberalism and New Conservatism (New Toryism) during the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli. ***Or,***

"The death of Lord Palmerston forms a convenient point, at which it is easy to draw the line between the earlier and the later history of the two great English political parties." Explain distinguishing clearly between the old and new Liberalism and Conservatism.

Political life during Palmerston's time. There was not much of political activity during the time of Lord Palmerston, rather political life was altogether stagnant. Though the old Whig and Tory parties were divided on the question of Free Trade, they were unanimous in their opposition against reforms. All measures that aimed at reform were thrown out. But on the death of Palmerston two outstanding personalities appeared on the political platform and absorbed political interest for the next few years. Gladstone became the leader of the Liberal Party and Disraeli of the Conservative Party, both with political principles of their own. It is thus rightly said that "The death of Palmerston forms a convenient point at which it is easy to draw the line between the earlier and the later history of the two great English political parties."

Political principles of the Liberal and the Conservative Parties or the chief differences that separated the Liberals from the Conservatives.

1. *Domestic Affairs.* Under the leadership of Gladstone the old Whigs joined hands with the Radicals and a new Liberal Party was formed. In domestic affairs it was strongly in favour of removing abuses from every walk of political life and improving the condition of the people socially, economically and politically. Gladstone and his Liberal Party were to safeguard the political rights and liberties of the people. Gladstone's New Liberalism was marked by a spirit of progress. His party was that of righteousness, out to abolish everything that was against the principles of justice. Gladstone's First Ministry (1868—1874) gave full expression for the first time to the liberal principles and in fact it was the climax of Liberalism.

On the other hand, Disraeli and his new Conservative party were in favour of social legislation and not political legislation. They wanted to improve the condition of the people socially and economically but not politically. They were against political reform and were anxious to maintain the constitution as it was. Disraeli and his party were opposed to active political reform. Gladstone was a great reformer. He and his party passed many measures of reform for education, army, administration, land, etc.—but Disraeli and his party had not much love for reform. Disraeli and his party had passed some measures for the welfare of the working classes but that was done for some selfish political purposes. Disraeli's political maxim was "Everything for the people but nothing by the people."

2. *Position in the Eyes of Law.* The Liberals wanted to do away with everything that was against the dictates of righteousness and justice. They wanted to establish equality before law by breaking down the supremacy of the landowning class and the higher clergy but the Conservatives wanted to improve the condition of the people as a whole without offending the landowning classes and the church. They were against bringing about any radical change in the existing order of things in the society, the church and the constitution. They wanted slow and cautious reforms and avoided sudden and hasty changes.

Foreign Affairs. The Liberals were not in favour of a bold and spirited foreign policy. Their foreign policy was not of prestige or glory for Britain but of respect for nationality and attainment of international peace and harmony. Gladstone's sympathy was aroused for the King of Naples; for Gairibaldi's efforts to free Italy (1848—1849, 1856—1860), for the massacred Bulgarians under the Turkish rule and for the Chinese.

The Liberals favoured the policy of "Splendid Isolation" which cost England international prestige. They were not Imperialists in the sense of Disraeli; in other words they were not in favour of the expansion of the British Empire by any means. The Conservatives, on the other hand, favoured a strong and vigorous foreign policy. They were in favour of Imperialism and wanted to extend the colonial and commercial strength of England abroad and make her a leading nation in the East and West. They were in favour of expanding the British Empire even at the cost of war. Disraeli was the first English statesman since Chatham to think imperially. He made England great abroad and restored the position of England in the Councils of Europe. New Toryism was destined to play a very significant role in the country.

Q. Explain the chief characteristics of Liberalism and Conservatism as revealed in the policies of Gladstone and Disraeli.

Ans. Please see previous Answer.

GLADSTONE AND LIBERALISM

Gladstone 1809—1898

Q. Discuss critically the internal reforms of Gladstone.
Or, (P.U. 1959, 1956, 1944)

Describe the Domestic policy of Gladstone or why is Gladstone's First Ministry regarded as the most brilliant and liberal administration of the 19th century?
Or, (D.U. 1957, 1954)

'Gladstone's domestic reforms dramatically transformed the face of English Society." Discuss. *Or,*

What claim has Gladstone to the gratitude of Englishmen?
(P.U. 1953, 1951, 1946, 1947)

Gladstone's Political Career. Gladstone, born at Liverpool in 1809, was the son of a rich merchant. He received high education at Eton and Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1833 as a Conservative but gradually became a Liberal. For some time he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1853 he introduced his first great free-trade budget. He was a strong advocate of free-trade policy and removed duties on many articles of trade. Trade was thus encouraged and the life of poor people even became comfortable. He was a great Liberal and the Reform Bill which he introduced in 1864, put him in the first rank of the Liberal group and made him the object of popular admiration. Gladstone was a great financier and his successful financial policy and reform brought him fame.

For fifty years Gladstone was closely associated with the affairs of his country; sat for 63 years in Parliament; was for 28 years the leader of the Liberal Party and four times the Prime Minister.

First Ministry, 1868—1874. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the first time in 1868 and was in office for six years. It was the first great Liberal administration. His first ministry (1868—1874) is regarded as the most brilliant reform administration of the 19th century.

"As a Liberal Prime Minister, Gladstone decided to devote more energy, attention and finances to social and economic reform at home that to a vigorous policy abroad. His first Ministry (1688—1874) was the height of Liberalism."

His Home Policy and Domestic Reforms are the following:—

1. *Educational Reforms.* (a) Elementary Education Act, 1870. So far elementary education was controlled by the Church, but by this Act it was laid down that school boards be set up to open schools at places where there were no schools managed and controlled by the Church. The school boards were to finance the newly started schools by small educational rates and government grants. The Act established a national system of education.

(b) In 1880, Elementary Education was made compulsory and in 1891 it was made free.

(c) University Test Act, 1871. So far only those students who were the followers of the Church of England could receive education at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The University Test Act abolished this distinction and all students regardless of their faith were entitled to receive education at these Universities.

2. *Army Reforms.* (a) The purchase system, by which commissions in the army were bought and sold, was abolished. This vicious system had been a great obstacle in the way of the poor either in entering the army or rising in it. Thenceforward promotion by merit was substituted for the purchase system.

(b) By the Army Enlistment Act of 1870, the term of service was shortened. A short active service followed by a longer term in the reserve was introduced. Thus the period of active service of those enlisting was reduced. The army became one of young men.

(c) In 1871, the Crown again took to itself the direct control over the militia and volunteers.

(d) The regular infantry, militia and volunteers were organised on a better and more efficient system.

Thus the army that was inefficient, aristocratic and expensive, became efficient, national and cheap.

3. *Judicial Reforms.* The Judicature Act, passed in 1873, made the administration of justice simpler and cheaper by consolidating the various courts into a High Court.

4. *Civil Reforms.* (a) Civil Service was put on the basis of open competitive examination.

(b) Ballot Act, 1872. By the Ballot Act passed in 1872, secret method of voting was introduced at the election of members of Parliament.

(c) The holders of fellowships and scholarships at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had to undergo certain religious tests, but by an Act this distinction was removed and religious tests were abolished.

(d) In 1871 Trade Unions were legalised.

(e) By the Licensing Act, passed in 1872, a reduction was brought about in the number of public houses and their hours of opening.

5. *Irish Reforms.* When Gladstone came to power, he remarked to a friend, "My mission is to pacify Ireland." His attention was drawn to an alien Protestant Church in a predominantly Catholic country and grossly unjust land system which the Irish resented bitterly. By passing the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church Act in 1869 and the first Irish Land Act in 1870, he tried to pacify the Irish people.

6. *Economic Reform or Financial Measures.* (b) He abolished the remaining protective duties, further reduced the duty on many articles and thus made England a free-trade country.

(b) He progressively reduced the income-tax which came down to 2d. in 1874.

(c) Land and houses were made liable to the same legacy duty as personal property.

(d) He reduced the taxation on necessaries of life and paper, tea, and many other articles.

(e) He established the Post Office Savings Bank and Post Office Annuities in 1874.

The above are some of his chief financial achievements. Gladstone used finance for ameliorating the condition of the people, and diffusing wealth especially among the working classes.

His ministry fell in the next general election of 1874 on account of his weak foreign policy which was not liked by the people.

Second Ministry, 1880—1885. In 1880, Gladstone became Prime Minister for the second time and was in office for five years. The following measures were passed in his Second Ministry:—

1. *Second Irish Land Act,* 1881. The landlords in Ireland compelled the tenants to pay very heavy rents and this reduced them to extreme poverty. By the Second Irish Land Act, special land courts were set up for the settlement of rents of lands. It meant to secure a fair rent, a fixed rent and freedom of sale of the holding for the peasant.

2. *Third Reform Act,* 1884. By this Act, every householder in the counties was entitled to vote and thus the right of voting was extended to the agricultural labourers.

3. *The Re-distribution Act,* 1885. By this Act, the country was divided into equal electoral districts and every district was allowed to return one member to Parliament.

4. He passed the Closure Bill for closing a debate in the House of Commons.

Again, on account of his weak and vacillating foreign policy, he had to resign in 1885.

Third Ministry, 1886. Gladstone was anxious to grant Home Rule to Ireland by giving her a separate Parliament. For this purpose he introduced the First Irish Home Rule Bill. The Bill could not be passed as many members of his own party were not in favour of the Bill, and so he resigned in 1886.

Fourth Ministry, 1892—1894. He introduced the Second Home Rule Bill in 1892. This Bill was passed through the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. At this Gladstone resigned in 1894 and retired from politics.

Gladstone's Parliamentary or Democratic Reforms.

1. Gladstone who strongly believed in liberal principles introducced a Reform Bill in 1864 extending Parliamentary franchise.

2. An Act was passed in 1833 against corrupt practices in Parliamentary elections.

3. The Third Reform Act passed by Gladstone in 1884 gave vote to the agricultural labourers by making the franchise in the counties the same as in the boroughs.

4. The Redistribution Act passed in 1835 disfranchised many small boroughs and divided the country into equal electoral districts each district entitled to return one member to Parliament.

5. In 1893 Gladstone passed the Parish Councils Act by which the system of elective self-government was extended to rural parishes and districts.

England now became a thorough democracy. Thus the democratic institutions of Great Britain owe more to Gladstone than to any one else.

Gladstone was undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen of England who rendered great services to the cause of his country. In his last years he was called the Grand Old Man. He died in 1898 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

He owed his success to several things. He had a strong constitution, which enabled him to work hard for fifteen hours a day and address public meetings with unabated vigour at the age of eighty-seven. He was a commanding orator in the great days of parliamentary debate. He had a strong will, intense convictions, great capacity for detail and deep religious fervour.

N.B. The result of the Home policy, beneficial measures and domestic reforms introduced by Gladstone during his four terms of ministry was that the face of English society was drastically transformed. Thus Gladstone had a great claim to the gratitude of Englishmen.

Q. (a) Gladstone's First Ministry was the climax of Liberalism. Justify.

(b) Gladstone's First Ministry was the most fruitful and on

the whole the most successful Liberal Ministry of Victoria's reign. Justify.

Ans. Please see previous Answer.

Q. (a) **Give a brief account of the Home and Foreign Policy of Gladstone.**

(b) **"Gladstone's Foreign Policy had been too supine." Comment.**

(a) **Gladstone's Home Policy.** Please see previous Answer.

(b) *Gladstone's Foreign Policy*: *Weak and Unenterprising.* Gladstone has generally been accused of lack of interest in foreign affairs. During his long tenure of office, England lost that great place in international affairs to which she had been raised by Lord Palmerston. In the first place, the British Government neglected to perform its duties as a neutral power during the American Civil War and had to pay a huge sum as compensation. This is known as the Alabama Case. Secondly, Gladstone refused to intervene in the Franco-German War (1870-1871). As a result, the balance of power in Europe was upset without England having a voice in the matter. Thirdly, the Treaty of Paris (1856) had weakened the naval power of Russia by neutralizing the Black Sea. Russia took advantage of the Franco-German War to repudiate that restriction on her development. Gladstone protested but in vain. This move on the part of Russia was regarded as a menace to British interests in the East. This "somewhat dilatory and unenterprising" foreign policy of Gladstone alienated popular sympathies.

In foreign matters he seemed to be out of his element, and the policy he took up was that of non-intervention. He was a "pacifist" (opposed to war) and was in favour of co-operation with other nations. He wanted to help weak and oppressed nationalities.

His languid efforts to assert British power far and wide and his reluctance to interfere in foreign politics damaged the prestige of England abroad and made him unpopular at home. His foreign policy was considered pacific and unexciting.

In foreign matters, Gladstone favoured the policy of "Splendid Isolation" which cost England international prestige.

"Gladstone's Imperial Policy had been too Supine." It has been remarked that "Gladstone's imperial policy had been too supine" (negligent or lethargic). He did not try to develop and strengthen the magnificent heritage left to British men and women by their forefathers. In this respect, his policy is in strange contrast with that of his rival, Disraeli. In the first place, his attempt to conciliate Ireland by the Home Rule policy was regarderd as a step towards the disintegration of the Empire. Secondly, he concluded the Afghan War which had been commenced by his predecessor (Disraeli) for safe guarding India from Russian advance through Afghanistan. Thirdly, Gladstone had to face Arabi Pasha's revolt in Egypt (1881—1882).

which he suppressed. Fourthly, he failed to suppress the Mahdi's revolt in Sudan (1883—1885). An English army under General Gordon was cut off by the rebels, and Gladstone was held responsible for his death. Sudan was lost. Finally in South Africa the Boers were granted local independence. In these cases Gladstone's policy of caution failed to commend itself to the nation.

It was on account of his weak and lukewarm foreign policy that he had to resign in 1874. Again it was his failure to pursue a vigorous foreign policy that led to his fall in 1885. It was asserted that owing to his desire to apply high principles to foreign politics, he sometimes failed to secure for Great Britain the benefits to which she was entitled. Surely, his foreign policy has been criticized as weak and unenterprising but it was infused with ideas of liberty and nationality. It was strongly influenced by his belief in the principle of brotherhood among nations and of their sacred independence. He did not look to British interests only but had in view the well-being of the world as a whole. This is the defence of his foreign policy.

All events connected with his foreign policy left an uneasy sense on public mind that Gladstone was not vigorous enough in foreign affairs, though it is difficult to see how he could have taken any other line.

Q. Discuss Gladstone's Irish Policy and the part played by him in the Home Rule Movement for Ireland. How far was Gladstone's Irish Policy a success? *Or,* (P.U. 1949, 1944)

"My mission is to pacify Ireland." Review the attempts that were made by Gladstone and the Liberal Party to achieve this aim. To what extent were these attempts successful?
Or, (D.U. 1958, 1951)

In what ways did Gladstone endeavour to settle the grievances of the Irish people before his conversion to Home Rule.
(P.U. 1952)

Gladstone's Irish Policy. Gladstone was wise enough to know in time that the main causes of Irish discontent were religious and economic.

1. The religious discontent of the Irish was due to the establishment of a Protestant Church amidst a Catholic population (the majority of the Irish were Catholics).

2. The economic discontent of the Irish was due to the existence of the oppressive system of land tenure in Ireland.

Realising the grievances of the Irish in right earnest, Gladstone said, "My mission is to pacify Ireland."

Gladstone's Remedial Measures for Ireland. Gladstone, a Liberal Reformer, was always full of sympathy for the weak and the oppressed and all such nationalities that were struggling for popular rights and liberties. He had a very sympathetic attitude towards the Irish and wanted to help them in their distress. Consequently to redress the religious and economic grievances of the Irish, Gladstone took the following steps:—

1. *Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church Act*, 1869. The State Church in Ireland was Protestant but the Irish were mostly Catholics and the Catholic majority had to pay tithes (a kind of tax) for the upkeep of the State Church. The Irish had long been resisting the payment of tithes for running a Church in which they had no faith. Gladstone, to redress the religious wrong on the Irish, passed an Act known as the Disestablishment and Disendowment Act abolishing tithes and disestablishing the Irish Church. The Church in Ireland was no longer a sort of State department and the grants and property attached to it were largely withdrawn. Its bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. The endowments of the Irish Protestant Church were to be spent over measures calculated to bring about social welfare among the Irish.

2. *First Irish Land Act*, 1879. Gladstone next turned his attention to the agrarian problem or the Irish Land Question, a very pressing question indeed. The Irish peasants, who tilled the soil without possessing it, enjoyed no security on their farms and could be evicted from them at the pleasure of their owners without receiving any compensation for the improvements they had effected in the land.

The First Irish Land Act provided that if a tenant was evicted for any reason other than non-payment of rent he could claim compensation for eviction from the landlord for all improvements of a permanent character on giving up his land.

The Irish were not satisfied with the Disestablishment and Disendowment Act and the First Irish Land Act passed by Gladstone in 1869 and 1870, respectively. To get further concessions, the Irish formed a Land League which resorted to the policy of "Boycotting". This, however, enraged Gladstone who was forced to adopt a number of coercive measures to stop lawlessness and growing disorder.

3. *The Second Irish Land Act*, 1881. Gladstone who had genuine sympathy with the Irish and wanted to relieve their distress passed the second Irish Land Act, in 1881. The First Irish Land Act had failed to give protection to the oppressed peasantry. Landlords managed to evade it and evictions became more numerous. Gladstone tried to remedy the defects of the first measure by the Second Irish Land Act of 1881. It meant to secure a fair rent, a fixed rent and freedom of sale of the holding for the peasant. Henceforth the rent of a farm was to be determined by Land Courts established by the State for this purpose.

Even this Act failed to satisfy the Irish. The Irish discontent became serious and found expression in outbursts of violence, outrages and murders. The Government adopted a number of repressive measures to restore order but they served no useful purpose. Conciliation and repression having failed, Gladstone decided to give them reforms along the lines desired by the Irish. He became convinced that nothing short of Home Rule would satisfy the Irish. He tried to secure Home Rule for Ireland but failed.

Home Rule Movements and Gladstone: *The Home Rule League*. The last phase of Irish political history is the movement for Home Rule. The Home Rule League with Mr. Issac Butt as leader, was formed in Ireland in 1873. The new movement was a compromise between close union and complete separation. It aimed at the establishment of a separate Parliament for Ireland. About sixty members were returned as Home Rulers to the House of Commons in 1874.

Charles Stuart Parnell. In 1877 there came in the arena of Irish politics a man by the name of Charles Stuart Parnell (1846—1891) who, although a Protestant and a landlord, became the "Uncrowned King" of Ireland and the leader of the Roman Catholic tenantry, with whose sufferings he strongly sympathised. He was a bitter foe of England which he regarded as the enemy of Ireland. In 1877 Parnell became the head in the House of Commons, of a party of Home Rulers, who sought to force attention to Irish claims by systematic obstruction of business. Matters were still more complicated by the establishment, in 1879, of the National Land League, which led to great disorders in Ireland. A Coercion Act followed in 1881 and Parnell and others were imprisoned. Gladstone, however, came to terms with Parnell (Kilmaniham Treaty, 1882) and he was released. But it was immediately followed by Phoenix Park murders (1882) which roused the hostility of the English people.

First and Second Home Rule Bills. Gladstone saw that his previous policy of combining coercion and conciliation had failed to solve the Irish question and he resolved, contrary to his previous opinion, to give Ireland an independent Parliament. Thus Gladstone was converted to Home Rule. In 1886, the First Home Rule Bill was introduced by Gladstone but it was defeated by a majority of thirty after causing a rupture in the Liberal Party. Liberals who favoured the Home-Rule movement came to be known as the Home Rulers and those who went against it came to be known as Liberal-Unionists. Gladstone resigned and the Liberal-Unionists, under Lord Salisbury came into power in 1886. They followed a policy of ruthless oppression and coercion. Gladstone again came into power in 1892 and he brought in the Second Home Rule Bill in 1893. It was passed by the House of Commons but was thrown out by the House of Lords. Gladstone resigned and retired from public life (1894).

Gladstone's Earnestness about Ireland. That Gladstone was earnest and sincere to conciliate Ireland cannot be denied. There is as yet no general agreement about the value of his Irish legislation. Some writers speak in favour of it and some against it. But the fact remains that Gladstone evinced keener interest for Ireland than any other British statesman, and that the subsequent history of Ireland culminating in the horrors and bloodshed of recent years proved that Gladstone was right.

Although Gladstone was not successful in securing Home Rule to Ireland, he surely deserves credit for his measures which redressed at least some of the grievances of the Irish people.

In his two long ministries Gladstone's personal interest was concentrated upon Ireland. England was not prepared to accept the gradually developing transformation of Gladstone's mind. In his two later ministries, all powers of Gladstone were almost exclusively devoted to the losing battle for Irish self-government. Much misery, much strife and bloodshed, much hatred might have been avoided and Ireland would have been contented had England the wisdom of respecting and recognising the liberty and nationality of others as she had intense desire to preserve her own.

Gladstone had said at the outset, "My mission is to pacify Ireland," consequently he devoted the best part of his energy and attention to the removal of Irish grievances.

Q. Form an estimate of Gladstone's work, services and achievements; *Or,* **What claim has Gladstone to the gratitude of Englishmen?**

His Work and Achievements. An Estimate of Gladstone. His Importance and Services. Gladstone's claim to the Gratitude of Englishmen. He was a man of extraordinary ability, possessing wonderful power of work and capacity for detail. He was a brilliant orator, untiring reader and productive writer. He had remarkable courage, complete sincerity and high sense of responsibility. He had a passion to do public good and serve mankind. He was a great moralist and favourably impressed all who came into contact with him. He was deeply religious and sincerely devoted to the high Church principles.

Gladstone as a Financier. He was unrivalled as a financier. He reduced national expenses, lowered taxes, scrutinised expenditure and enforced economy. He was the first among the British ministers to use finance as a means of social welfare. He did more than anybody else to promote the material and industrial prosperity of England. As a statesman his great strength lay in finance. He was a zealous guardian of the public purse, and public economy was the key to his financial policy. By his wise financial reforms and skilful budgets he reduced the burden of taxation under which the people had been groaning. At the same time he showed a big surplus over the actual expenditure of the government. Thus the people had to pay little, but the government had to get much support from them.

Gladstone's Sympathy for Ireland. In his foreign policy we find him a true friend of the oppressed and struggling nationalities. He was so much full of sympathy for the weak and the oppressed that he did not hesitate to help them even against Great Britain. He was sympathetic to Ireland and India. He did his utmost to help Ireland in the Home Rule Movement and sent Lord Ripon to India who laid the foundations of local self-government there. The Irish people found in him one of their best benefactors.

Gladstone as an Administrator. He rendered great services to his countrymen and his claim to the gratitude of Englishmen was highly justified. Education was reformed and made popular, Civil Service was thrown open and the army was purged of its evils. His Free-

Trade budgets increased commerce and made the nation prosperous. He reformed the administration and the system of Parliamentary representation. Being a thorough liberal and zealous reformer, his judgments and measures were based upon the principles of humanity, liberty and nationality, and there were few departments of national life which he left untouched. He raised the tone of English life and taught Englishmen to think nobly and foreigners to think nobly of England. He did perhaps more than any other single man to adapt the machinery of the State to modern democratic conditions.

In politics, he always appealed to righteousness and nothing could be mean with him.

Justis McArthy has given a very good description of this great statesman. He says, "He was an essayist, a critic, a Homeric scholar, he was a theological controversialist, he was a political economist, a financier, a practical administrator whose gift of mastering details has hardly ever been equalled; he was a statesman and an orator. No man could attempt so many things at a time and yet save himself from popular fury."

Gladstone as a Politician and Statesman. Gladstone was thoroughly English, and he solved intricate and puzzling problems—economic and social—with admirable wisdom and foresight.

Gladstone was a great constructive statesman and his remarkable administrative ability was largely employed in 'working out the institutions of his country. The spirit of improvement was incarnate in him," and he had the power of embodying great principles in legislative form.

Incomparable as a legislator, he was second to none as a Parliamentarian and as an orator. He was an honest and indefatigable public servant and his advent to power quickened the pulse of national life.

His measures were directed mainly against all barriers between man and man, and with a view to smoothing them down, he introduced bills whereby political power was no more a monopoly of the rich and the landed classes but was shared equally by all sections of the people. As a most advanced and liberal reformer he believed that "every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution." His Parliamentary reforms removed the corrupt practices in Parliamentary election and practically established thorough democracy in England.

As a statesman Gladstone may be said to have had four great interests: One was the Church of England; the second was economy; the third was peace; and the fourth was Ireland. He was ever active in the defence of the Church, from the High Anglican side, yet he disestablished the Irish Church, which was a part of the Church of England. As a financier he was superb; the national accounts were simplified, all expenditure was rigidly scrutinized, taxation was lowered. As Chancellor of the Exchequer his economies had enabled him to reduce the income tax, which at the end of the Crimean War stood at 1s. 4d. in the £, to 4d. in the £.

DISRAELI AND NEW CONSERVATISM

Disraeli (1804—1881)

Q. Give a short critical account of Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield) with particular reference to his Home Policy and Social Reforms. (P.U. 1954, 1948, 1943; D.U. 1962, 1958)

Or.

Illustrate Disraeli's record as a party leader.

His Early Career. Benjamin Disraeli (who later became Lord Beaconsfield) was one of the greatest statesmen and Conservative Prime Ministers of the 19th century. He was a Jew by birth but a Christian by faith. He did not receive University education though he possessed great intelligence, common sense, tact and wisdom.

Disraeli was born in 1804 and became a member of Parliament in 1837. He was a Conservative; at first he followed Peel. He revolted against Peel over the repeal of the Corn Laws and made himself the champion of the Protectionist party. He was recognised as one of the leaders of the Conservative party. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852, and leader of the House of Commons under Lord Derby's Ministry. Henceforth, Disraeli began to earn great reputation as leader of the Opposition.

Disraeli's First Ministry, 1868. In 1868, Disraeli became Prime Minister for the first time but was soon defeated on Gladstone's motion for disetablishing the Irish Church, thus holding his office only for a few months.

Disraeli's Second Ministry, 1874—1880. *His Home Policy or his Social and Administrative Reforms. "Tory Democracy."* In his Home policy, Disraeli was a Conservative. His policy and programme had three aspects: (a) The maintenance of the old constitution of the country, (b) the improvement of the condition of the poor people and the labourers, and (c) the development of the Empire.

Disraeli favoured moderate reforms and introduced various measures to improve the condition of the poor people and the labouring classes, with a view to getting their support and strengthen his own policy:—

1. *The Second Reform Act.* In 1867, he was again Chancellor of the Exchequer and was responsible for the Second Reform Bill of 1867 which gave franchise to the labourers living in towns.

2. *The Artisans' Dwelling Act.* As Prime Minister he got the Artisans' Dwelling Act passed to solve the housing problem in large towns. Open and well-ventilated houses were to be provided to the poor and labouring classes and the local bodies were empowered to acquire such areas where sanitation was bad and to pull down the unhealthy slums.

3. *Creation of a New Sinking Fund.* He created a new sinking fund in order to pay off the National Debt.

4. *Agricultural Holdings' Act.* This Act was passed to solve the housing problem in rural areas and to give security to tenants for capital invested in the soil.

5. *The Combination Act.* It was also called the Employers' and Workmen's Act or the Trade Union Act. By this Act, labour combinations and peaceful picketing were not considered illegal. It was considered as the Charter of Trade Unionism. It effected considerable progress in the social life of the working classes.

6. *Merchant Shipping Act.* By this Act, the overloading of ships was forbidden and bad vessels were not allowed to sail.

7. *The Factory Act.* By this Act the hours of labour in factories were reduced and the responsibilities of inspectors increased.

8. *The Factory and Workshops Act.* The Factory laws so far passed were carefully collected and put together in a code for guiding the Factory system and controlling the relations between the labourers and the capitalists. Any child under ten years of age could not be employed in a factory and the hours of work were limited in case of children above ten.

9. *Public Health Act.* It was a useful sanitary measure in the interest of the public health.

10. *Education.* He passed laws also effecting education.

Though Disraeli had offered in vague terms, a policy of social reforms—"the amelioration of the condition of our people,"—little was, in fact, done in the way of domestic legislation. By the measures mentioned above he initiated a series of social legislation in the interest of the industrial classes.

His great aim underlying his social reforms was to get the support of the labouring classes and thus strengthen his own party. He wanted to substitute social reform for political reconstruction.

Disraeli had not much interest in domestic legislation and had not much love for reform. It is true that he was the author of the Second Reform Act (1867) when he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer and some other measures for the welfare of the working classes as Prime Minister (1874—1880), but for the former, the cue was taken from the Liberals, and the latter was a vote-catching device.

He was a Conservative but his ideas were progressive. Though opposed to violent changes, he was in favour of moderate reforms and open to conviction. He believed in benevolent legislation for the good of the masses, yet he did not like that they should possess political power. He is reported to have said, "Everything for the people, but nothing by the people."

Q. (a) **Give a critical account of the Foreign Policy of Dis-**

raeli and its effects. "Disraeli's policy was too adventurous." Comment. *Or,* (D.U. 1961, 1957; P.U. 1956, 1949).

Illustrate Disraeli's record as a Foreign Minister.

(b) Describe Disraeli's work and achievements or services to his country. *Or,*

"Disraeli was the first minister since Canning, perhaps since Chatham, to think imperially." Justify the remark as illustrated by Disraeli's handling of the Eastern Question.

Disraeli's Services as Foreign Minister. His Foreign and Imperial Policy. New Imperialism. It has been said that "the chief interest of Disraeli's ministry arose from its conduct of the foreign and imperial affairs." His foreign policy was spirited, vigorous and adventurous; it was not dilatory or unenterprising like that of Gladstone. "If Gladstone's imperial policy had been too supine, that of Disraeli was too adventurous." Disraeli was an Imperialist, i.e., he was a strong advocate of imperialism. In other words, he wanted to extend the dominions of England and make its influence supreme abroad even though he might have to go to war for that purpose. His name has been closely associated with Imperialism. "Our duty is to maintain the Empire of England which can alone give it that ascendancy in the councils of Europe which will secure peace." He wanted to interfere in European politics and make England great both with regard to its territories and influence. He was undoubtedly the pioneer of imperialism.

Disraeli's foreign policy was based upon two main aims: (1) To raise British prestige in the eyes of the world, and (2) to consolidate and extend the British Empire. This he tried to achieve by means of a "spirited foreign policy", the chief features of which were the development of Imperialism and opposition to Russia whom Disraeli regarded as a dangerous rival.

He had great confidence in the destiny of the British Empire. He had a remarkable success in raising the status of his country and restoring its international prestige which it had lost since the time of Palmerston.

The following points in the foreign and imperial policy of Disraeli are particularly worthy of note and testify to his greatness as a minister and the great services he rendered to his country:—

1. *Purchase of Suez Canal Shares.* In 1875, he seized the chance of buying all the shares in the Suez canal that had belonged to the Khedive of Egypt. It was a brilliant stroke of policy the importance of which has been justified by subsequent history. By this Act, the Government obtained the virtual monopoly of the shortest sea route to India and the right of interference in Egyptian affairs. England secured control over one of the most important ocean highways of the world.

"Purchase of Suez Canal shares proved to be a stroke of prophetic genius or the wisest stroke of his policy."

2. *The Tour of the Prince of Wales*, 1875. The Prince of Wales undertook a tour to India in 1875 in order to flatter the pride and vivify the loyalty of the princes and people of India.

3. *Royal Titles Act*. Disraeli passed the Royal Titles Act in 1876, by which Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. On January 18, 1877, a *durbar* was held at Delhi, with great pomp and show where it was proclaimed amidst great rejoicings that the Queen had assumed the title of the Empress of India. The addition of the title of Empress of India to the style of the Queen is a remarkable instance of his imperialism.

4. *Berlin Conference*, 1878. In 1875—1876, the Bulgarians revolted against their Turkish rulers. The revolt was suppressed by Turkey with great severity. Russia who was the traditional enemy of Turkey and the champion of Christian interests in the Bulkan Peninsula, declared war against Turkey. The Turks were defeated and compelled to make great concessions to Russia by the Treaty of San Stefano. England could not tolerate the growth of Russian power and influence at the cost of Turkey. Disraeli made warlike preparations and compelled Russia to refer the whole question to a Congress of European Powers. The Congress met at Berlin and Disraeli himself was present at the conference. Disraeli got a comprehensive treaty drawn up very much as he wished. According to the terms of this Treaty (i) The Russians had to give up the idea of "big Bulgaria" which was now to be divided into two parts.

(ii) Servia, Montenegro and Roumania were to have independence.

(iii) Russia was to get Kars and Batoum but the second one was not to be fortified.

(iv) Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be governed by Austria.

(v) Great Britain was to receive Cyprus against payment of tribute to Turkey.

(vi) Turkey was to introduce reforms in Armenia.

5. *Dual Control of Egypt*. The Khedive (Ruler) of Egypt owed heavy sums of money to the English and French bankers. He was not able to repay his debts and was almost a bankrupt. He abdicated in favour of his son, and Britain and France conjointly took control of Egypt and appointed ministers to organize the finances of the country. Thus dual control of the English and the French was established by Disraeli in Egypt.

6. *The Zulu War*. The Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire in 1878, and as a retaliatory measure the Zulu chief Catchwayo made war upon the British settlers in South Africa. In the beginning the English suffered reverses and were given considerable trouble by the Zulus, but the English came out victorious in the end and Zululand was annexed in 1879.

7. *War in Afghanistan*. A war between England and Afghanistan broke out in 1878, known as the Second Afghan War. The Eng-

lish had to suffer great reverses and losses at the outset though they succeeded in the end.

The wars in Zululand and Afghanistan lowered the prestige of England a good deal. Gladstone made speeches throughout the country against the pro-Turkish policy of Disraeli. As a result of this the public opinion in England turned against Disraeli and he was defeated in the general elections of 1880 and died the next year, i.e., in 1881.

Effects of His Foreign and Imperial Policy. Disraeli was a great statesman and is remembered for his greatness as a party leader and his foreign and imperial policy. With the exception of Peel, he was the greatest conservative leader of the 19th century and wielded great influence in his country for many years. He did much to promote the greatness of British Empire and recovered the international prestige which England had lost after the death of Palmerston. He developed and strengthened the Empire and largely increased its influence and importance among European nations. Prince Bismarck, the great Chancellor, once said of him, "Disraeli is England."

DISRAELI'S WORK AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Q. Give a careful estimate of Disraeli mentioning his work and achievements and his services to his country.

Disraeli as a Statesman. He was really a great statesman of the 19th century who shone as a very brilliant figure in his own country as well as in international politics. The possession of a vivid imagination was one of the outstanding features of Disraeli. His own imagination helped him to appeal to the imagination of the people and this, combined with ambition, self-confidence, patriotism and political genius, made him at last in spite of his Jewish birth, which was in those days a handicap, the hero of the English masses and the champion of the country families and prosperous commercial classes, who at one time looked upon him with suspicion.

Disraeli as a Party Leader. Disraeli's claim to fame rests chiefly on his work as a party leader and on his foreign and imperial policy. Next to Peel, he was the greatest of the conservative leaders of the 19th century. He taught his party to accept Parliamentary reform and to promote the interest of the working classes. He created the modern Conservative Party giving it new ideals—the Preservation of the Constitution and the Empire, and Social Reform. He carried through the Second Reform Act which made Britain a democracy. Under his inspired leadership conservatism became a very popular, almost a national creed. His reinterpretation of the conservative doctrine enhanced its popularity. Thus he organised his party on a solid basis.

Disraeli laid the foundation of the new Conservative Party. The new conservatism was guided by three main aims, i.e., the principles of new Toryism as defined by Disreali, were the following:—

1. To raise British prestige in the eyes of the world by means of a bold and spirited foreign policy. This is seen in his handling of the Eastern Question in the Berlin Conference (1888) where he

was able to secure the Island of Cyprus for his country and a "Peace wih Honour". 'England as a whole rejoiced to have secured peace and "Peace with Honour" as Beaconsfield proclaimed it.

2. To stimulate the pride of "Empire" among the British people. Britain was at this time industrially and commercially at its height and Disraeli amid favourable circumstances was able to appeal and to stimulate the pride of Empire which was beginning to come to birth in Britain.

3. To substitute social reform for political reconstruction. During his premiership Disraeli passed a number of social reforms to improve the condition of the poor people and the labouring classes instead of taking up the work of political reconstruction or introducing great political changes.

Disreali as an Imperialist. It is rightly said that "the chief interests of Disraeli's ministry arose from its conduct of foreign and imperial affairs."

His foreign policy was bold and adventurous, and in 1874, Disraeli emerged as the champion of the imperial idea. The aim of his foreign and imperial policy was to make the influence of Great Britain supreme in Europe and to extend the British Empire even at the risk of war. He looked upon Russia as a dangerous rival and so supported the Turks against the Russians in the Russio-Turkish War. The Russio-Turkish War 1876—1878 really shows his genius and diplomacy. His vigorous interference not only saved Turkish Empire from the ambitious designs of Russia but secured British interests in the East by the acquisition of Cyprus at the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. He increased British influence in Egypt by buying the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, the gateway to the East. He is largely responsible for the beginning of the policy which made Egypt practically a dependency of Great Britain. He developed and strengthened the Empire and largely increased its influence and importance among European nations. He upheld English interests and made England's power felt abroad. The period 1874—1880, i.e., the second Ministry of Disraeli was in a sense the Golden Age of Tory Democracy. "Through his vigorous Foreign policy, he raised the prestige of England, checked the aggressions of Russia, restored order in the Turkish Empire and secured his Eastern Empire by the acquisition of Cyprus."

Q. Describe the evolution of Disraeli's new conservatism or the principle of New Toryism as defined by Disraeli.

Ans. Please see previous Answer—Disraeli as a Party Leader.

Q. "Seldom in English history have two great statesmen living in the same age been so different as Gladstone and Disraeli." Comment. ***Or,***

"If Gladstone's foreign policy had been too supine, that of Beaconsfield had been too adventurous." Explain and illustrate the statement. ***Or,***

Attempt a contrast of the character and policy of Gladstone and Disraeli. (P.U. 1955, 1946, 1939)

Their Character and Outlook Contrasted. "Seldom in English history have two men living in the same age, been so different as Gladstone and Disraeli." Gladstone sprang from a middle class Scottish family and possessed the virtues of a true Christian, but Disraeli came of a Jewish family. Gladstone was educated at Eton and Oxford but Disraeli received no university education. Gladstone was the leader of the Liberals and Disraeli the leader of the Conservatives.

"As men the two differed widely; Gladstone was always terribly in earnest with little or no touch of humour about him. Disraeli was ironical, imaginative and intensely theatrical. The one with his earnest eloquence and strength of will could sway the people, the other with a lighter touch fired their zeal and kindled their imagination. In oratorical gift Gladstone was superior to his rival. His exquisite voice and exuberant rush of words overwhelmed his audience. Disraeli, on the other hand, was a great coiner of telling phrases and a master of epigrams and invectives which delighted his hearers."

Disraeli was adept in the art of flattery and was thus a favourite of the Queen. Gladstone who was skilled in the art of flattery excited the Queen's disfavour. Gladstone was a devoted follower of the Anglican Church, while Disraeli was a Jew. Disraeli set no value upon religion as a creed or dogma, but Gladstone was a strong supporter of religion as the most important factor in politics. Gladstone was devoted to religion and interested in religious controversies. He wrote religious pamphlets and notes on Homer. About Disraeli, it is doubtful if he had any religion at all. He wrote novels dealing with matters of the moment. He spent his periods of leisure in producing a series of brilliant novels, the best known of which are Lothair, Endymion and Coningsby.

Both differed even in their manners, speech, habits, dress and outlook. Disraeli loved show and affection, whereas Gladstone was deep and grand and loved purity and simplicity. If Disraeli was showy and affected, Gladstone was simple and sincere.

Their Policies Constrated—Foreign Policy. "If Gladstone's foreign policy had been too supine, that of Beaconsfield had been too adventurous." A remarkably wide difference separated the two statesmen which absorbed the political interest of England during the period 1865—1880. The history of this great age is mainly a history of their rivalry. Disraeli believed in a vigorous foreign policy, Gladstone was a pacificist and was in favour of non-intervention.

In foreign policy Disraeli was an Imperialist, that is, his object was to extend the British Empire and make its power felt abroad even if it involved war. He wished to make the influence of Great Britain supreme in Europe and consolidate and extend England's Colonial Empire. He supported Turkey against Russia in order to check its expansion. He was out to fight any country that threatened England. Russia's advance towards India led him to back up Turkey as a counterpoise to Russian aggression. He followed a vigorous "forward policy" and his shrewd diplomacy won him applause. He wished to make England the metropolis of a great empire. Imperialism was thus the central policy where most of his attention and energy was concentrated. On the contrary, Gladstone was an utter failure in foreign and colonial policy. Gladstone's Liberalism took little interest in colonial problems, and had no definite imperial policy, it was content to leave the colonies to go their own way. His foreign policy was lethargic, unadventurous and supine. Domestic legislation and finance were his proper province where he shone with brilliance but not the foreign affairs where he could not appreciate the seriousness or grasp details. He tried to apply high principles to foreign politics which few people do and so he failed to secure for Great Britain the benefits which his country could otherwise have achieved. Gladstone was a supporter of the liberties of the nation but Disraeli was an advocate of Imperialism. Gladstone favoured the policy of "Splendid Isolation" which cost England in international prestige, but Disraeli did not hesitate to take risks to uphold the influence of England abroad. On the other hand, Disraeli was the first English statesman since Chatham to think imperially. He taught his countrymen to be proud of their Empire and thought that the future of England lay beyond the seas. Disraeli is said to have brought the appeal of Romance to English public life. The above contrast of foreign policies shows that "if Gladstone's imperial policy had been too supine, that of Beaconsfield had been too adventurous."

Domestic Policy. Gladstone began as a Tory, veered to Liberalism and became in the end almost a Radical. Disraeli was a Tory from the start to the finish. Gladstone was a great Liberal Reformer but Disraeli had not much love for reform. Gladstone was restless for reform in every branch of administration, but Disraeli was in favour of reforming the condition of social workers alone for that would serve him as a good vote-catching device. Disraeli had little constructive ability and administrative capacity, while Gladstone was a great constructive statesman and administrator, delighted in the actual work and business of administration and was at his best when dealing with some complicated problems of legislation and finance. He felt a great delight in all legislation in the constructive sense. In constitutional, social, and economic reforms Gladstone's name is associated with national education, reform of the Army, Parliamentary reforms and many other reforms. Thus we see that Gladstone's Home policy was vigorous and he introduced a large number of domestic reforms.

As financier too, Gladstone was one of the greatest that England has known and Disraeli was no match for him. He was anxious to make England wealthy and to use that wealth for the uplift and amelioration of the working classes. Among his financial achievements the following are particularly worthy of note—the Succession Duty in 1853, the reduction of the income-tax on necessaries of life and paper, the establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank (1861) and the Post Office annuities in 1864.

Trade Policy. Disraeli was not in favour of free trade policy.

He was in favour of 'protection' and he had offered strong opposition when Peel wanted to repeal Corn Laws. On the other hand, Gladstone strongly believed in free trade and removed duties on a large number of articles such as paper, soaps, etc.

EXTRA NOTE ON DISRAELI

Disraeli's Work and Achievements in other Spheres of National Life.—His Personal Character and qualities. His rise to the highest position is a matter of great surprise particularly when he started life without money, without family connections and without any help from any other quarter. By virtue of his great personal courage and patience of the highest order, he went on making efforts to rise by degrees higher and higher. His untiring efforts and supreme courage to face every difficulty enabled him to lead a great party, master a powerful aristocracy, sway a vast empire and make himself one of the four or five personal forces in the world." He was bold and fearless and no danger was ever too great to overawe him. He would fearlessly attack, with perfect confidence in him, and regardless of consequences, even his greatest opponent. When he had once decided to follow a certain wise and well-considered course, there was nothing that could stand in his way.

Founder of the new Conservative Party. Being a keen observer he at once felt that in view of the new social and economic forces, the programme of the Conservative Party required certain necessary changes.

When Disraeli laid the foundation of the new Conservative Party, he was guided by the following three main aims, i.e., the principles of New Toryism as defined by Disraeli were the following:—

1. To raise British prestige in the eyes of the world by means of a bold and spirited foreign policy.

2. To stimulate the pride of 'Empire' among the British people.

3. To substitute to social reform for political reconstruction.

The founding of a new Conservative Party is considered one of the great achievements of Disraeli because he placed before it a definite programme and also made it popular in the country. The Conservative Party was built by him on the remains of the party that had been already wrecked by Peel and on no new material. This gives Disraeli a special credit.

His Theory of Imperialism became a Tradition for the English people. He was a pioneer and an enthusiastic supporter of Imperialism or Engalnd's policy of conquest and expansion. His eagerness for social legislation to improve the condition of the working classes, his efforts to enhance the prestige and power of his country by following a policy of conquest and expansion and his bold attitude with regard to the Eastern Question made him a very popular figure in England. The fact that he enjoyed full confidence of the Queen and that he had considerable influence with the masses gave him a unique position in the country. It has been beautifully said of him that he "lived to be an idol and died to become a tradition", i.e., as long as he lived he was an object of love and devotion for the people and when he died his policy of 'Imperialism' became the national policy of the country and the leaders followed it in the spirit of a legacy. The leaders looked seriously at his policy of imperialism and held a number of imperial conferences to consider this great legacy that he had left to his countrymen. His countrymen supported his imperialistic policy with great zeal and made use of it for furthering the imperial interests of England. "This attitude which came to be known as Imperialism, he developed first in his own party and then in the whole nation." (Mowat).

CHAPTER XXVIII

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY: CONSTITUTIONAL AND GENERAL PROGRESS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

> "....*It is quite possible. That but for the lead taken by Castlereigh in the allied counsels, France would never have been reduced, to her ancient limits, nor Napoleon dethroned.*"
>
> —G. M. TREVELYAM

Q. Briefly review the British Foreign Policy in the nineteenth century.

Castlereigh's Foreign Policy. Castlereigh was the Foreign Secretary from 1812 to 1822. He took part in the Congress of Vienna held in 1815 to discuss the European question after the defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo. He played a very significant role in bringing about the fall of Napoleon and that is why he was influential at the Congress of Vienna. He refused to join the Holy Alliance formed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. He formed a Quardruple Alliance and struggled that the Congress of European Powers should be frequently held to discuss matters of vital importance and to settle disputed points in a friendly spirit and thus preserve the peace of Europe. His suggestion was followed and Congresses were held from time to time to discuss important problems. Consequently three important Congresses were held between 1815 to 1822 known as the Congress of Aix-La-Chapelle, Congress of Troppau and the Congress of Verona. He always insisted on the principle of non-intervention. The Congresses, however, could not serve very useful purpose as they were not in tune with the spirit of the times. The powers did not truly represent the peoples and the States were in no sense representatives of the races. Castlereigh's influence always worked on the side of autocracy and he was strongly opposed to new ideas of reform and progress. His mind failed him and he brought about his end by committing suicide in 1822.

Those, who know Castlereigh more closely, said of him that he was a calm, quiet and passionless man. "He is so cold that nothing can warm him," said Lord Cornwallis about Castlereigh. He enjoyed great reputation among the diplomats of the world, but he was neither a speaker nor a debator.

Canning's Foreign Policy. After the death of Castlereigh, Canning became the Foreign Secretary in 1822. He was a brilliant orator and a practical statesman. He had intense love for his country and he aimed at promoting the interests of England and keeping peace. He wanted to keep England out of continental complications unless its interests were involved. His foreign policy was based on the principle of "Non-interventions". He strongly maintained that each State should have complete control over its affairs and manage them without interference on the part of any other State. There should be absolutely no external interference in the internal affairs and management of any State. He sympathised with the Spaniards in their desire for constitutional government. He helped the colonies in South America in their struggle with Spain for freedom and recognized their independence. He recognized the independence of Buenos Aires, Mexico and Columbia. France and Spain wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal about succession to the throne, but Canning sent a British force to Lisbon and checked the attempted interference of France and Spain. He always sympathised with those who struggled for liberty and wanted to establish constitutional government.

His foreign policy was bold and vigorous and he made England's influence felt in the Councils of Europe.

Palmerston's Foreign Policy. He was a great force in British foreign politics from 1830 to 1865. During these thirty-five years the foreign policy of England lay in the charge of Lord Palmerston. He followed a vigorous and adventurous foreign policy. He was an enemy of despotism and a friend of the cause of liberty and constitutional government. In his foreign policy he followed three general principles: (1) to extend the power and prestige of Great Britain in Europe; (2) to help the cause of liberty and help nations in gaining freedom and establishing constitutional government; (3) to protect Turkey against the ambitious schemes of Russia. He wanted to maintain the integrity of Turkey in the Eastern Question.

"Palmerston's chief contribution to the development of English history lay in his vigorous foreign policy. He was an ardent nationalist and tried to raise the prestige of England abroad. He made the influence of England felt in the Councils of Europe. He followed in the footsteps of Pitt the Younger in his attitude towards the Eastern Question. He realized the danger of the aggressive policy of Russia which was trying to expand to the South at the expense of Turkey. This threatened the supremacy of England in the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, Palmerston tried to support the cause of Turkey against Russia. Palmerston genuinely sympathised with the constitutional and liberal movements abroad, but his policy of "senseless and spiritless menaces" was of no avail against the diplomacy of Bismarck."

Gladstone's Foreign Policy. His foreign policy was not to entangle England in any continental war. He insisted on the principle of non-intervention and intensely disliked interfering with the affairs of other countries. His policy was a peace policy which was not liked by the people. His policy was unenterprising and his methods were dilatory. It was on account of this weak foreign policy that he had to resign each time he was a Prime Minister. His strong adherence to the policy of non-interference and neutrality weakened the position of England and allowed its power and prestige to suffer immensely.

Disraeli's Foreign Policy. Disraeli was just the opposite of Gladstone in foreign policy. Gladstone's foreign policy was weak and unenterprising but that of Disreali was vigorous and enterprising. Gladstone insisted on the principles of non-interference and neutrality, but Disraeli was an imperialist, i.e., he wanted to extend the dominion and influence of Great Britain in other parts of the world. His name is closely associated with imperialism, that is, he was in favour of the policy of intervention and extension of the territories and influence of Great Britain. While Gladstone was unadventurous, we find that Disraeli's ambition was to put Britain at the head of a strong empire so that her position in politics or in commerce might not be shaken.

Balkans and the British Foreign Policy. England was anxious to counteract Russian designs on Turkey and thus check its advance into the Balkan Peninsula. If Russia had advanced into the Balkan Peninsula that would have endangered England's Eastern possessions, especially India. It was with a view to checking the growing power of Russia over the Turkish empire that the Crimean War was waged. At first England tried to avert war by means of diplomacy, but when she saw that the Turkish fleet had been destroyed at Sinhope by the Russians, she came to the rescue of Turkey and declared war against Russia. Again it was with the same object in view that Disraeli insisted upon a revision of Sanstefano Treaty (1879) by a congress of European powers.

Asia and the British Foreign Policy. England waged war with China in 1840, as some Chinese officials ill-treated the British traders. The result of this war was that China ceded Hong Kong to England and opened some ports to English trade.

In 1857 England and France again waged war against China to extend European influence in China.

The British Government strengthened her frontiers in India for fear of Russian invasion.

Affairs in South Africa. The Boers continued to ill-treat foreigners who had been attracted to Transvaal by the discovery of gold mines. This led to the Boer War and later on to the Zulu War. The Boers continued a guerilla warfare till peace was concluded. In 1906 the South African States were granted representative government but three years later, Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State were united together under a federal government known as the South African Republic.

Foreign Policy with regard to Egypt and Soudan. Ismail Pasha who became Khedive was very extravagant and so he sold his Suez Canal shares. The British Prime Minister Disraeli purchased a large number of these shares in 1875, and thus laid the foundation of the British influence in Egypt. Egypt was growing financially weak and moreover it was the highway to India; so France and England set up a dual control over Egypt in 1876. The Egyptians were opposed to this control and revolted. The English alone put down the revolt; the French gave England no help in suppressing the revolt. Egypt was placed under the British protectorate.

In 1883. Soudan rose in revolt under a religious fanatic who called himself the Mahdi. The Egyptian Government sent an army to crush the revolt but the Egyptian army was completely destroyed. Lord Kitchner, however, defeated the successor of the Mahdi at the battle of Obdurman in 1896. Soudan was then put under the joint control of Egypt and Britain.

Q. Mention briefly the important reforms and general progress made by England during Queen Victoria's reign or the latter half of the 19th century.

Describe the scientific, literary and cultural activities of the 'Victorian Age'. (P.U. 1955; D.U. 1952)

"The Victorian Age was a century of hope". It was also an era of crowded activity in political, economic, social and intellecetual sphere." Discuss.

Consider whether the reign of Queen Victoria can rightly be called 'A Great Age'. (P.U. 1953, 1958)

CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS

(i) *The Chartist Movement or Chartism.* The First Reform Act of 1832 had given the middle classes a share in the government but had not affected the position of the working classes. Artisans and labourers were still over-worked and under-paid, and the parliamentary legislation had done very little to improve their condition. Thinking that in the representation in Parliament lay the remedy for all their miseries, the industrial and labouring classes agitated for political reforms, and the popular agitation thus begun was known as the Chartist Movement.

The movement lasted for about ten years (1838—1848). It had, however, periods of quiet, followed by those of activity. Judged by immediate result, the movement totally failed, but in course of time the demands of the Chartists were secured.

(ii) *The Second Reform Act of* 1867. This Act recognised the political importance of the working classes. It placed the borough franchise on the sure foundation of household suffrage. "It gave the vote to all men who maintained household and paid rates and taxes. In other words, the Bill enfranchised the artisans in the towns, thus putting ultimate power in the hands of the common people in the cities."

(iii) *The Ballot Act of* 1872. In 1872, the Ballot Act made voting at elections secret and thus decreased the danger of intimidation and bribery.

(iv) *The Third Reform Act of* 1884. England, became a thorough democracy. It placed the county and borough franchise on the same footing. It enfranchised the agricultural labourers and thus remedied the deficiency in the Bill of 1867. "This gave votes to very many workmen and labourers even in small villages. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1885 added three million voters to the old 455,000 voters and it was said that democracy had at last entered the kingdom."

(v) *The Redistribution of Seats, Act,* 1885. This Act distributed parliamentary seats on the principle of proportionate representation to population. The seats were distributed in such a way that almost all counties and boroughs became single-member constituencies. Equal electoral districts were thus established.

Industrial Reforms—Repeal of the Corn Laws. On account of the Corn Laws the price of bread was high. All classes except the land-owners were discontented. In 1838, an Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester to bring about the abolition of all duties upon corn. Peel reduced some duties in 1841 and abolished some in 1842. Early in 1846, Sir Robert Peel had to introduce a Bill for the repeal of the Corn Law.

Bank Act. In 1844, Peel had a Bank Act passed, which defined the principles of British banking, and by so doing contributed to the country's prosperity.

Social Reforms.—Mines and Factory Acts. A Commission was appointed in 1840 to enquire into the conditions of work in the mines. Their report revealed a horrible state of things. Women and children were working underground for thirteen to fourteen hours a day, often half-naked. The Mines Act of 1842 forbade the employment underground of women or of boys under ten years of age.

The Factory Act of 1844 forbade the employment of children under nine in factories, limited the hours of older children, and required employers to take precautions against accidents. Similar Acts in 1847 and 1850 made still further reductions in hours of labour and insisted also on the fencing of machinery to prevent accidents. The age of boys at which they could enter the mines was raised from ten to fourteen. In 1880, employers were made liable for accidents to their employees while at work. A Factory Act in 1891 prohibited the employment of children below the age of eleven, and reduced the hours of work for women. A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1879.

Co-operative Societies. In 1844 a number of Rochdale workers decided to buy goods for sale among themselves at ordinary shop prices, and then to divide the profits at fixed intervals among themselves. Their little society had expanded into the great co-operative societies of to-day.

Trade Unions. The Trade Unions had existed long before but it was after the Reform Bill of 1867 that Gladstone's government passed the Trade Union Act of 1871 which, for the first time, recognized Trade Unions as legal bodies. By another Act in 1875 peaceful picketing was made legal.

Scientific Activities

Medical Science. James Simpson of Edinburgh, discovered the effects of the use of chloroform. The use of this drug helped to perform operations painlessly. *Pasteur*, a French chemist, made experiments which eventually led to the adoption of inoculation. *Lister*, a great English surgeon, discovered the use of antiseptics such as carbolic acid to keep the wound free from germs. *Ross* discovered that malaria was due to the bite of the mosquito. Malaria was the most widespread of tropical diseases. The discovery of the use of X-rays was another great achievement in medical science. These discoveries produced revolutionary changes in medical line.

Useful Inventions. Many useful inventions were made in different parts of the world without which modern life would not have been possible. Among others we may note the bicycle, the camera, gas and electric light, the telephone and the typewriter. We must however, remember that these inventions were made by the scientists of different countries including England and the people during the Victorian Age could make use of these inventions. It has been aptly remarked that the Victorian Age, if it lives in history as distinct epoch will do because of its science rather than its politics." The progress that England made in Science in the age of Victoria was far greater than politics.

Literary activities

Progress in Literature. England made a remarkable progress in literature. Poetry of excellent order was produced. Wordsworth, a great singer of nature, started a new school called "the Lake School." Coleridge, Robert Southey, Byron, Shelley and Keats were eminent poets of the first part of the 19th century. After the First Reform Act was passed in 1832, another school of young poets made its appearance. These poets wrote not only on Nature and Beauty but on all problems touching modern life and morality. Tennyson, Robert Browning, Mathew Arnold and Mrs. Browning (the last two were great disciples of Wordsworth) wrote poetry of high rank.

The century in no way lagged behind in prose. Hallam, Green, Stubbs and Macaulay took up History seriously. The great novelists of the time were Sir Walter Scott, Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Captain Marryat and others. Other good prose writers were Thomas De Quincey, Lamb, Hazlitt and others. Ruskin, Carlyle and later on Froude belonged to a new school of Reformers who appreciated what was good and condemned all that was bad and immoral.

Cultural Activities

Progress of Education. In 1839 State grant was increased to encourage elementary education. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 empowered the School Boards to compel the parents to send their children to school. The Free Education Act of 1890 made elementary education free and compulsory.

Religious Toleration. Toleration was given to the Catholics.

In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. The Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829. In 1871 religious tests were abolished in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin, so that a Churchman, a Dissenter, a Catholic could enter and study there.

The Evangelical Revival. The word 'Evangelical' means according to Gospel teaching. The Evangelical Revival was the most powerful religious movement in England since the Reformation. This religious movement was an attempt to persuade the people to lead a life based on the teachings of Gospel. The people improved their moral standard of life and began to shun evils of the age. Christianity was revived in its true form.

Humanitarian Movement. With the revival of Christianity, there was a marked growth of the humane spirit. The humanitarian movement or the spirit of social reform was the direct result of the Evangelical revival. Both Wilberforce, who was instrumental in the abolition of slavery and Lord Shaftesbury the hero of the factory-reform were prominent Evangelicals. Wilberforce and abolition of slavery, 1833; Russel's Acts of 1837 and 1841 abolishing death penalty for all but the gravest crimes; Shaftesbury's Act of 1840 for boy chimney-sweeper; Act of 1842 prohibiting women working in mines; Cardwell's abolition of flogging in the army in peace-time, 1868 are among the many social reforms carried out in that period. There was a steady growth of the humane spirit which marked the legislation of the age.

CHAPTER XXIX

A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY: ORIGIN AND EXTENSION OF FREE TRADE

> *"The prosperity of a country could be attained only by a policy of free trade."*
>
> —ADAM SMITH

Q. How and why did Great Britain become a Free Trade country in the nineteenth century? *Or,*

(P.U. 1959, 1954, 1953, 1952, 1941, 1936)

Describe the steps by which England gave up the policy of protection and adopted the 'open door' principle in the system of foreign trade. *Or,*

Narrate the circumstances that led England to adopt a Free Trade Policy.

Free Trade and Protection. Free Trade put English and foreign shipping on the same footing as regards the carrying of goods; and this part of its policy had already been obtained during the reign of George IV, when the enlightened policy of Huskisson secured the repeal of Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651. Free Trade also stands for the free exchange of goods between countries without tariffs, and without restrictions either impending or delaying the exchange. This second part of the Free Trade policy is opposed to Protectionism which advocates restrictions on imported goods, either by tariffs, or by way of laws to impede or delay the importation of foreign goods in order to protect the home producer.

Influence of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations". In 1776, Adam Smith first enunciated the gospel of Free Trade in his *Wealth of Nations,* refuting the Mercantile Theory by which statesmen were then guided. He said, "the prosperity of a country could be attained only by a policy of free trade." He showed that since international trade is only a form of barter, the more prosperous nations are the better for their neighbours. Moreover, he argued that national well-being is best served by the free operation of trade with the minimum of governmental interference by duties or bounties. The following are the main stages in the development of Free Trade policy of Great Britain during the 19th century:—

(i) *Pitt the Younger and Free Trade.* Pitt the Younger was profoundly influenced by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* advocating a policy of Free Trade. In 1785, Pitt wanted to give effect to an important measure in the direction of Free Trade between England and Ireland but he had to drop it on account of the strong opposition of the manufacturers. In 1786, he brought about a commercial treaty with France, and also simplified the Book of Rates, making smuggling unprofitable. The commercial treaty with France based on the principles of Free Trade proved satisfactory and it led to the commercial prosperity of England. Pitt was now thoroughly assured that England could become more prosperous if the tariff was low.

(ii) *Huskisson and Free Trade.* As President of the Board of Trade, Huskisson introduced the undermentioned reforms, helping the growth of free trade:—

(a) He modified by relaxing the Navigation Acts in 1823. By this, ships of other countries could bring goods to England if those countries permitted goods of England to be imported by English ships.

(b) The customs laws were simplified.

(c) The duties on raw materials imported for English manufacture, notably wool, and silk, together with coal, were reduced.

(d) By an Act of 1825, duties on important manufactures were brought down to an average of about thirty per cent.

(e) All restrictions upon exports—whether of raw materials or manufactures of labour—were abolished.

(f) In 1833 duties on certain articles were abolished altogether and the rates were lowered on about 700 articles.

(g) He passed a law declaring that combination of workmen was not illegal.

Both imports and exports increased and the prosperity of the country grew.

(iii) *Peel's Free Trade Policy.* Peel successfully continued the work of Huskisson in the direction of Free Trade. He swept away duties by the hundreds. He reduced or abolished the custom duties on 750 articles out of 1,200 in 1842.

In 1844 all export duties, and duties on raw materials were given up. The leaders of the Manchester School established the Anti-Corn Law League and carried on vigorous agitation to compel the Government to accept the principles of Free Trade. Trade and industry of the country could not flourish under the system of heavy duties. There was general depression in the country when Peel came to power. The only way to come out of the financial troubles was to lower the tariffs and revive trade. Consequently as said above, Peel abolished the duties on a large number of articles and reduced them on a still larger number.

The Anti-Corn Law League was still carrying on its agitation. The potato crop of Ireland failed in 1845. Moreover, England was no longer an agricultural country. It was impossible for England to be self-supporting. Peel thought that the repeal of the Corn Laws was the only rational course. This step was taken by him successfully (in 1846) in spite of the opposition of his colleagues. In other words, Peel established Free Trade in corn. Free Trade in sugar was established in 1854 and in timber in 1860.

(iv) *Repeal of the Navigation Laws.* The Navigation Laws were modified in 1825, but they were completely repealed in 1849 by the Liberal Ministry under Lord John Russel. That was the final breach with the long tradition of trade protection. It brought to Britain an immediate and rapid expansion of trade and ended the long period of acute distress which had, with brief intervals, lasted since the close of the Napoleonic wars.

(v) *Gladstone and Free Trade.* The work of Free Trade, started by Huskisson and continued by Peel was successfully concluded by Gladstone. He abolished duties on more than one hundred articles in his budget of 1853 and on about four hundred articles in his budget of 1862. Only a few articles were left where duty was imposed, more as a way of raising revenue than for protective reasons. Great Britain had become definitely and unmistakaby a full-fledged free-trade country.

Abandonment of Free-Trade Policy and Adoption of Protection. At the end of the 19th century, a reaction started against Free Trade. The competition in agricultural products and other goods led to the lowering of the prices and this brought about a great depression in the country. France, Germany and some of the colonies of Great Britain had adopted the policy of protection. England wanted more money, not to lag behind other nations in keeping armaments, and on account of recent social legislation it had to provide relief to the workers. For all these reasons England had to think seriously on adopting the policy of protection and reimposing duties which it had already abolished.

Joseph Chamberlain was strongly in favour of protection and advocated a thorough-going tariff reform—all round "protection"—to prevent foreign countries from competing with British-made goods in the home market. After the Great War, there was a clamour for protecting British Trade and consequently in 1921 duties were imposed on certain articles, and in 1927 duties were imposed on many other articles. The British Government had to abandon the Free-Trade policy and established a full-fledged system of Imperial Preference and Protection by the Ottawa Conference in 1932.

CHAPTER XXX

THE EASTERN QUESTION

> *'The results of the interference of England in the East were more momentous than the results of her interference in Spain."*
>
> —GARDINER

Q. What exactly do you understand by the term "Eastern Question'? What was the trend of the British foreign policy towards the problem from the time of Mehmet Ali till the Treaty of Berlin? *Or,* (P.U. 1946, 1939, 1937; D.U. 1955, 1949)

Consider how far Disraeli was justified in claiming to have brought back 'Peace with Honour' from Berlin. *Or,* (1952)

Discuss the policy of Disraeli towards Turkey and give the arguments of Gladstone's opposition. *Or,* (1953)

Discuss the attitude of Great Britain towards the Eastern Question from 1856 to 1878. (1954)

Meaning of the Eastern Question. Turkey, then known as "the Sick-man of Europe," began to grow weak towards the end of the 18th century and the nationalities under it began to revolt for their independence. The slow dissolution of the Turkish Empire gave rise to a series of international problems, for European Powers had conflicting interests in Turkey. The European Powers had a deep interest in the problems arising from the dismemberment of Turkey, because the Turkish Empire served as a key to the East and it gave Russia a passage to the Mediterranean Sea.

Russia was anxious to make itself powerful by occupying several parts of the Turkish Empire; particularly, it wanted to strengthen its hold on the Balkan Peninsula and England's Asian possessions. The growth of Russian power and influence in the Near East would endanger the British supremacy in the East and thus upset the balance of power. England was, therefore, anxious to check the ambitious designs and aggressive policy of Russia. The various problems that arose from time to time in connection with Turkey in Europe on account of the divergent and diametrically opposite interests of the European Powers, are collectively known as the Eastern Question. "All these ambitious and counter-ambitious, rivalries and intrigues are collectively known as the Eastern Question as England feared that Russia wanted to interfere with her interests in the East."

Another historian says like this: European statesmen began to talk of Turkey as a very 'sick man' and to discuss the best way to dispose of the sick man's estates after his death. This was the

"Eastern Question," and it kept on cropping up during the 19th century and afterwards.

DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

1. *Greek War of Independence and Eastern Question.* In 1821 began the Greek War of Independence which brought the Eastern Question into prominence. The Greeks rebelled against the Turkish tyranny and declared war on Turkey. Castlereigh who was against the policy of interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey, refused to give any help to Greece, but he was quite conscious of the significance of the Eastern Question. In 1822, Canning became Foreign Secretary. For some time, Canning stood aside and allowed the Greeks to fight out their cause. But when the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt were crushing Greek resistance, Canning changed his mind and sided with France and Russia for the protection of the Greeks. The combined armies of England, France and Russia defeated and destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian fleet at the Battle of Navarino. This victory of the Allies practically secured the independence of Greece which Turkey recognised in 1829.

2. *Russia and the Eastern Question.* Mehmet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt under the Sultan of Turkey, sought to become the independent ruler of Turkey and Syria. Mehmet Ali conquered Syria, defeated the Sultan and threatened Constantinople. The Sultan asked for Russia's help against Mehmet Ali. In return, Russia secured passage in the Dardanelles and Turkey became a vassal of Russia. Increase of Russian power and influence seriously threatened the British interests in the Mediterranean and the East. England stood aloof though it protested.

3. *Conflict Between Egypt and Turkey.* In 1839, Mehmet Ali of Egypt again attacked the Sultan of Turkey. Mehmet Ali was helped by France as she was anxious to develop her influence in Egypt. Palmerston, the English Foreign Minister, on the other hand, wanted to maintain the integrity of Turkey and formed a Quadruple Alliance to defeat the ambitious designs of Mehmet Ali and France. The members of the Quadruple Alliance, thus formed, were England, Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia joined for two reasons—she was afraid of England's hostility and she was not in favour of the growth of French influence in Egypt. Mehmet Ali was defeated and by the Treaty of London (1841), the following conditions were agreed upon:—

(i) Syria, conquered by Mehmet Ali, was given back to the Sultan of Turkey.

(ii) Mehmet Ali was recognised as an independent ruler of Egypt.

(iii) Russia gave back to Turkey the concessions that she had received from her some time back.

(iv) The Sultan agreed to keep a British Ambassador in Turkey.

The integrity of Turkey was preserved and she was no longer under Russian vassalage. The English influence became predominant at Constantinople and Turkey was henceforward to be protected by Concert of Europe. It was a unique achievement of Palmerston.

4. *The Crimean War* (1854—1856).—*England Helped Turkey Against Russia.* Nicholas I, the Czar of Russia, was very anxious to expand his power over the Turkish Empire and thus wanted a pretext. He claimed the right of protecting the interests of the Christian subjects of Turkey and picked up a quarrel with the Sultan about the custody of the holy places at Jerusalem. The Sultan refused to entertain the Czar's demands, whereupon Russian Army occupied the Turkish dominions of Moldavia and Wallachia. At the defeat of the Turkish fleet by the Russians, England and France joined hands to rescue Turkey and checkmate Russia. The Allies emerged victorious and Turkey was again put on her legs.

By the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1856, Russia was compelled not to re-fortify Sebastopol and not to maintain a war fleet in the Black Sea. Russia had to evacuate the land occupied by her during the war. Turkey's independence was recognised and she was admitted into the Concert of Europe.

Q. Give a brief account of the Russo-Turkish War (1877) with special reference to the Treaty of Berlin (1878).

Q. Write a note on the Treaty of Berlin with special reference to its criticism. *Or,*

Q. Consider how far Disraeli was justified in claiming to have brought back "Peace with Honour from Berlin."

Russo-Turkish War, 1877. In 1876, the inhabitants of the Turkish provinces of Bosinia and Herzegovina rose in revolt against the Turks, on account of the oppression of the tax-gatherers and the tyrannical rule. Unrest spread rapidly throughout Balkans and the little principality of Serbia declared war on Turkey in defence of her fellow Christians. Further insurrections in Bulgaria were put down by the Turks with such brutality that the news of the "Bulgarian atrocities" sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Russia now interfered and presented an ultimatum to Turkey. But at this stage England, ever suspicious of Russia, threw in her influence on the side of Turkey. The British fleet was sent to the Dardenelles, and matters looked very serious. Despite a gallant resistance at Plewna, the Turkish armies were over-whelmed and the Russian armies pushed on towards Constantinople. The Turks were compelled to make peace, and by the Treaty of San Stephano the Balkan provinces became virtually independent, while a large new State of Bulgaria, i.e., Big Bulgaria was created under Russian protection. This would have increased the influence of Russia in the Balkans. England threatened Russia with war unless the Treaty of San Stephano was revised. England now made preparations for war, but this was fortunately averted through the efforts of Bismark, who invited the European Powers to a conference at Berlin. The result was the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

Terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878). The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 led to the ultimate defeat of Turkey by Russia and the Treaty of San Stephano which sought to increase the power and influence of Russia tremendously in the Balkans. Disraeli could not tolerate this for the growing strength of Russia would positively harm the interests of England. He made preparations for war with Russia unless the Treaty of San Stephano was revised in a general Congress of European countries.

A Congress was held at Berlin in which the representatives of Germany, Austria, Russia, Britain and Turkey participated and which was presided over by Bismark of Germany. Disraeli himself attended the Congress. The following were the main terms of the Treaty of Berlin:—

1. 'Big Bulgaria' was divided into three parts—one part of it, that is, Macedonia was given to Turkey, second part was made a Turkish protectorate with the name of Eastern Rumelia and the third one was allowed to remain the independent state of Bulgaria.

2. Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were declared independent of Turkey.

3. Austria was to occupy and administer the two important Turkish Provinces of Bosnia nd Herzegovina (whose revolt had begun the Russo-Turkish War). These provinces were not to be annexed.

4. Russia received back Besserabia (which she had ceded to Turkey in 1856) and some territories in Asia Minor.

5. England secured the control of the island of Cyprus. Disraeli wanted it to be used as an eastern naval base.

6. Turkey promised to carry out reforms immediately in its dominions and give a better treatment to her subjects.

7. Integrity of Turkey was solemnly guaranteed by the European powers.

Criticism of the Berlin Settlement

One Side of the Picture. Disraeli and his Conservative Party regarded it as a "Peace with Honour" and a great success of their diplomatic skill. They argued that the influence of Russia was checked in Balkans. The European power of Turkey was restored, England was once again the predominant power in the Councils of Europe. Russia alone could not interfere in the affairs of Turkey as it liked and that several parts of the European Turkey inhabited by Christian population were granted Independence.

Other Side of the Picture. Gladstone and his Liberal Party condemned the Berlin Treaty and criticised it very adversely. They were strongly of opinion that the Berlin Settlement never provided a correct and permanent solution of the Eastern Question. Misgoverned provinces, were shamefully handed back to a tyrant power so that it was a clear violation of the principle of nationality and pregnant with great dangers. Even Lord Salisbury, Disraeli's Foreign Secretary. present at the Berlin Congress, confessed some years afterwards that 'we had backed the wrong horse in supportng Turkey.' Apparently it seemed that England was a great gainer in the Treaty but in fact it was not so. The Treaty proved to be full of disappointments and miscalculations as its subsequent history shows that it created great troubles in the future and it was responsible for Balkan wars and the World War I of 1914. Let us see how the Treaty worked:

The two Bulgarias formed the Bulgarian Union under the same ruler in 1885 in open defiance of the Treaty of Berlin.

Greece and Serbia were constantly anxious to find an opportunity to add territory which had been originally ceded to them.

Turkey never carried out the reforms in her territory nor she gave better treatment to her subjects. She had been saved by Britain in 1878 but she declared war on Britain in 1914.

Cyprus was not used as a first class naval base on account of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria for administration but they were annexed by Austria in 1907. Serbia and Russia became hostile to Austria for this unjust and highhanded act. The assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian ultimately brought about World War I (1914), which caused incalculable loss of men and money and which disastrously affected the whole world.

Thus the Treaty of Berlin proved a sad failure. Its terms were never honestly carried out. It gave rise to many complications and ended in great troubles for humanity at large.

Q. "The Near and Far Eastern Policy of England has been directed towards combating Russia's designs." Comment.

The Near East. The slow dissolution of the Turkish Empire gave rise to international problems generally known as the Eastern Question. All the European nations were interested in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. Russia wanted to increase her own influence at the cost of this Empire while England wanted to maintain her integrity and thus check Russian designs in that direction. England was interested because Russian supremacy in the Near East would threaten her in the Far East, viz., India. Hence England's main interest lay in maintaining a balance of power by checking Russian designs in the Turkish Empire. The Tsar, on the other hand, wanted the European Powers including England to agree to a sort of division of the "Sick man of Europe" (Turkey), but England's interference and strong refusal checked her designs.

In the 19th century the Turkish rulers became somewhat oppressive and their Christian subjects of Greece revolted against them. Russia, thereupon, took up the cause of the Greeks against Turkey. The English people declared that Russia's interest in Greece was due to her wish to extend her power on the ruins of the Turkish Empire. They therefore maintained that Turks ought to be supported as the surest means of checking Russian aggrandisement. Canning, however, wanted to proceed in a more diplomatic way. He made a treaty with Russia and France to mediate between Turkey and Greece. The Turks refused to observe the armistice as proposed by the allied powers and so war was declared. The Turkish fleet was defeated at Navarino in 1827 and the Turks submitted. This paved the way for the independence of Greece. Canning's policy thus restored England's pestige in Europe, saved the complete dismemberment of the Turkish Empire as well as checked Russian aggrandisement in the Near East.

Next Stage. The next important stage in the Near Eastern Question is the Crimean War of 1854—1856. Nicholas I, like his predecessor, was anxious to extend his influence over the Turkish Empire and so picked up a quarrel with Turkey. He stood as the champion of the Christian subjects of the Sultan and quarrelled with the Sultan about the custody of the holy places at Jerusalem. The Sultan, however, refused his demands whereupon Russian armies occupied the Turkish dominions of Moldavia and Wallachia. This alarmed the Western Powers and England and France now tried to avert war by diplomatic and peaceful means. But Russian victory over the Turkish fleet at Sinope made the chances of peaceful settlement vanish. England and France, thereupon, declared war against Russia. In the end Russia was defeated and compelled to sign the Treaty of Paris by which she agreed not to re-fortify Sebastopol and not to maintain a war fleet in the Black Sea. Thus England succeeded in checking Russian designs in the Near East and kept Turkey free from any European interference.

But the Treaty of Paris did not prove lasting. In 1875 the Christian subjects of Turkey again revolted and, as usual, Russia once more took up their cause and declared war against the Sultan in 1878. A Russian army invaded Turkey and even advanced up to Constantinople. The Turks, in their distress, concluded the Treaty of San Stefano with Russia. But the terms imposed on the Turks by the Russians were hostile to British interests and Disraeli demanded that the treaty should be submitted to the consideration of European Congress. To enforce his demand Disraeli also despatched the British fleet to the Sea of Marmora and sent Indian troops to Malta. This warlike attitude of England forced Russia to yield and a Congress was held at Berlin to settle the Turkish Question. The Treaty of Berlin granted independence to most of the Christian States. England got Cyprus on the condition of protecting Turkish dominions in Asia and paying annual tribute. Thus Russian designs were successfully checked in the Near East by England.

The Far East. We now turn to the Far East, i.e., Indian Empire. Having been unsuccessful in the Near East, Russia now turned her attention against India. In 1839, the First Afghan War broke out in India. The frontiers of the Russian Empire and the British Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, were some 2,000 miles apart, but, gradually towards the end of the century they came quite close. Afghanistan was regarded by the British as a buffer state between their own empire and Russian empire and each tried to secure the goodwill of the ruler. Matters began to look critical in 1837 when the Shah of Persia, helped by Russia, attacked Herat, a great stronghold in North-west Afghanistan. The attack, however, failed and Russian agents now usurped the throne of Afghanistan. The First Afghan War, though it completely failed, secured a friendly Afghan ruler and thus checked Russian designs in the East for the time being.

The third quarter of the 19th century again saw the advance of Russia towards India. Russia once more began to intrigue with the rulers of Afghanistan and this led to the Second Afghan War (1878—1880) which began soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The British forces were, however, successful in ousting Russian influence. The new Amir, Abdur Rehman, and his successor kept on good terms with the Indian Government, which gave to the Amir a large annual subsidy for the maintenance of an army of defence to guard against the dangers of a Russian invasion.

The relations between Russia and British India remained uneasy and suspicious for some time after the Afghan War, and hostilities were at times imminent, especially in 1884. The Russians were suspected of attempting an advance upon India through Persia, and their railway extension to the edge of the Afghan frontier was viewed with apprehension. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 had, however, relieved the situation. Russia recognised Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence, and undertook to conduct political negotiations with the Amir only through Great Britain. On the North-East Frontier the situation was made more secure, as both Great Britain and Russia undertook not to interfere with the domestic affairs of Tibet or to annex any part of its territory. Great Britain at the same time recognised the special interests of Russia in North Persia, while Russia recognised those of Great Britain in the South East of that country. Thus Russian troubles came to an end and the safety of the Indian Empire was at last secured. Russian designs were checked and it was not allowed to threaten England's Eastern Empire seriously in future. But England had to pay a heavy price for this. She lost many men and much money during the Crimean War and the Afghan Wars but her sacrifices at last saved her Empire.

CHAPTER XXXI

GROWTH OF BRITISH EMPIRE (1789—1939)

> *"All the colonies were treated as the property of the English. They were the fruits which could be plucked and eaten by the English."*
>
> —A GREAT WRITER

Q. Describe briefly the Old Colonial System of England or England's Colonial System in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or up to 1783 England had tried to govern the colonies by the Old Colonial Policy based upon Mercantilism. According to her old colonial policy the colonies were regarded as existing solely for the benefit of England. The old ideas of the Mercantile system by which England wanted to increase her import and to earn more money by them were found to be unsound. The mother-country, i.e., England, looked upon the colonies from a purely selfish point of view. This implied that a colony was not a part of the State but a possession belonging to it and to be exploited in its own interests. The Colonies would never have thought of separating themselves from the mother-country (England) if they were regarded as an extension of the nation, and were not exploited in the sole interests of the mother-country. Unfortunately Mercantilist ideas prevailed which meant that the colonies were regarded to be worked for the benefit of the mother-country (England). England placed restrictions on imports, exports, carrying trade, manufactures and the Government of the colonies. "All the colonies were treated as the property of the English. They were the fruits which could be plucked and eaten by the English."

The following matters strained the relations between England and her colonies or we can say that these were the main features of the Old Colonial System or the causes which ultimately brought about separation between England and her colonies:—

Economic Causes

Taxes. The colonies paid taxes as the Home Government (Government in England desired. The colonists had no voice in this matter.

Trade. Their trade was limited and suffered seriously on account of the application of the Navigation Acts. The Navigation Acts were a great burden upon America. The colonists were not free to import or export articles from or to the most suitable markets.

Imports. The colonists could not import any article except through England.

Exports. There were many articles which the colonists could send only to England and to no other country.

Carrying Trade. All the exports and imports of the colonies were carried in English or colonial ships. The colonies could not avail of the cheaper rates offered by foreign countries.

Manufactures. The colonies could not start manufactures which competed with the industries of England. The colonists suffered a great deal and they seriously resented this restriction.

Political Causes

The Governor's Position. Governor was appointed by the Crown for an indefinite period but later on this period was fixed. The Governor's salary differed in different colonies. It was permanently provided in the budget of some colonies but it was votable every year in case of other colonies. The Board of Trade and Plantation insisted that all the colonies should fix up the salary, but the colonies refused to do so. This defiant attitude of the colonies did not please the British Board of Trade and Plantation.

Veto Power. The Governors and the Crown possessed veto power (the power to reject) with regard to the laws passed by the legislatures of the colonies. Some bills passed by the legislative bodies of the colonies were actually vetoed. This gave a cause of strong resentment to the colonies.

Appointment of Judges. The Judges were appointed and paid by the colonies. But the Crown, anxious to keep the judges under its influence, suggested that they should be appointed by the Crown but paid by the colonies. It was an undue interference by the Home Government with the internal affairs of the colonies which the latter strongly resented.

Militia Question. Some colonies kept their militia as an extra means of their defence. The militia was under the independent control of the colony officers, but the Home Government wanted to remove the control of the colony officers over the militia and place it under its own officers. The colonies were strongly opposed to this interference.

N.B. The regular army of the colony was under the command of the Governor. The Home Government wanted that the colony should have no control over the militia but like the regular army of the colony it should be under the officers appointed by the Home Government.

Its End

The Old Colonial System seriously strained the relations between England and her colonies. The general causes of economic and political unrest (as explained above) coupled with several other causes led to the War of American Independence which ultimately lost America or the First British Empire to England. The Old Colonial System was a sad failure because the colonies were not prepared to bear the oppressive and humiliating treatment of the mother-country. As a result of this England lost America. England now adopted through gradual process the New or the Modern Colonial System of Government which proved successful. It was this new colonial system which enabled England to found the second British Empire. Her old colonial system proved a failure and led to the loss of the First British Empire, but her new colonial policy proved a success and resulted in the establishment of the Second British Empire. The Second British Empire which gradually rose into prominence consisted of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and several other places.

Q. What was the New Colonial Policy of England or her Colonial Policy in the 19th and 20th centuries. *Or,*

Q. Trace the evolution of Dominion Self-Government since the publication of Lord Durham's Report and describe the outstanding character of the British Empire or the principal aspects of the New Empire. *Or,*

Q. By what stages have colonies become self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations? *Or,*

(D.U. 1963)

Q. Write a note on Durham's Report with particular reference to the changes it brought about in the system of colonial government. *Or,* (P.U. 1953, 1949, 1946, 1945, 1941, 1937)

Q. Discuss the problem of Canada in 1837 and explain the solution propounded by Durham. *Or,*

Q. Trace briefly the British colonial policy from Durham's Report to the Statue of Westminster, 1931. *Or,*

(P.U. 1954; D.U. 1958, 1953, 1950)

"The methods of the old colonial policy, which had been observed since 1660 were finally cast aside; the foundations of the modern Commonwealth were laid and the two guiding principles which have moulded the modern history of the Commonwealth were clearly established." (Ramsay Muir). Discuss.

(D.U. 1953)

Great Britain lost her American colonies which is generally called 'the Disruption of the First British Empire'. The loss of these colonies justified that England's old colonial policy in the 17th and 18th centuries was based on misconception, and, therefore, it was necessary to make radical changes in her old colonial policy, if she was to keep up her Empire. The main feature of the old colonial policy was that colonies were like estates that could be used to serve the best interests of the mother-country. The colonies were regarded to exist solely for the benefit of England and she was to use and control them as she liked.

In the 19th century a new colonial policy had been formulated in view of the fact that 'colonies' were like fruits and would drop off when ripe.

Lord Durham and his Report. There was serious discontent in Lower Canada. As the result of this discontent there were rebellions all over the country but they were soon put down. The Constitution in Lower Canada and in Upper Canada was most defective for the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature. Lord Durham was sent as Governor-General to Canada and he was asked to prepare a new constitution for the colony as the constitution already existing was seriously defective and was mainly responsible for the troubles. The Governor-General restored perfect order and very carefully studied the constitution of Canada. He issued a report in 1837 containing the proposals about the future constitution of Canada.

Recommendations in Durham's Report and the beginning of the New Colonial Policy.—Effect of Durham's Report on British Colonial Policy. *Or,*

The principal changes in the policy of the British government towards the colonies since the publication of Durham's Report or the main features of the new colonial policy of England.

First Stage in the New Colonial Policy. So far Canada had been divided into two provinces—Lower Canada and Upper Canada. But by the Act of Reunion passed in 1840 the two provinces were made into one kingdom. Canada was given a nominated Council and an elected Assembly. Each province (Lower Canada and Upper Canada now one) sent equal number of representatives to the elected Assembly.

According to the recommendations contained in Lord Durham's report, responsible government was granted to Canada. Before the Report, responsible government did not exist in Canada and in other colonies, i.e., the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature. Now according to Lord Durham's report responsible government was first introduced in Canada and then in other colonies, i.e., the Executive was made responsible to the Legislature. After Canada the responsible form of government (in which the Executive is responsible to the Legislature) was extended to the Australian colonies, New Zealand and South Africa. The policy recommended by Lord Durham was widely followed and the colonies were granted responsible government.

The Second Important Feature of the New Colonial Policy or the Second Stage in the Evolution of the New Colonial Policy. The next stage in the growth of colonial policy was to unite neighbouring colonies into a federation. This principle was first adopted in Canada and then extended to other Dominions. In 1867 the British Parliament passed the North America Act by which all the colonies in North America were united as the 'Dominion of Canada' under a single federal government. At the centre there was a single federal government and the various colonies became provinces, each with a local legislature of its own.

The Central or Federal Parliament was to consist of two Houses —the Senate and an Assembly or the House of Commons. The Senate was to consist of members nominated by the Governor-General for life. The Assembly or the House of Commons was to consist of members elected by the people. The executive power was vested in the Crown represented by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Each province was to have its own local laws and legislature. Each province was given limited powers and was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General.

As examples of the federal system we find the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the South African Republic, etc.

The Third Feature in the New Colonial Policy. Another feature of the new colonial policy is the growth of better feelings, the spirit of co-operative relationship and equal partnership between England and her self-governing colonies. The relations between the mother-country and her colonies have been very cordial. The colonies stood most faithfully by the mother-country whenever she needed help. They rendered her most valuable services in the South African War and the Great War of 1914. The self-governing Dominions sent their representatives to the War Cabinet and became members of the League of Nations. In short, there was a wonderful growth of the spirit of co-operation, friendship and equality between the mother-country and her self-governing colonies. General Smuts called England and her self-governing colonies by the name of the "British Commonwealth of Nations."

The self-governing Dominions enjoyed practically complete autonomy—internal and external—and they were equal in status.

"Thus in the Dominions, as in Britain, responsible government rests on custom and commonsense and not upon Acts of Parliament; and just because it rests on custom alone responsible government has been able to develop, and is still developing every day."

The Dominions were neither subordinate to Britain nor to each other. They were a family of nations enjoying equal rights and status. Every Dominion enjoyed perfect independence and was a Sovereign State to all intents and purposes. The Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Westminster Statute of 1931 clearly acknowledged the autonomy and equality of the Dominions with the mother-country, i.e. Britain. It is further left to the Dominions to remain as members of the Commonwealth or to secede from it whenever they choose to do so. The Commonwealth is a free association and it is left to a Dominion to remain its member or to break away from it. In short the Dominions are equal and free partners in the Commonwealth and Britain can exert no pressure or influence on them.

Importance of Lord Durham's Report. Report of Lord Durham on the subject of the future government of Canada marks an epoch in the history of British colonial policy. The recommendations made by him in his report were applied to Canada and they worked with remarkable success. His report supplied not a temporary remedy for a political trouble, but it has proved a permanent cure for the troubles of the like nature. The significance of Lord Durham's report lies in the fact that it definitely laid down the lines along which the evolution of self-government was to take place not only in Canada but in all colonies.

The colonial policy as pursued by Britain in the 19th and early 20th century was strictly based on Lord Durham's Report and it proved a remarkable success. Britain did not lose the Second Empire like the first one for its colonial policy was enlightened and progressive and it was pursued in view of the recommendations contained in the Durham Report. The Colonies were granted a measure of self-government by successive degrees until they achieved full self-government and became Dominions with complete freedom of action internally and externally.

All this shows that Lord Durham's Report was rightly known as the Magna Carta on colonial self-government and it was the most valuable State paper ever penned in reference to the evolution of colonial self-government.

Results of the New Colonial Policy. The new colonial policy of England was remarkably successful. The old colonial policy had led to the loss of American colonies which is generally called 'the disruption of the first British Empire' but England's new Colonial Policy led to the successful establishment of her second big Empire. The new colonial policy kept up the British Empire as family of a grandmother with kind and obedient daughters and grand children—an empire with a group of satisfied and well-protected almost independent kingdoms. They have loyally stood by England in all her trials and tribulations.

Q. Trace in outline the main phases of England's relations with the Dominions from the time of Lord Durham to the beginning of the Great War.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Trace the evolution of the British colonial policy during the 19th century.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. "Lord Durham's Report is rightly known as the Magna Carta on colonial self-government and it is the most valuable State paper ever penned in reference to the evolution of colonial self-government." Comment.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Describe the evolution of the Dominion of Canada.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. In what ways are Durham's Report on Canada and the Statute of Westminster landmarks in British Colonial Policy?
(P.U. 1945)

(a) *Durham's Report a landmark in British Colonial Policy.* Lord Durham's Report on Canada was a most significant one as it changed the character of England's colonial policy by laying down broad principles of colonial government, which in future determined the lines of evolution of self-government not only in Canada but in all colonies. England now followed a broad and liberal policy towards the colonies and thus laid the foundations of a new colonial policy which was followed in the 19th and 20th centuries. England gave up her old colonial policy that had cost her the Old Empire and now determined her relations with the colonies on the basis of Lord Durham's Report. The recommendations made by Lord Durham in his Report on Canada were strictly followed and Bannerjee has rightly pointed out that Canada became the "classic land of colonial self-government; it was on her soil that the principles were established which determined the lines of later development in all the self-governing dominions."

Durham's Report marks a new epoch in the History of England's colonial policy.

(For details of the Report and its effects please consult previous Answer).

(b) *Statute of Westminster another landmark in the Colonial Policy.* The Statute of Westminster marks another epoch in England's colonial policy. The self-governing colonies were given the status of Dominions as the outcome of a gradual process of constitutional development and the mutual relations between the mother-country and the Dominions were clearly defined and legalised by the Statute of Westminster 1931, which said: "They (the Dominions) are autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Dominions were thus more or less sovereign States, internally free and externally independent and had a position of equal partnership. In domestic affairs a Dominion enjoyed complete autonomy and was in no way subordinate to the government of Parliament of Great Britain; in external affairs too, it enjoyed complete sovereignty, i.e., perfect freedom to form direct diplomatic relations with any country and conclude any political or economic treaty with it. In matters of war and peace each Dominion was free to take action and follow its own line of policy. Every Dominion had the right to secede from the Commonwealth if it so desired and decided.

Some details of the Statute of Westminster. The Imperial Conferences held in 1926 and 1930 passed several resolutions regarding the status of the representative colonies. Their resolutions were embodied in the Statute of Westminster at the request of the colonies as under:—

(i) Any alteration in law regarding the succession to the Crown shall hereafter require the assent of the legislatures of all the Dominions.

(ii) No law of the British Parliament shall extend to any of the Dominions except with the request and consent of the Dominion.

(iii) The Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

(iv) Dominions are equal in status to the mother-country.

(v) The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 was repealed.

Importance. This is the only legal document which governs inter-imperial relations. It is by this Statute that the position of the Dominions is clearly defined. All the Dominions have been brought on a level of equality with England.

(a) Can the King of England disallow any Act of a Dominion?

(b) Can the Governor-General reserve any Act of a Dominion for royal sanction?

On these two points the Statute is silent. But by convention these rights are not used. According to the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865, any law of a colony contravening an Act of the Imperial Parliament was declared void. This implied inferiority of the colony. Hence in order to give equal status to the colonies this Act was repealed. The Dominions were granted full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation. The Dominion Legislature got unfettered power of making laws in relation to merchant shipping.

Q. Discuss the principles underlying the formation of the British Empire at various stages in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Ans. Please consult previous Answers.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CABINET SYSTEM AND PARTY GOVERNMENT

> *"The Cabinet system is one of the great contributions of the English people to the development of democracy."*
>
> —A Great Historian

Q. Discuss the origin and development of the Cabinet system of government. *Or,*

What are the essential features of the Cabinet System and how its harmonious working is ensured? *Or,*

Trace the development of the Cabinet System of Government in Britain with particular reference to the contribution made by Walpole and the Younger Pitt.

What is Cabinet. It is a group of ministers who are selected by the Prime Minister from among the members of the majority party in the House of Commons. The group of ministers, called the Cabinet in the constitutional language, is responsible to the House of Commons for its policies and actions. It controls the whole government and thus forms the chief executive.

Charles II. The reign of *Charles II* possibly marks the beginning of the modern Cabinet System. The king chose his own ministers and insisted that they were responsible to him alone. But he took care to respect the wishes of Parliament in the selection and dismissal of his ministers. The *Cabal* Ministry is regarded by some historians as the first Cabinet of England. It must, however, be remembered that the members of this ministry had no recognised leader, nor were they consulted together.

William III. King William III carried on the internal government of the country through the agency of ministers responsible to him. By this time the two well-recognised parties had arisen—the *Whigs* and the *Tories*. But William III did not always choose his ministers from one party alone. The idea that all ministers should have common views on all important matters was still to be born. The king presided at Cabinet meetings.

Anne. Under Queen Anne the ministers began to be chosen from one party that had majority in the House of Commons. The party leaders made their best efforts to hire political pamphleteers to attack the political principles of their rivals. The union of England and Scotland proved to be an event of great political and constitutional importance to both of them.

George I and George II. *"The Act of Settlement had given*

England a foreign sovereign: the presence of a foreign sovereign gave her a prime minister." Until the accession of the Hanoverians the ministers were *personally* and *severally* responsible to the Crown. The sovereign attended the deliberations of the ministers and necessarily took the chair. This system naturally gave to the sovereign a decisive influence in the council and made monarchical rule a reality. But the accession of the House of Hanover altered this state of things. The first *two Georges* did not know anything about English politics. They did not take any interest in the domestic affairs of England except in problems affecting the safety of their throne. They did not understand the English language and could hardly follow the intricacies of English politics. So they did not care to occupy their rightful place in the ministerial councils. Thus they came to lose that power and influence which their predecessors had enjoyed.

Sir Robert Walpole, the first English Prime Minister. The withdrawal of the monarch from the headship of the Cabinet councils left a vacuum which was filled by the *Prime Minister.* Sir Robert Walpole has been generally recognised as the first British Prime Minister. For two decades he occupied the most important place among the ministers of the Crown. He did not allow his colleagues to disobey him. He exercised many of the functions now assigned to the Prime Minister.

"Walpole's administration marks a stage in the evolution of Cabinet government." It is interesting to note, however, that the House of Lords objected to the term 'Prime Minister', and that Walpole himself disclaimed it.

Contribution of Walpole to the growth of the System of Cabinet Government.—Introduction of Strict Discipline. The contribution of Walpole to the evolution of the Cabinet is memorable for more than one reason. He has been called the drill sergeant of the Whig party. He was very strict about discipline and dismissed from his government any one who would not render complete obedience to his party programme.

Creation of the Office of Prime Minister. George I, who became king in 1714, was an old German, ignorant of English language and still more ignorant of English politics and methods of government. Therefore, he did not attend the Cabinet meetings. In the absence of the king one of the most important ministers presided over the Cabinet meetings. The minister who did so was called the Prime Minister. This made the Cabinet independent of the control of the king. It simply conveyed its final decisions to the king.

Thus during Walpole's Ministry the following practices took definite shape:—

1. The king was to choose his Prime Minister and leave the formation and working of the government to him. It was the Prime Minister who appointed all his colleagues and insisted that they should have the same opinions as himself.

2. The Prime Minister was to preside at the Cabinet meetings.

He was also to act as the medium of communication between the government and the monarch.

3. Only such persons were to be included in the Cabinet as accepted and followed the party programme. All had the same political views. The entire Cabinet stood or fell in a body.

Some of the essential features given above were established during Walpole's administration.

It would thus be quite true to say that the Cabinet government entered upon a new stage of development in the time of Walpole.

Contribution of the Younger Pitt to the Growth of the System of Cabinet Government. In 1760 the whole system seemed to be on the verge of a great change. George III was no more contended with the shadow of royal power. He wanted to wield the rod of authority himself. This would have meant the overthrow of Cabinet government, but his attempt to rule with the help of the "King's Friends" resulted in a long period of twenty years of misgovernment. He miserably failed in his efforts and the Cabinet reappeared with greater force. Pitt the Younger proved himself to be one of the greatest Prime Ministers of England. He was genuinely the "Prime Minister," refusing to be merely the king's agent. He was the greatest of English Parliamentary leaders. He ruled through the House of Commons like Walpole, but unlike Walpole he did not depend upon a purchased majority. He made the Cabinet quite independent of the royal influence.

When Pitt came into power he dismissed ministers who were opposed to his will. He was not a tool in the king's hands. He introduced Walpole's idea of collective responsibility under the leadership of Prime Minister and thus minimized the possibility of despotic power of the king. The essential principles of Cabinet government were almost settled under Pitt and after him the Cabinet government had gone on developing like any other feature of the English Constitution.

Essential principles of the Cabinet System. (i) *Political Homogeneity*. The Cabinet consists of the members of one political party possessing the same political views.

(ii) *Close Relationship Between the Executive and the Legislature*. All members of the cabinet are the members of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. They attend the meetings of the Parliament and take part in its discussions. They introduce bills in Parliament and get them passed. They defend their policies on the floor of the 'House and answer questions put to them by the Opposition.'

(iii) *Unity of the Cabinet*. The Cabinet is a unit, i.e., one united whole and its members stand or fall together. The ministers give a united front to the opposite party. The Cabinet gives unanimous advice to the king. In the eyes of the king and the Parliament, the Cabinet is a unit.

(iv) *Collective Responsibility*. Collective responsibility means that the Cabinet is responsible as a whole to the House of Commons for its actions and policies and must resign office as a whole when the House of Commons passes a vote of no-confidence against it.

This means even when an adverse vote is passed against one Cabinet Minister, it is considered a vote against the whole Cabinet and so all members of the Cabinet must resign. They must swim and sink together in the same boat. Their action is always concerted.

(v) *Leadership of the Prime Minister.* The Cabinet is formed, presided over, guided and controlled by the Prime Minister. He is the key-stone of the cabinet arch and dominates the whole Cabinet. He represents the Cabinet and is the sole channel of communication between the king and the cabinet.

(vi) *Exclusion of the Sovereign.* The king does not attend the Cabinet meetings though he can advise the Cabinet ministers. The absence of the king from the Cabinet meetings dates back from the time of George I, who being ignorant of English language could find no use in attending its meetings. The members of Cabinet meet and discuss all important affairs of the country and lay down a general policy. The decisions and policy of the Cabinet are conveyed by the Prime Minister to the king and the latter accepts them.

(vii) *Secrecy of Cabinet Meetings.* Every member of Cabinet must maintain strict secrecy regarding everything that passes at the meetings of Cabinet.

Q. Trace the origin and growth of Party Government in England.

The Exclusion Bill (1679): *Beginning of Political Parties.* The origin of the party system in England may be traced to the dispute over the Exclusion Bill (1679) which led to the rise of two distinct parties with distinct views—the Whigs and the Tories. The former advocated the supremacy of Parliament and refused to accept the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. The latter, on the other hand, showed more respect to the king's prerogative and believed in hereditary monarchy.

Reign of James II. During the reign of James II the Tories were necessarily in power, but their opposition to the king's pro-Catholic policy deprived them of his favour. The Revolution of 1688 was brought about by the combined efforts of both the parties, for James II's pro-Catholic policy had made it impossible for the Tories to remain loyal to the hereditary principle.

William III. The Tories reluctantly recognised William III as their king (for he had no hereditary right to the British Crown). Mary's death in 1694 weakened William III's title in the eyes of the orthodox Tories. William III tried at first to govern through ministers chosen from the two parties, but men who differed in their political views could not work together. In 1696 William III formed the first united Whig ministry. He was later on compelled to dismiss the Whig ministers when they ceased to have a majority in the

House of Commons. It is significant to note that the Tories accepted the principles of the Revolution of 1688 and curtailed the powers of the Crown when they took part in the enactment of the Act of Settlement.

Queen Anne. After her accession Queen Anne dismissed the Whig ministers and the Tories came to power. *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, leaders of the Tories, gradually went over to the Whigs, and they remained in office by driving away their former Tory colleagues. In 1710 the Whigs were removed, and the Tories under *Harley and Bolingbroke* came to power. Bolingbroke tried his most to break the power of the Whigs. He even tried to violate the Act of Settlement and bring about the restoration of the Stuarts. Queen Anne's sudden death wrecked his plan, and the Whigs proclaimed the accession of George I.

Whig Rule (1714—1763). During the period 1714—1763 the Whigs governed England. The Tories reluctantly accepted the Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian succession, but many of them would have been glad to bring about the restoration of the Catholic Stuarts. The nation did not want 'despotism and popery' and refused to support the Tories. The Whigs, therefore, had a great majority in Parliament. They also enjoyed the support of the Crown, for George I and George II knew very well that the safety of their throne rested on the support of the Whigs. The rule of the Whigs was corrupt and unadventurous, but England owes much to Walpole's financial skill and Chatham's genius as war minister.

George III. The accession of George III in 1760 brought about a great change in the political situation. He was anxious "to be a king" and to choose his own ministers. He knew "what stood in the way of his exercising this power was the ring of great Whig houses that had governed England during the last two reigns." Inspired by Bolingbroke's ideas, he thought that he could serve his purpose by restoring the Tories to power. So he removed Pitt the Elder and appointed Tory ministers. Later on, he was compelled on some occasions to accept Whig ministers, but he never liked them and availed himself of the earliest opportunity of dismissing them. At last in 1783, Pitt the Younger formed a Tory ministry. George III expected that he would be able to use Pitt as an instrument of his policy, but he was mistaken. Pitt, though a Tory, was quite unwilling to prefer the king's policy to his own. The king could not dismiss him, for he was supported by Parliament and his removal would have meant the return of the Whigs.

Tory Rule (1783—1830). During the period 1783—1830 Tories governed England. By 1830, the system of party government had become securely established, and Cabinets were usually formed on party lines. The only exceptions were the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen (1852—1855) and the Conservative Liberal Unionist Ministry of Lord Salisbury (1895—1901).

The First Reform Act: Liberals and Conservatives: Gladstone and Disraeli. After the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, the

Whigs and the Tories came to be known as Liberals and Conservatives, respectively. Under the leadership of Peel and Disraeli, the programme of the Conservatives became more and more liberalised. Peel introduced the principle of Free Trade; Disraeli induced his party to pass the Second Reform Act and to advocate legislation for the benefit of the working classes. The programme of the Liberals was primarily concerned with domestic reforms, and later on with the Irish question. The Liberals were not as enterprising and adventurous as their rivals in matters of foreign and colonial policy. The rivalry of the two parties reached its zenith in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone.

The Labour Party. Late in the 19th century a great change came over English domestic politics. The working classes became conscious of their grievances as well as of their powers, and began to organize themselves. The Labour Party was slowly coming into being. It was now a potent factor in English politics. The Labour Cabinet of Mr. Attlee then ruled over the destinies of England and her empire. The first Labour Cabinet was formed by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

Q. Explain and illustrate, by means of concrete examples, the Policy of the Liberal and Conservative Parties respectively, in Great Britain, during the nineteenth century.

Ans. (Already partly discussed in a previous Chapter).

The policy of the Liberal Party. After fifty years' opposition the Whigs returned to power in 1830 and maintained their position till 1841. In the first enthusiasm they passed a series of noble legislative measures. They reformed Parliament (1832) and the Municipal Corporations (1835), improved the Poor Law (1834), and abolished slavery (1833).

The repeal of the Corn Laws had not merely broken up the Conservative Party but threw the whole party system into utter confusion. The question of free trade and protection divided the Whigs also, for Russell had not been able to convert the whole Whig party to free trade. During the period from 1846 to 1867 both the parties had to undergo a process of evolution along new lines.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that in 1846 there were three parties in England—the Whigs, the Peelites or the Free Trade Conservatives and the Protectionists. The Peelites refused to coalesce either with the Whigs or with the Conservatives. The period from 1846 to 1859 was one of weak Cabinets.

Derby's Ministry foundered on the rock of the Reform Bill in 1859 and Palmerston again came to power. This time the Peelites threw in their lot with the Whigs.

The Reform Act of 1867 had enfranchised the skilled labourers who sided with the Liberal Party. This gave immense strength to the Liberals. Moreover the death of Palmerstone removed the chief obstacle to reforms and enabled Gladstone to reorganise the Liberals on new lines. His policy of active reform, especially his attitude towards the Irish question, united his party.

The Liberals under Gladstone stood for political equality and abolition of privileges. Hence they set themselves to break down the rule of the landowners and the Church and to establish equality before law. In his first ministry he carried out many bold and comprehensive reforms.

The Policy of the Conservative Party. On Victoria's accession the Conservatives had as a matter of fact a larger share in shaping the legislation of the period than the nominal authors, the Whigs.

The Conservatives had been organised into a strong party under the able leadership of Peel. He abandoned the name of 'Tory' and adopted that of 'Conservatives', and with this change of name the old principles of rigid Toryism also underwent a marked change. The Conservatives were to respond to the spirit of the times and so were not to pursue the old Tory policy of unintelligent resistance to all changes.

In 1841, Peel was the leader of the representatives of the landed interest and so was pledged to the maintenance of the Constitution.

In the period from 1868 to 1895 the Conservatives stood for the Church, the Monarchy and the maintenance of the Constitution.

The successive extension of the franchise made the working classes a power and so both the parties, to secure their support, vied with each other in promoting measures of social reform. The policy of both the parties was modified by the acceptance of Labour politics and Socialistic sentiments.

"The Home Rule question broke up the Liberal Party into Gladstonian Liberals and Liberal-Unionists. Before long the Liberal-Unionists joined and thereby strengthened the Conservatives. In this connection, it should be noted that the settlement of Imperialism was another element of discord among the Whigs. It was on this question as well as on that of Home rule that Chamberlain went over to the Conservatives. Thus Imperialism and Socialism had great influence in moulding party politics towards the last two decades of Victoria's reign." (Mukerjee).

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL ADVANCES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

> *"A trade union is a continuous association of wage earners with a view to maintaining or improving the condition of their employment through common action."*
>
> —WEBLE

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Q. Trace the origin and development of Trade Union or the Trade Union Movement in England during the 19th century.

Or,

Trace the growth of Trade Unionism in Great Britain in the 19th century.

Necessity of Trade Unions. One of the evil effects of the Industrial Revolution was that it had made the condition of workmen in factories and workshops very deplorable. They had to work in badly ventilated factories having most insanitary surroundings which adversely affected their health. Their condition was all the more miserable on account of overwork, less pay, no educational and other facilities of life and the bad treatment of their masters. In fact the Industrial Revolution had divided the nation into two hostile camps: wage-payers and wage-earners or capitalists and labourers. The poor wage-earners thought it impossible to live without some strong organization to obtain redress of their grievances. Consequently, the working classes organized themselves and founded Trade Unions. Weble has defined a trade union as "a continuous association of wage-earners with a view to maintain or improving the condition of their employment through common action".

Anti-Combination Acts (1800). The owners of factories and workshops treated the labourers very harshly as if they were not human beings. The labourers had many serious grievances but their masters paid no heed to them. When all peaceful and persuasive means had failed, the workers resorted to strikes. The employers were very much offended at the defiant attitude of the labourers and they had the Anti-Combination Acts passed by Parliament in 1799—1800 when Pitt the Younger was the Prime Minister. These Acts declared the Trade Unions illegal and forbade any combination of workers for redress of grievances against the law of the State. All those persons who tried to unite and organize themselves were considered to be conspiring against the State and were heavily punished.

Repeal of Anti-Combination Acts (1824). A strong and organized movement was set on foot to repeal the Anti-Combination Laws as they were considered to be a direct encroachment on the legitimate rights of human beings. The organizer of this movement was Francis Place, who led the agitation most calmly but effectively and succeeded in winning the support of several members of Parliament. His zealous efforts and protests resulted in the repeal of Anti-Combination Laws in 1824. The workers were collectively allowed to discuss and decide and even enter into agreements with the factory-owners in matters of wages and hours of work, but they could not use strike as a weapon to press their grievances.

Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (1834). Robert Owen, a social reformer, enthusiastically took up the cause of the Trade Union movement. He succeeded in organizing the famous "Grand National Consolidated Trade Union" in 1834 and it soon became very popular. Its members, numbering about half a million men of all kinds of trades, aimed at pressing the grievances of labouring classes by means of general strikes. A general strike of the workers was tried but it failed and the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union split up into a number of unions representing their own particular class.

Trade Union Congress, 1868. The Reform Bill of 1867, which conferred the right of voting on the working classes in the towns, gave a strong stimulus to the new voters to improve their condition. Consequently, a Trade Union Congress was founded to consider the question of improving the condition of the labouring classes. It had soon many branches in important cities all over the country which began to devote their energy and attention to the task of ameliorating the condition of the working classes.

Trade Union Act of 1871. To find out a peaceful solution of the various problems and the grievances of the labouring classes, Gladstone appointed a Royal Commission in 1870. The Commission studied in detail the various problems relating to labour and made certain important recommendations. In the light of these recommendations, the Trade Union Act of 1871, was passed which served as the 'Charter of Liberties' of the English Trade Union movement. By this Act, the Anti-Combination Laws were totally repealed and Trade Unions were declared legal. Working men could collectively think and act together for the removal of their grievances and strikes were no longer considered a crime against the State. From this time on, Trade Unions became a power in the country. In the general election of 1874, the working men for the first time put 13 candidates for election and 3 of them were returned to Parliament.

Disraeli's Employers and Workmen Act, 1875. It declared peaceful picketing legal and empowered Trade Unions to make use of picketing. In 1889, a large number of poor unskilled labourers who took part in a strike in the London docks succeeded in having their demands fulfilled in a non-violent manner.

New Trade Unionism. After the great Dock Strike of 1889, the movement took a new turn. "New Trade Unions were formed which represented labourers as well as artisans. Unionism thus became more democratic. They were in favour of more vigorous strike action and also political action through Parliament." The objects of the new Trade Unionism that now came into existence were not only to improve conditions of labour, but to secure a share in the direction of industry extending the principle of nationalisation, and "superseding the capitalist profitmaker as the governor and director of industry."

Trade Unionism soon developed into a democratic movement and they wanted to have control over the affairs of the State by having their representatives in Parliament.

Taff Vale Railway Company Case and Trade Disputes Acts of 1906. In 1901, a Union of workers in the Taff Vale Railways went on strike and suspended all work. The Railway Company sued the Union for damages. The judges held that a Trade Union could be sued for damages on account of any action committed by its members. This decision was resented by the Trade Unionists who carried on the agitation with full vigour. The agitation had its desired effect and the Liberal Ministry of Campbell-Bannerman passed the Trade Disputes Act of 1909. This Act removed the mischief of Taff Vale Case and in future the funds of Trade Unions could not be liable to action for damages.

The Trade Union Act of 1913. In 1909, Osborne, a railway employee and member of a Trade Union, had used the Union funds to promote the political interests of his Union. The House of Lords declared that it was not legal for the Trade Unions to spend their funds for the advancement of political interests. The Trade Unions launched an organized agitation against the judgment of the House of Lords and, consequently, Asquith's Ministry passed the Trade Union Act of 1913. The verdict of the House of Lords against Osborne was declared null and void and the Trade Unions were declared to possess the power to carry on their political activities and use their funds for political purposes if their own members were not opposed to it.

The Trade Disputes Act of 1926. A general strike of the workers was organized in 1926 against the Government for redress of certain grievances. When the strike was called off, the Trade Disputes Act of 1926 was passed to guide the relations between capital and labour.

Trade Unions a Great Power. Trade Unions are a great power in England. More than 1,100 Trade Unions exist in England, with more than five million members, representing a great force in the country. They have exercised considerable influence, not only on the legislative measures but also on social measures such as the Old Age Pensions Act, 1908, the National Insurance Act of 1911, etc.

Q. What measures were passed in the 19th century to improve the condition of the working classes with special reference to Factory Acts? *Or,*

Give a brief history of Factory legislation.

FACTORY ACTS

The condition of workers in Factories. As a result of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century labourers had to work in factories which were poorly ventilated and extremely unhealthy. Woman and child labour was greatly used because it was cheaper. The labourers had to work for long hours and were paid low wages, for the capitalists cared only for their own profits. The gathering of the working classes into cities led to overcrowding, high rents and social horrors of slum life. Physical and moral condition of the labouring classes underwent a terrible change and the conditions under which the children grew up as labourers made their proper education, good health and morals impossible; and England could not expect good citizens as the condition of men, women and children working in the factories was most deplorable and they could not but evoke pity.

No sensible government could tolerate for long this state of affairs which threatened the degeneration of the nation and the English Government, therefore, had to adopt measures to safeguard the interests of the working classes.

The following Factory Acts are particularly worthy of note:—

1. *The Factory Act of* 1802. By this Act no labourer could be required to work for more than twelve hours a day. The labourers were forbidden to do night work and a nominal provision was made to give better clothes and education to the apprentices. To improve sanitary and health conditions the factories were ordered to be properly ventilated and frequently white-washed. The Act failed to achieve much as no adequate provisions were made to enforce it. Moreover, Justices of the Peace, who were to look to the enforcement of the Act, were themselves mill-owners and so they ignored the Act.

2. *The Factory Act of* 1819. This Act was mainly the result of the efforts of Robert Owen, an educational and social reformer. By this Act, no child under nine could be employed in a factory, the working day of children and young persons between nine and sixteen years of age was fixed at twelve hours, and no night work was to be done by them. It proved ineffective and did not achieve much for want of adequate means to enforce it.

3. *The Factory Act of* 1833. Due to the strenuous efforts of Ashley and Owen, a Commission was appointed in 1833 to inquire into the conditions of the labourers working in factories. As a result of their enquiry and on the basis of their reports, an important step was taken to improve the condition of the labourers by passing the famous Factory Act of 1833. The Act provided:—

(a) Children between nine and thirteen years of age were not to work for more than nine hours a day.

(b) Young boys between thirteen and eighteen years of age were to work for not more than twelve hours a day.

(c) Inspectors were appointed to supervise the working of the

Factory Laws and they were empowered to fine those who ignored the Factory Laws.

(d) Provision was made for the compulsory education of children working in the factories.

(e) Children and young persons could not be kept at work during night.

4. *The Mines Act*, 1842. As a result of the report of a Commission on the employment of women and children in mines and collieries, the Mines Act of 1842 forbade the employment of women and boys under ten years of age in mines.

5. *The Factory Act of* 1844. Its clauses were the following:

(a) Machinery was guarded by fences for the safety of the workers.

(b) Meal times for women and young persons were fixed.

(c) The employment of women for long hours was prohibited.

(d) A register of workers was to be kept in every factory.

(e) The magistrates were required not to interfere with the work of the factory inspectors.

(f) Breaches of factory regulations were to be punished with heavier fines than before.

6. *The Factory Act of* 1847. By this Act, the working hours in case of children and young persons in the textile factories were not to exceed ten a day in any case.

7. *The Factory Act of* 1850. In 1850, an Act was passed fixing the hours of protected workers between 6 A.M. and 6 P.M. or 7 A.M. and 7 P.M., with one and a half hours off for meals, and Saturday work to end at 2 P.M. Thus was established the "normal day" for women and young persons. In 1853, this was extended to children.

8. *The Factory Act of* 1874. By this Act, no child under 10 years of age could be employed in a factory and the number of working hours was reduced from 10½ to 10; overtime was forbidden.

9. *The Factory and Workshop Act*, 1878. By this Act, various regulations governing factories and workshops were put together in the form of a code and certain measures were taken to add to the efficiency and improvement of factories and workshops.

10. *The Factory and Workshop Act of* 1891. This Act prohibited altogether the employment of children under 12 years of age in factories and workshops.

11. *The Factory and Workshop Act of* 1931. Its main provisions were:

(a) All the previous regulations regarding factories and workshops were properly codified.

(b) No boy could be employed in a factory till he had completed 14 years of age and produced a certificate of physical fitness.

(c) All accidents were to be properly reported and every pre tion had to be taken for the safety of the labourers.

Q. Give a brief account of the growth and history of popular education in England during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

EDUCATION

Elementary Education. Up till 1833, the Church and the philanthropists looked to the imparting of education to the people and State took very little interest in this direction. Popular agitations and the teachings of social reformers and political philosophers brought about a great change in the situation as they insisted on the State to take upon itself the duty of educating its citizens. "Lord Russel was the first among those who recognised that education of the people was a duty of the government." Consequently the Reform Parliament in 1833, passed a number of important measures and it passed an Education Act, too.

(i) *The Education Act of* 1833. State education began in 1833, when Parliament voted a small annual sum in aid of the elementary education of the poor. The Government sanctioned a sum of £20,000 for schools and this was the first State grant towards education. This grant was raised in 1839 and 1846; the management of public instruction was handed over to the Educational Committee of the Privy Council and school inspectors were appointed. With regard to the curriculum, Prof. Marriot points out, "Religious instruction had naturally formed an essential part of the curriculum. That this accorded with the wishes of the great mass of parents is indubitable."

(ii) *Newcastle's Commission,* 1861. To improve and encourage the cause of popular education in England, a Committee under Newcastle was appointed in 1861 to study thoroughly the system of popular education and make a report with the necessary recommendations. Consequently, the Committee thoroughly studied the system of popular education and as a result of their enquiry Lome's Education Code was prepared. The Committee suggested the increase of State grant to properly inspected schools and the increased grant was to depend upon the results of the students studying in the approved schools.

(iii) *The Elementary Education Act of* 1870. This Act (known as the Foster Education Bill) was passed during the first ministry of Gladstone at the instance of Mr. William E. Foster, a member of Gladstone's ministry. At this time England was far behind other countries in education, the majority of English children being without instruction of any kind. The Act of 1870 was an attempt to remedy this state of things by providing school accommodation and by making attendance compulsory. It enacted:—

(a) That where sufficient school accommodation did not exist, a School Board should be elected by the rate-payers, with authority to erect and maintain schools at the expense of the rate-payers of that district;

(b) That the School Board should be empowered to compel the attendance at school of all children between the ages of five and thirteen;

(c) That sectarian religious teaching should be excluded from Board schools;

(d) That in all schools receiving government aid, parents should have the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction.

A similar Education Act was passed for Scotland in 1872.

(iv) In 1876, another Education Act was passed by which children under 14 could not be employed until they produced a primary education certificate.

(v) *Lord Sandon's Educational Activities.* Lord Sandon, who was the Vice-President of the Education Committee, directed his efforts towards making elementary education compulsory. A school attendance committee, with the object of making attendance of the boys compulsory at schools, was established in every district, where there was no School Board. In 1880 by an Act attendance at school could be enforced.

(vi) *The Free Education Act of* 1898. This Act, passed by the Ministry of Salisbury, made elementary education free and compulsory, i.e., the Government had to bear all the expenses of the primary education and the boys had to pay no fees, but the parents were compelled to send their children to school at the school-going age.

(vii) *The Balfour Education Act,* 1902. By this:—

(1) School Boards were abolished and Government Inspectors were to inspect and control schools in a Division.

(2) Every school was to have a Manager.

(3) Every appointment and dismissal in schools was subject to the sanction of the School Inspectors.

(4) Government grant was given in order to make up deficiency in funds.

(5) Religious instruction was imparted according to the will of the founder of each school.

(6) In each High School 'technical education' was compulsory.

Marriot is of opinion that the Education Act of 1902 formed a very important landmark in the history of education in England. In fact this Act was responsible for laying the foundation of a national system of education in England.

(viii) *Dr. Fisher's Scheme of* 1918. Dr. Fisher, Education Minister, who took keen interest in problems of education, introduced a new scheme to overhaul the national system of education.

Secondary Education. Secondary and Higher Education kept pace with the growth of elementary education and every care was taken to place it on a sound system. An enquiry was held into the working of the public schools in 1861 by a Commission with Lord Clarendon as its president. The Commission made a thorough enquiry and on its recommendation, the public schools were brought under the Public Schools Act of 1868.

The Endowed Schools Act. It was passed in 1869 by which the funds of the 'endowed school' were to be used for better ends.

The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 enabled local authorities to promote technical and manual education, and by an Act of 1890, a sum of money was granted to the county and borough Councils for this purpose. The Councils of the counties and boroughs were also empowered to levy a rate not exceeding 1 d. in a pound to help the cause of technical and manual instruction.

Higher Education. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge took a very important step in 1858 by instituting the system of local examinations. This change brought a marked improvement in the system of education prevailing in the Secondary Schools. A Joint Board appointed by both the Universities introduced a system of examination on its own lines and granted certificates to successful students. Students were encouraged by means of prizes and scholarships and there grew up a spirit of healthy competition. Education spread rapidly and to meet the growing popular demands for higher education, University colleges were opened in many towns. Higher education made considerable progress.

Important steps for University Education

1. *University Act of* 1868. By this Act, religious test for admission to the Oxford and Cambridge Universities was abolished. This made University education liberal and unsectarian.

2. *Act of* 1902. By this Act, Universities were given grants-in-aid to make their system of education more efficient and systematic. The Government could inspect the working of the Universities whenever it desired.

3. *Act of* 1910. By this Act, the Universities were forced to admit female and non-Conformist candidates to Degrees.

Q. What does New Democracy signify? How was it introduced in England? What was Fabianism?

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Growth of Democracy. (i) *The Reform Act of* 1832. After the Revolution of 1688 Parliament became a sovereign body no doubt, but it did not represent the general will of the people at large. Up to 1832 electoral changes had not kept pace with economic changes. The system of franchise was equally iniquitous. There was a strong popular cry for Parliamentary reform which brought about the passage of the First Reform Act of 1832. The practical effect of this Reform Act was to transfer political power from the Lords and great land-owners to the middle class. The bond between the two Houses was broken and the House of Commons became conscious of a new independence.

(ii) *The Reform Act of* 1867. The people were not satisfied with the Reform Act of 1832, because the artisans and labourers were not given franchise. Disraeli had the Second Reform Act passed in 1867, because he expected support from the artisans for his Conservative party. The effect of this Act was to give the power of voting to artisans of the big cities. This Act shifted the political power from the middle class to the artisans.

(iii) *The Reform Act of* 1884. The Act of 1867 did not extend the franchise to the agricultural labourers. Hence the Third Reform Act of 1884 was introduced by Gladstone and passed the same year. This Act did for the counties what the Act of 1867 had done for the boroughs. The franchise was extended to the whole body of agricultural labourers in England, Scotland and Ireland.

(iv) *The Act of* 1885. The Act of 1885, also known as the Redistribution of Seats Act, distributed Parliamentary seats in proper proportion. The three Reforms Acts, passed so far, had enormously increased the number of voters, but the seats were not distributed on the principle of proportionate representation to population. This Act remedied the defects of the previous Reforms Acts and established equal electoral districts. This gave equal representation to all parts of the country.

The New Democracy. These Reform Acts had not established thorough political democracy in Britain. Consequently several Acts had still to be passed to bring about what is called the New Democracy. The Parliament Act of 1911, the Fourth Reform or the People's Act of 1918 and the Fifth Reform Act of 1928 were passed to bring about the New Democracy.

(i) *The Parliament Act of* 1911. This Act passed by the Asquith Ministry gave the Commons complete control over all legislation and reduced the House of Lords to a mere advisory body.

(ii) *The Fourth Reform Act or the People's Act of* 1918. This Act, also known as the Representation of the People's Act, passed by the Ministry of Lloyd George, gave the right of vote to every man above the age of 21 and to woman above the age of 30.

(iii) *The Fifth Reform Act or the People's Act of* 1928. This Act gave the right of vote to every woman of 21 or above this age.

It is now that every man and woman of 21 or above in England possesses the right of vote and the House of Commons is in the real sense representative of the people and is superior to the House of Lords in all matters affecting legislation and finance. The New Democracy means that the political power in England rests not with the rich land-owning class or middle class, but with the labourers and the workmen and with the House of Commons which is, in the true sense, a popular representative body.

Fabianism. The Fabian Society was founded in London 1884. The members of the Society believed in the Socialist State a thus they wanted all industries to be brought under the direct cont of the State. They wanted the principles of democracy to be extended. Their motto was 'Slow but sure.' They wanted to achieve their object not by revolution and violence but by peaceful and parliamentary methods. They wanted a Socialist State to come into being quietly and constitutionally. Gradually the Fabians gained influence; they were like intelligence officers without an army—there was no Fabian party in Parliament—but they influenced the strategy and even the direction of the great hosts moving under other banners.

Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sidney and Mr. and Mrs. Webb have been prominent Fabians.

Q. Describe briefly the Poor Laws and the Social Legislation passed in England during the latter part of the 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries.

POOR LAWS AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Poor Laws. (i) In 1795 a Berkshire Magistrate fixed the scale of relief. Outdoor relief was given to able-bodied men in aid of wages and the amount paid was in proportion to the number of children. The result was that the labourers became demoralized.

(ii) In 1834 the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. No outdoor relief was to be given to the able-bodied people. Able-bodied persons seeking indoor relief were required to work in the workhouses. A Central Poor Law Board was established to supervise the working of the Act.

(iii) A Law was passed in 1908 by which an old person, who had attained the age of 70, could claim a pension from the State. It has enabled a large number of the poor but honest persons to live with self-respect.

(iv) An Act was passed in 1929 by which pensions were provided for widows of over 55 years if their husbands had attained the age of 70 before 1929 and had insured their lives under the Industrial Insurance System.

Social Legislation. The necessity of social legislation. The Industrial Revolution gave rise to a number of important problems, one of which concerned the labouring classes whose deplorable condition demanded immediate and urgent solution. The labourers had to work under most insanitary conditions in factories which were not properly ventilated and consequently their health was adversely affected. They had to work for long hours on low wages and the apprentices were not given either good clothes or decent sleeping accommodation. The distribution of wealth was more unequal than ever. The factory owners and capitalists became the captains of industry and reaped golden harvests. Working under them were the starving, under-paid millions. The ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clad workers laboured under hideously demoralising conditions and the society gradually tended to break up into two hostile camps, the 'Haves' and the 'Have-nots'.

The Government could not tolerate long this horrible state of affairs and it had to interfere for the amelioration of the condition of the suffering millions.

The following social measures were passed to improve the condition of the labouring classes:—

[*Read the Factory Acts mentioned in the previous Answer and add the following:*—]

1. *The Compensation Act* (1874). By this Act the near relative, who was deprived of his main support on account of the death of the workman by accident, could demand compensation.

2. *Artisans' Dwelling Act* (1875). By this Act, the town councils were authorised to pull down insanitary dwellings of the workers and build better and sanitary houses instead. The town councils were also empowered to appoint Medical Officers of Health to look after the health of the workmen.

3. *The Employees' Liability Act* (1880). This Act gave power to the nearest relation of the workman to demand compensation for injury to the extent of three years' earning.

4. *The Assisted Education Act* (1891). It made education in English elementary schools free and compulsory and the workers were greatly benefited by this measure.

5. *The Factory and Workshops Bill* (1895). It abolished overtime for young people and improved sanitary and other conditions in factories and workshops.

6. *The Workmen's Compensation Act* (1897). It established a legal relationship between the employers and the workers and provided that under certain conditions compensation should be given to injured workmen.

The beginnings of the 20th century saw a number of important socialistic measures adopted to bring about improvement in the condition of poor workers.

Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal Ministry (December 1905—April 1908), passed the following social legislation:—

(i) *Trade Disputes Act* (1906). It legalised peaceful picketing and rendered the Trade Union funds immune from damages caused by industrial disputes. In fact the Trade Unions became privileged bodies and their political actions were legalised.

(ii) *The Workmen Compensation Act* (1906). It granted compensation for industrial diseases, viz., lead or phosphorus poisoning. Further, the Act empowered the workers in every trade to demand compensation.

In the same year, an Act was passed by which the education authorities were empowered to provide food to those children who came to school hungry.

(iii) *The Small Holdings Bill* (1907). It facilitated the acquisition of small holdings under the administration of the County Councils.

The Liberal Government under H. H. Asquith, Prime Minister (April 1908—May 1913), passed the following measures of social reform:—

(i) *The Old Age Pensions Act* (1908). It provided a pension of 5s. a week at the cost of the State to all needy persons of 70 and upwards who were not in receipt of Poor Law Relief, and had not forfeited their claim by criminal conduct.

(ii) *The Provision of Meals Act* (1908). The school-going children were provided with food.

(iii) *The Medical Inspection Act* (1908). All children were brought under medical supervision.

(iv) *The Children's Bill* (1908). Many forms of protection for children were enacted and, in particular, a special system of jurisdiction was instituted for juvenile offenders.

(v) *The Housing and Town Planning Act* (1909). It gave local authorities large powers for the demolition of insanitary and the construction of healthy houses for the people.

(vi) *The Coal Mines Act* (1908). By this the workers worked for not more than eight hours a day in coal-mines.

(vii) *Establishment of the Labour Exchange Offices or Employment Exchanges* (1909). They have been established in almost all cities to enable employers to get into touch with unemployed workers.

(viii) *Sweated Industries Act* (1909). Trade Boards were established and empowered to fix minimum wages of labourers.

(ix) *The National Insurance Act* (1911). Later on, a similar Act, the National Health Insurance Act, was passed. By this Act, every workman having an income of less than £ 160 a year, was required to contribute 4d. a week. The employer and the Government were also each required to pay towards that fund an amount equal to that paid by the workman. The worker when he was ill or unemployed, could claim money from this amount. By the Acts of 1920 and 1921, it has been made compulsory for every workman to insure himself against unemployment.

Q. Discuss the position of the various political parties in England with particular reference to the Labour Party.

It is now established beyond doubt that political parties are a necessity to the successful working of democracy. The English Parliamentary system, as we find it at present, grew round the parties. The English parties did not grow up in a day. They grew with the growth in the power of Parliament. Without Parliamentary system the party system could not develop. It was the heated discussion over the Exclusion Bill in the reign of Charles II that saw the birth of modern parties. The present major parties in England are the

Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party, and besides these three there are minor parties, like the Independent Labour Party, which is but a wing of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, etc.

Parties have two main functions. They run the government and persuade the people to allow them to run it. That is why parties must be organised both in and out of Parliament. In Parliament, the parties act and vote as a unit under the guidance of their leaders whereas the task of keeping the sheep together falls on the *Whips*. They are the most important officials of the party inside the Houses.

The Labour Party. Kier Hardy laid the foundation of the "Independent Labour Party" in 1893. In 1900 this party and the Trade Unions joined together with a common political programme and adopted the name of "Labour Party Representation Committee" and in 1906 it came to be called the Labour Party. In the new election it won 29 seats for the first time and before the Great War (1914) it secured as many as 40 seats in the House of Commons.

The appointment of John Burns as the first Labour Cabinet Minister was a recognition of the growing importance of labour as a political force. Still, from 1906 to 1914 the Party suffered from lack of a definite programme and differences between its Socialist and non-Socialist members. The Great War strengthened the position of the Party and the importance of the working classes was realized. At the end of the War (1918) the formal adoption of a comprehensive Socialist programme dealing with home and foreign affairs and the issue of suggested terms of peace by the Labour Party gave it a definite political policy. In the elections of 1918, the Labour Party got a larger representation than the Liberals and thus became the second party in the State. The importance of the Liberals greatly decreased. In 1924 the Labour Party for the first time formed the government and since then it has become one of the most leading parties in England. The election of 1945 was remarkable in many respects. The Labour Party captured as many as 392 seats, thus securing an absolute majority, and as such had not to depend on the support of any other party. The Labour Ministry with Mr. Clement Attlee as Premier remained in power for a number of years till recently it was succeeded by the Conservative Ministry under Mr. Churchill.

Aims and Programme of the Labour Party. (a) The Labour Party aims at the gradual establishment of a socialistic State in Britain. It has introduced nationalisation of the Bank of England, of coal-mines, of important means of communication like aviation, wireless, etc.; introduction of more liberal social security schemes, national planning so as to maintain full employment in the country, improvement of wage standards, etc., form a part of the programme.

It does not, of course, want to deprive the existing owners of private property. On the other hand, it would buy them out at a fair market price. "With regard to the fiscal issue, Labour may be said to be hesitating. It was never actively free-trader like the Liberals; it was merely anti-Protectionist."

(b) As to foreign affairs, it wants to add to the strength of the U.N.O. by creating a better understanding with the U.S.A. and Russia.

(c) As to the empire, it officially wants to further the economic well-being of the people of the colonies along socialistic lines, etc. It was through the good offices of the Labour Party that India was granted independence.

The Conservative Party. This Party is the descendant of the Tory Party and is also known as the Unionist Party. The Conservative Party counts among its members most of the nobility and the country squires, most of the clergymen of the Established Church and the Imperialists. It has also some hold over the working classes. The party supports the royal prerogative and is opposed to socialism and nationalisation of property in any way. It is also in favour of protection for the home industries, and imperial preference so as to knit the Empire closely together as an economic unit. It may be stated that officials of the Labour Party seem content with the policy of protection and as to other matters, foreign and imperial, there is not much difference between the two parties.

The Liberals. The Liberal Party is the successor to the Whig Party and stands midway between the Labour and the Conservative. The Liberal Party draws its strength from the middle class and the Non-Conformists. They have been, on the whole, a party of reform.

It also believes in national planning, but in a free society. Under the able leadership of Beveridge and others, it supports schemes of social security, full employment, maintenance of private enterprise in the economic field, and free trade between nations.

Much cannot be said about the programme of the party as it is divided into three groups, one of which is actively in favour of protection.

The Independent Labour Party. It likes to go at a faster rate than the official Labour Party for making England a socialistic state. It consists of a small group of the radical labourites.

CHAPTER XXXIV

A CENTURY OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM FROM 1932 TO 1949

"The 19th Century was a period of democracy in England."

Q. Show how Great Britain has progressively become a complete political democracy since 1832. *Or,* (P.U. 1942, 1939)

Attempt a bird's-eye view of Parliamentary Reform in Great Britain since 1832. Mention and discuss briefly the important landmarks only. *Or,* (P.U. 1955)

Q. Trace briefly the constitutional changes brought about in England from 1832 to 1949. *Or,* (P.U. Sept. 1956, 1953)

Give an account of Parliamentary Reforms or growth of Parliamentary democracy in England from 1832 to 1949, or in the 19th and 20th centuries. *Or,* (P.U. 1951, 1949, 1937, 1935)

Trace the various stages by which Adult Franchise was established in England.

The constitutional significance of the various Parliamentary Acts, reforms and movements that introduced complete political democracy or adult franchise in England between 1832 and 1949 may be briefly mentioned as follows:—

(i) *The Constitutional significance of the Reform Act of* 1832. 1. This Act marked the beginning of a great constitutional and political change. It transferred the supreme political power from peers and great landowners to the middle class, from a few to many. Thus the period from 1832 to 1867 was the period of the "rule of the middle classes", although the government continued to be aristocratic in personnel. "The Act made Parliament democratic for the first time."

2. The number of votes was immediately increased by the addition of 55,000 electors. Thus the House of Commons became more representative than before.

3. The "rotten" boroughs were abolished and uniformity of franchise was established in boroughs. This removed many of the defects of the old system.

The Act abolished the old boroughs and created new ones. It also re-distributed the seats made vacant. The franchise was considerably lowered so as to include all properly qualified persons.

This Act marked the beginning of the transfer of political power from the Landlords to the Commons or from Aristocracy to Democracy.

(ii) *The Chartist Movement.* The opening years of the reign of Queen Victoria were marked by wide-spread agitation and unrest. Its most serious manifestation was the Chartist Movement. In England and Scotland the condition of the people was bad. Wages were low, and food was dear. This was all the more disappointing, since better times had been hoped for after the Reform Bill had been passed. A party now arose called the Chartists. They drew up a plan for a more thoroughgoing reform of Parliament, which they called the People's Charter. It was after this Charter that they were called Chartists. They demanded (1) universal suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual Parliaments, (4) abolition of property qualifications for members, (5) payment of members, and (6) equal electoral districts. At that time Chartism was not successful. It ruined its own cause by violence and by threats of revolutions and after an ineffectual demonstration in London in 1848 it died out. Since then, however, most of its demands have been conceded.

(iii) *Ballot Act* (1870). By this Act, voting was done secretly at Parliamentary elections. The landlords and employers could exercise very little undue influence over tenants and workmen after this Act had been passed. Democracy was thus greatly safeguarded.

(iv) *Corrupt Practices Act* (1883). By this bribery of voters, directly or indirectly, was strictly forbidden. Persons who still used bribery to influence voters were severely punished.

(v) *The effects and importance of the Reform Act of* 1867.—1. The working classes now got franchise. Thus the Act took a long step in the direction of democracy.

2. Household suffrage was now given to boroughs.

3. The Reform Act of 1832 had transferred political power from the landed aristocracy to the middle class. Now the Second Reform Act transferred political power from the middle classes to the working classes. Power was thus transferred from the classes to the masses.

4. It was feared that the illiterate working classes would misuse power, and that it would seriously endanger the working of the political machinery. Their fears have, however, proved to be false.

(vi) *The effects and importance of the Reform Act of* 1884. The Reform Act of 1867 had given votes to the artisans and the working classes in towns but the agricultural labourers in the country had not received the right of voting. Hence Gladstone passed Third Reform Bill of 1884 and the Redistribution Act of 1885.

The county franchise, like the borough franchise, was extended to all occupiers and £ 10 lodgers. In other words, the agricultural labourers received the franchise which the urban wage-earners had obtained in 1867.

(vii) *Payment of Members.* In 1911, it was decided that every member of Parliament shall receive £ 400 a year. This strengthened the position of working class members who under the new conditions could devote their time and attention to the work of Parliament.

(viii) *The effects and importance of the Redistribution of Seats Act* (1885). This Act distributed seats in proper proportion. Leaving twenty two towns and certain Universities that enjoyed the right of returning two members, all other counties and boroughs were so divided that they became single-member constituencies. The principle of proportionate representation to the population underlay the whole scheme and thus equal electoral districts were established. All parts of the country enjoyed equal representation.

(ix) *The Parliament Act of* 1911. After a tough struggle the Act of 1911 was passed which put an end to all deadlocks between the two Houses. The Act provided:—

1. A Money Bill passed by the Commons and presented to the Lords must be passed by the Lords without any amendment within one month, otherwise it will be presented to the king for assent and will become an Act.

2. The power of deciding the nature of the Money Bill, remained in the hands of the Speaker of Parliament.

3. Any Public Bill, other than a Money Bill, passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions and rejected by the Lords will be presented to the king for assent and will become law. But after the introduction of such a Bill in the first session, two years must elapse before it is sent to the king for assent. (By the Act of 1949 the period of two years was reduced to one year).

4. The life of the Parliament was fixed at five years.

The Act reduced the powers of the Lords to a considerable extent and made it only an advisory body. The House of Commons became all-powerful and it is rightly said that the House of Lords was the shadow of its former self.

(x) *The Fourth Reform or People's Act of* 1918. This Act gave women the right of vote for which they had struggled hard since 1884. The women had offered hearty co-operation during the First Great War and rendered great services to their country. By this Act, also known as the Representation of the People's Act, women over the age of 30 and men over 21 were given the right of vote and they could also stand for Parliament.

(xi) *The Parliamentary Reform Act of* 1928 *or the Fifth Reform Act or the Equal Franchise Act*. By this Act, women were given the right of voting on the same terms as men, i.e., women above 21 enjoyed the right of vote. Democracy was thus completed in England.

Since that date it may be said that practically every one has had a vote who is not a minor an alien, a pauper, a criminal, a lunatic or a peer.

(xii) *The Parliament Act of* 1949. The House of Lords could delay any Public Bill, other than a Money Bill (non-financial legislation), for two years but the duration was reduced to one year by the Parliament Act of 1949.

The Women's Suffrage or the Suffragette Movement in England. Mill was the first man to propose in 1867 franchise for women but his proposal was thrown out. To press for their right of vote women organised their social and political unions, which, failing in their conciliatory methods to secure their ends, ultimately resorted to violent and unconstitutional means. The Unions failed in their object and some enthusiastic women workers were arrested. In 1908, the Women's Freedom League was formed to secure franchise for women and the workers made use of violent methods. The movement was characterised by sabotage and other acts of lawlessness.

During the Great War (1914—1918) women played a very significant part by rendering great services to the cause of their country. and the Government, in appreciation of their meritorious services, passed the Fourth Reform Act, 1918, also called the Representation of the People's Act, giving women above the age of 30 the right of vote. Another Act known as the Fifth Reform Act was passed in 1928 which gave every woman of 21 or above the right of vote. Thus women got equal rights with men and today every man or woman of 21 or above has the right of vote.

Q. Examine the successive extensions of the franchise which have been granted to the British people since the beginning of the 19th century, and indicate briefly how they have affected the composition of the House of Commons.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Trace the steps by which adult franchise was achieved in England and give the main features of the measures adopted from 1832 onwards.

Ans. Please consult previous Answers—Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1885, 1911, 1918 and 1928.

Q. Show how franchise was successively encouraged in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. *Or,*

Bring out clearly the bearing of the successive Parliamentary Reform Acts from 1832 onwards on the progress of democracy in England. *Or,*

Trace the successive stages by which the British Parliament became a really representative body.

Ans. Please consult the following:—

1. The Reform Act of 1832.
2. The Reform Act of 1867.
3. The Third Reform Act of 1884.
4. The Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885.
5. The Parliament Act of 1911.
6. The Fourth Reform Act or the Representation of the People's Act of 1918.
7. The Fifth Reform Act or the Equal Franchise Act of 1928.

Q. Briefly sketch the career of Lord Salisbury.

LORD SALISBURY

His Career. He was born at Hatfield in 1839. In 1863 he became member of Parliament for Stanford. In 1863 he succeeded his father as Third Marquis of Salisbury. In 1866 and 1874 he became Secretary of State for India. In 1878 he became Foreign Secretary. He became Prime Minister thrice: (1) 1885; (2) 1886—1892; and (3) 1895—1902. He died at Hatfield in 1902.

He was a great Conservative and opposed the growing movement towards democracy. He opposed all popular movements like the Reform Bill 1867, the Irish Home Rule Bill, etc.

Foreign Affairs. He usually held the post of Foreign Secretary in addition to the Premiership. He rendered admirable service at the Foreign Office. He wanted to maintain and add to England's honour steadily and fearlessly. He settled the long-standing differences between Great Britain and Russia about Afghanistan; he was specially successful in Africa, where he extended British influence by granting charters to the British South African and East African Companies; he overcame difficulties in connection with Portugal and France and induced Germany to acknowledge the British Protectorate in Zanzibar. He skilfully avoided war with the United States about Venezuela and by clever diplomacy during the Boer War prevented European intervention.

From 1885 to 1902 he practically guided the destinies of England and his Foreign policy was more of the nature of 'splendid isolation.'

His Reforms

1. During his first Ministry (1885), the most important measure was the Ashbourne Act of 1885, so called after the name of its author, Lord Ashbourne, the Irish Lord Chancellor. This Act extended the land purchase scheme of the Land Act of 1881. The Commissioners were authorised to advance all the purchase money except one-fifth. The Act proved successful and enabled many tenants to purchase their holdings in all parts of Ireland.

2. The important measures of the Second Ministry (1886—1892) were the following:—

(a) A Round Table Conference tried to bring about a reunion in the Liberal Party, but it failed.

(b) The Queen's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in 1887.

(c) The Local Government Act was passed in 1888. This Act placed the local government of counties on a democratic basis. It set up sixty-two county councils consisting of councillors elected directly by the rate-payers and aldermen elected by the councillors.

(d) The Free Education Act was passed in 1891 which made elementary education free.

(e) The Factory Act of 1891 reduced the hours of labour for women to twelve hours a day.

(f) In 1889, the Board of Agriculture was set up.

3. During his third Ministry (1895—1902) the most important measures were the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 and setting up of the Board of Education Act of 1899.

His Work and Achievement. Salisbury was a deeply religious man and strongly supported the cause of religious education. He kept his cabinet together with great success despite occasional differences, but chose his colleagues from a rather narrow circle. His sincerity, patriotism and skilful management of foreign affairs gained for him an unusually large measure of respect and confidence.

Q. Give a brief account of the Boer or South African War. (1899—1902). What were its effects on the future development of South Africa?

THE BOER WAR

Causes. The main cause of the Boer War lay in the national hatred and prejudices between the English and the Boers.

Secondly. The Transvaal had been given independence by the British in 1881, but the British still claimed suzerainty over it, while the Boers thought they were completely independent.

Thirdly, they were being surrounded on all sides by new British colonies. In the Transvaal, gold mines had been discovered, and the British and foreigners went in crowds to the place. The President of the Boers, Paul Kruger, did not permit the foreigners to be citizens of the Republic and taxed them heavily. The Boers had intense hatred for all foreigners and gave them the name of Uitlanders thus clearly indicating that they did not want to have anything to do with them. The number of Uitlanders became so considerable that they began to claim the same political privileges which the Boers enjoyed.

Fourthly, The British again insisted that the grievances of foreigners in the Transvaal be redressed by the Boer Government but President Kruger did not listen. The British amassed troops in Cape Colony. The Boer Government demanded their withdrawal. The British refused to withdraw and the troops from the Boer Republic crossed the British borders.

Course. The Boers at once besieged Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. The British sent Buller to relieve Ladysmith and Methuen to relieve Kimberley. But in one 'black week' of December the British armies were defeated at Colenso, Kimberley, Magersfonteim and Stormberg. This roused the British, and Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchner were now selected for conducting the war. They relieved city after city, and in May, Mafeking was relieved, and Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was occupied. President Kruger then fled to Europe.

The war continued for two years more, the Boer leader being

De-Wet. Despite the preliminary success of the Boers, the British, with the help of Dominions, were successful in the end and peace was made in 1902 by the Treaty of Pretoria, promising Boers that "as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced."

Results. 1. The Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire.

2. In 1906 the South African States were granted representative government.

3. Three years later, i.e.. in 1909, Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State were united together under a Federal Government known as the South African Republic or the Union of South Africa.

Future Development of South Africa. The Boer War led to the formation of the Union of South Africa. As a result of this Union each of the self-governing colonies of South Africa (Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State) sent its representatives to the Union Parliament. Democratic institutions began to flourish, and education, trade, industries gradually made progress. The Union became powerful, being not a collection of heterogneous masses, but an association of States bound together by common interests and common aims.

CHAPTER XXXV

EDWARD VII TO ELIZABETH II

> *"In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves upon me I am fully determined to be a constitutional monarch in the strictest sense of the word, and as long as there is breath in my body, to work for the good and amelioration of my people."*
>
> —EDWARD

Edward VII (1901—1910). The great Queen died in 1901 and was succeeded by her eldest son, Edward VII. The new king was sixty when he came to the throne. He was of a genial temperament and very popular. He was carefully educated for the responsible duties which lay before him and his outlook on life was broadened by visits to the United States, Canada and the East. He was a great traveller. He was a man of peace and his one aim was to preserve the peace of Europe. As a peace-loving monarch his influence did much to promote friendly relations between England and other countries of Europe. He was rightly called Edward the Peace-Maker.

In 1863, he married the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, whose beauty, modesty and worthiness speedily won the hearts of the British people. Besides three daughters, there were born of this marriage Albert Duke of Clarence (died 1892) and George V.

Balfour Ministry (1902—1905). In 1902, Lord Salisbury resigned owing to ill-health and Balfour became Prime Minister. The first important act of the ministry was to bring the Boer War to a close (1902). The Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire. As regards home affairs, the Ministry passed the Education Act of 1902 and the Land Purchase Act of 1904. The Education Act of 1902 abolished School Boards, and transferred the management and control of schools to county councils. Thus the Act brought education under the control of local authorities. The Irish Land Purchase Act of 1904 made easy the purchase by tenants of their holdings.

Tariff Reforms of Chamberlain. Chamberlain, the Colonial Minister in the Balfour Ministry, proposed a tariff reform of colonial preference by which he wanted to bind the colonies more closely to England. His proposal was that the colonies should be given preference by allowing their goods to enter British markets at a lower rate of duties than those of other countries. The Canadian corn or the Australian meat would be allowed to come to England more cheaply than corn or meat of other countries. In return for this the Colonies would adopt the same policy of preference towards the mother-country (England) and thus it would consolidate the British Empire more strongly.

The Ministry was divided on the tariff question. There was a split in the camp and Balfour resigned.

"In 1895 he was recognized as the most forceful personality in British politics. He founded the Imperial Federation League and presided over colonial conferences in 1897 and 1902. He conducted the British to the end of quarrel with the Boers. After the South African War he began agitation for tariff reforms and in 1903 resigned from the Cabinet to carry it on. But it was emphatically rejected at the election of 1906. He taught the British people to think 'imperially' and kept their mind awake to the fact that they were not an isolated nation, but one member in a great partnership of nations."

Q. What was the policy of 'Splendid Isolation'? Under what circumstances was this policy adopted and ultimately abandoned?

Meaning of 'Splendid Isolation.' After the Napoleonic Wars which ended in 1815, England followed as much as possible the policy of keeping aloof from and not meddling with the affairs of Europe. England devoted her attention to domestic and imperial matters rather than involving herself in European complications. The policy of absolute abstention from interference in European affairs has been styled as 'Splendid Isolation'. From the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the accession of Edward VII to the throne of England in 1901, England's position was one of complete isolation and she deliberately avoided joining any political alliance or group. She had a strong Navy and feeling a sense of security thereby, she felt it needless to join any political camp, though she did not allow the balance of power to be upset and had to intervene on several occasions on this score. Gladstone and Salisbury favoured the policy of 'Splendid Isolation' and the latter was in power from 1885 to 1902.

"Since 1815 the means pursued by England for living quietly in the society of European States had been two-fold: first to keep our hands free, to abstain from entering into any agreements or alliances which might involve the country in unforeseen struggles in unexpected times. The other means was to support the Concert of Europe as a way of adjusting any international disputes which seemed likely to produce war."

Circumstances favourable to 'Splendid Isolation'. The fact why such a policy was adopted by England was due to several factors and circumstances. Englishmen were more concerned with the domestic and political problems. They wanted to extend their trade and so they concentrated their attention on the extension of trade in colonies. Prime Ministers of the type of Gladstone and Salisbury had a weak and unenterprising foreign policy on account of their intense desire to keep their country free from European entanglements.

Russia and France had formed an alliance known as the Dual Alliance and they had a strong colonial rivalry with England. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had formed another alliance known as the Triple Alliance. Great Britain maintained the relations with the continental Powers on the basis of "Splendid Isolation" and remained outside both these groups.

Why England abandoned 'Splendid Isolation'. After 1890 there grew up a strong tension between England and Germany. The commercial and industrial power of Germany was growing and it was a menace to English manufactures and industries; the Conservative Party in power could not bear the growing power of Germany. William II ascended the throne of Germany in 1888. He was particularly ambitious and aggressive. He was determined that Germany should be great and splendid in Europe, on the seas and in Asia. The Kaiser was jealous of the English possessions and henceforward Germany was coming out as a great Continental Power by increasing her naval force. This was a great menace to the naval supremacy of Great Britain. The attitude of Germany towards the Boer War (1899—1902) was in favour of the Boer people. The decay of Turkish power gave Germany an opportunity to gain influence at Constantinople and thus to come into competition with English interests there.

To check the growing power of Germany which wanted to dominate the whole world, Great Britain decided to abandon her old policy of "Splendid Isolation" and began anew entering into agreements and alliances. Thus England wanted to add to her strength and keep the balance of power. France, anxious to get back Alsace-Lorraine from Germany, wanted the support of Britain and so the two countries entered into friendly agreement called "Entente Cordiale," in 1904. In 1907 Russia joined the Entente and thus there was the Triple Entente (England, France and Russia). (For further details please see the reign of George V).

Q. What was the foreign policy of Edward VII? ***Or,***

How Edward VII abandoned the policy of Splendid Isolation and adopted one of entering into agreements and alliances.

Ans. For this please consult the reign of George V.

Q. Describe the fortune of the Tory Party from the advent of Benjamin Disraeli to the Election of 1906. What were the chief differences in policy that separated it from Liberals?

Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) became Prime Minister in 1868 but he was soon driven out of power by Gladstone. Disraeli again came into power in 1874 and remained so till 1880.

Disraeli as Prime Minister (1874—1880) *and the Height of Tory Power.* Disraeli was a strong believer in the Tory principles and the Party was at the height of its power during Disraeli's Ministry. Disraeli is known for social reform in the interest of the working men and for making England a powerful State in the diplomatic circle. Disraeli was an advocate of Imperialism. The first step in his imperial project was to link up the eastern parts of the empire with the western. Disraeli achieved this by buying the shares of the Suez Canal from the Khedive of Egypt, who wanted to pay off his debts. Disraeli thus obtained for England the control over the route to the

East. He followed a vigorous foreign policy. He took keen interest in the 'Eastern Question' and for the time being put an end to the aggressive policy and growing power of Russia. By his diplomacy he gave a blow to the influence of Russia in the Balkan States. The Berlin Treaty in 1878 restored the position of England in the Councils of Europe. In other directions too, Disraeli tried to deal a severe below to Russian influence.

The Liberals in power (1880—1885). During the years 1880—1885 the Liberals were in power. Gladstone who was a great Liberal held power during these years.

The Tory Power (1885—1886). The weak foreign policy of Gladstone led to his fall in 1885 and the Tories came into power. Salisbury, a Tory, remained in power for a short time and was succeeded next year by Gladstone.

The fall of Tory Party in 1886. The Tory power fell in 1886, and Gladstone returned to power. Gladstone in 1886 introduced the Home Rule Bill but it was thrown out and so he had to resign. Salisbury again came into power.

The Unionist Party, 1886—1892. The Unionist Party remained in power from 1886 to 1892. The party was so called because it was made up of the Conservatives, the Whigs and the Radicals. The Conservatives were led by Lord Salisbury, the Whigs by Lord Hartington and the Radicals by Joseph Chamberlain.

The Liberals in Power, 1892—1894. Gladstone became Prime Minister once again in 1892. He introduced his Second Irish Home Rule Bill which was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords. He resigned in 1894 for he felt himself too old to continue in public life.

The Unionist Party in Power, 1895—1906. After the resignation of Gladstone in 1894 Rosebury was in power for one year. After Rosebury the Unionist came into power and remained in office for the next ten years. During this period Salisbury was in power from 1895 to 1902, in which year he resigned for reasons of ill-health. After Salisbury, Balfour became Prime Minister in 1902 and continued in office till 1905. There was a split in the Unionist Party on the question of tariff reform. This led to the fall of the Unionist Party and the formation of a Liberal administration by Campbell-Bannerman in 1906.

The chief differences in policy that separated the Tories from the Liberals:—

(1) The Liberals were in favour of an active reform policy and they wanted to extend complete Home Rule to the Irish. Gladstone, a great Liberal, introduced many useful reforms both in England and Ireland. The Liberals wanted to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people. They were in favour of popular rights and wanted to protect them at all costs. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were more in favour of monarchy and were anxious to maintain the Constitution as it was. They did not favour active reform and were

1905

not zealous to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people. They were more anxious to safeguard the prerogatives of the Crown.

(2) The Liberals were not in favour of a vigorous foreign policy. Gladstone's foreign policy was weak and unadventurous. The Conservatives, on the other hand, favoured a strong and enterprising foreign policy. They were in favour of Imperialism and wanted to extend the colonial and commercial strength of England abroad and make her a leading nation in the East and in the West. Disraeli who was a Conservative, made Engand great abroad and restored the position of England in the Councils of Europe.

(3) The Liberals wanted to establish equality before law by breaking down the supremacy of the landowning classes and the higher clergy but the Conservatives wanted to improve the condition of the people as a whole without offending the landowning classes and the Church. They did not want to bring about any radical change in the existing order of things either in the society or in the Church or in the Constitution. They wanted slow and reasonable reforms and avoided sudden and hasty changes. (The differences of policy have already been discussed in the Question on Parties in England.)

Q. Briefly describe the measures of social reform or social legislation and political reconstruction introduced by the ministries of Campbell-Bannerman and H.H. Asquith. *Or,*

Discuss the work of the Liberal Government from 1906 to 1914.

The Compbell-Bannerman Ministry (December 1905—*April* 1908). After twenty years of Conservative rule since 1886, his was the first Liberal Ministry formed in 1905. It was a strong ministry having H. H. Asquith, Llyod George, Sir Edward Grey and John Morley as the members of Cabinet.

Social Reforms

1. *Trade Disputes Act,* 1906. It legalised peaceful picketing, the Trade Union funds were made safe against damages caused by industrial disputes, and officials of Trade Unions were secured certain privileges and exemptions.

2. *The Workmen's Compensation Act,* 1906. It extended the scope of the Act of 1897 so as to include practically all employees injured in the course of their employment and compensation was also to be granted for industrial diseases, such as lead or phosphorus poisoning.

3. *The Small Holdings and Allotments Act of* 1907. It empowered English county councils to acquire land and to let it out in small holdings.

4. *The Army Act of* 1907. The Army was reorganised and a Territorial Force was established in place of the old Militia and Volunteers.

5. *Imposition of a higher income-tax on unearned incomes,* 1907. The Budget of 1907 marked out earned incomes from unearned ones and imposed a higher income-tax and super-tax on unearned incomes.

Political Reconstruction

1. *Resolution to make the will of the people prevail.* The social reforms introduced by the Government were not to the taste of the House of Lords. Campbell charged the Lords with "neutralizing the policy which the electors have shown they approve" and passed a resolution in the Commons that the power of the House of Lords should be diminished.

2. *The Plural Voting Bill.* By this Bill an elector could not vote in more than one constituency and thus insisted on the principle of "one man one vote".

3. *Free Constitution for the Transvaal.* In 1906 a constitution setting up responsible government was bestowed upon the Transvaal.

The Asquith Ministry (1908—1915). H. H. Asquith was Prime Minister from April 1908 to May 1915. The following social legislation and constitutional reforms were passed by his Ministry:—

Social Legislation

1. *The Old Age Pensions Act,* 1908. It provided a pension of 5s. a week and since 1920, 10s. a week at the cost of the State for all needy persons of 70 years and upwards who were not in receipt of Poor Law relief and had not forfeited their claim by criminal conduct.

2. *The Provision of Meals Act.* By this Act the school-going children were provided with food.

3. *The Medical Inspection Act.* By this Act the children were required to be examined medically and provided with medicine for the treatment of their diseases.

4. *The Children's Bill,* 1908. The children were provided with many forms of protection and young offenders were to be tried by special courts and not to be punished like ordinary criminals.

5. *The Housing and Town Planning Act,* 1909. It gave large powers to local authorities to demolish dangerous and unhealthy buildings and construct safe and sanitary buildings instead.

6. *The Coal Mines Act or Miners' Act,* 1909. It fixed eight hours' work a day for workers in the coal mines.

7. *Workmen's Compensation Act,* 1909. This Act extended the principles of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 to trades.

8. *Formation of Labour Exchanges,* 1909. Labour Exchanges were created to meet the difficulties of unemployment by helping the workers to find out suitable work.

9. *The National Insurance Act,* 1910. By this Act poor work-

men were required to get themselves insured to guard against sickness and unemployment.

Constitutional Reforms

1. *The Parliament Act of* 1911. To meet the heavy cost of social reforms, Lloyd George in the Budget of 1909, known as the 'People's Budget', proposed new methods of raising money. Among the methods by which he proposed to raise money were new taxes on land, increased income-tax on large incomes and 'unearned' incomes—i.e., arising from investing money, etc.—increased 'Death' or inheritance duties, and also levied very heavy duties on beer, spirits and tobacco. It was the first attempt to tax the superfluous wealth and to improve the lot of the poor and bring about social reforms. The political proposals were fiercely attacked by the Lords. After furious and bitter debates the Parliament Act was passed in 1911 which abolished the power of the House of Lords to reject a money bill, and gave them the power of only delaying for two years any other legislative measure.

2. *The Act to pay the M.P's.* In 1911 an Act was passed to provide payment to members of Parliament.

3. *The Third Home Rule Bill*, 1912. An attempt was made for the third time to grant Home Rule to Ireland but the desired object could not be achieved.

4. *Importance of the Labour Party*. The growing importance of the Labour Party as a political force was recognized.

Q. Analyse the achievements of Liberalism in England (1880—1914).

Ans. [For Gladstone's Liberal Reforms please study his second and fourth Premiership on the following points:—

1. An Act against corrupt practices in Parliamentary elections, 1883.

2. The Third Reform Act, 1884.

3. The Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885.

4. The Parish Councils Act passed in his fourth ministry (1890—1894).

Liberals again came to power in 1906, and continued till 1915. (For reforms during this period please consult previous answer.)]

Q. What measures of Asquith's Liberal Ministry led to the conflict between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and how was the problem solved by the Parliament Act of 1911?
Or,

How did the Parliament Act of 1911 affect the position and power of the House of Lords? *Or,*
(P.U. 1954)

"After the Parliament Act of 1911, the House of Lords was a mere shadow of its former self." Discuss.

THE PARLIAMENT ACT OF 1911 OR THE VETO RESOLUTIONS

The large increase in the military and naval expenditure due to the previous government's imperialistic conflicts as well as the need of funds to pay the old age pensions established in 1908 and the cost of social reform, created a serious financial problem for the Asquith Ministry.

The Liberals were opposed to the Protective tariff—a solution put forward by the Conservatives—and so they had to find out a new way for raising revenues. The solution offered by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to 'lay the heaviest burden on the broadest back'. He wanted to raise money by taxing the rich.

The Budget

(1) An unearned increment duty of twenty per cent to be realised on the increase in the value of land when due to site and not to improvement by the owner of the land.

(2) A reversion duty of ten per cent on the increase in the value of land leased for over 21 years to be paid by the leaser on the expiry of that period.

(3) An undeveloped land duty of two per cent on idle land and particularly on game preserves.

(4) A mineral right duty of five per cent on mining royalties.

(5) Land used for agricultural purposes was to be exempt from the new taxes.

These taxes, although quite moderate, were important in that they constituted an attack on the economic privileges of the landed aristocracy. This was a 'war budget', declared the Chancellor, the object of which was to wage war against poverty which he hoped would some day be "as remote to the people of the country as the wolves which once infested its forests".

The Budget was passed by the Commons by an overwhelming majority, but in the Lords it was denounced as a social and political revolution without a mandate from the people, as a subversion of the English constitution and as a demagogic attempt to confiscate private property in land. It was thrice passed by the Commons and was rejected by the Lords each time. Feelings ran very high and Asquith wanted to appeal to the country. In December 1910, Parliament was dissolved and an exciting election followed on the issue of the Peers *versus* the People. The result of the election was the same as before and the Liberals again came to power. Thereupon, the Ministry introduced the famous Parliament Act of 1911.

Provisions of the Bill

(1) That any bill certified by the Speaker of the Commons as a money bill which passes the Lower House must also pass the Lords within one month, otherwise it would become law without their consent.

(2) That all other bills, if passed in three successive sessions of the Commons whether by the same House or not, would become law without the consent of the Lords provided two years had elapsed between the first consideration of such a bill and its final passage.

(By the Parliament Act of 1949 the period of two years was reduced to one year.)

(3) That the duration of a Parliament shall henceforth be limited to five years instead of seven.

The Bill was passed by the Commons, but it roused the greatest opposition of the Lords. At last Premier Asquith threatened to advise the King to create new Peers in order to get the Bill passed. The Lords at last gave way and yielded to the popular demand and the Bill became law on August 18, 1911.

Its Effect on Two Houses

The Act brought as great a change in the British system of government as did the Reform Bill of 1832. It fixed a new relation between the two Houses by giving almost unchecked power to the Commons and reduced the Upper Chamber merely to the position of an advisory body. The Lords could henceforth only delay unpalatable legislation but could not resist its passage. In fact it established, as it were, a single-chamber government in England. It is significant that the very day the Lords signed their death warrant, the Commons voted a salary of £400 to each of their members. Thus the conflict over the Budget was brought to an end by the establishment of the complete supremacy of the House of Commons.

The position of the House of Commons was definitely supreme and that of the House of Lords definitely subordinate after the Act of 1911.

The present position is that if the House of Commons passes a money-bill, it must be passed by the Lords within one month; and if the House of Commons passes any public Bill, other than a money Bill, in two successive sessions and one year elapses between the first passing and the last passing of the Bill, and each time it is rejected by the Lords, it can be sent to the Queen for her assent.

The wings of the House of Lords were clipped by the Act of 1911. Before this Act was passed the Lords enjoyed coordinate legislative powers with the House of Commons but after this Act House of Lords lost all control over Money Bills and in respect of other Bills it could exercise only delaying powers.

Mr. Ramsay Muir is of opinion that since the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911 the House of Lords has become "only a revising and delaying body; and not very effective even for that purpose". The House of Lords became only a secondary chamber; the superiority of the House of Commons was established.

The provision of the Parliamentary Act of 1911 and the effect of this Act on the position of the House of Lords proves the truth of the following statements:

(1) "After the Parliament Act of 1911, the House of Lords was a mere shadow of its former self."

(2) "The Parliament Act of 1911 gave crowning authority to the Commons and strengthened the sense of responsibility of the House of Commons."

George V, 1910—1936. King Edward VII died on May 6, 1910, and was succeeded by his second (surviving) son, Prince George, under the title of George V. During the Great War (1914—1918) King George V relinquished the title of sovereign of the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and assumed the title of the sovereign of the House of Windsor.

His Visit to India. King George V paid a visit to India in 1911 along with Queen Mary. An Imperial Durbar was held at Delhi and the King transferred the seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi, and Bengal was raised to the status of a Presidency with Lord Carmichael as its first Governor. Bihar and Orissa were made a separate province with the capital at Patna under a Lieutenant-Governor.

National Insurance Bill, 1911. It gave all workers support from the State when they were ill and out of work. It was passed without any difficulty.

Q. Carefully examine the foreign policy of England from the Treaty of Berlin (1878) to the beginning of the Great War of 1914. *Or,* (P.U. 1934; D.U. 1956)

Describe the main lines of British foreign policy from 1878 to 1914. *Or,* (P.U. 1946)

4 How and why did Great Britain emerge out of her 'Splendid Isolation' or abandon the policy of 'Splendid Isolation' at the beginning of the 20th century? *Or,*

(P.U. 1956, 1954, 1949, 1937, 1934; D.U. 1955, 1957)

In what dangers was Great Britain involved, at the end of Victoria's reign by her isolation from continental affairs? (P.U. 1952)

There are two chief stages in the foreign policy of England from the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 to the beginning of the Great War of 1914. The first stage is that of Britain's perfect isolation and complete abstention from any part in European affairs. The second stage is that of friendly alliances and relations resulting in the growth of the power and influence of Britain.

(A) *The First Stage.—Diplomatic Isolation, or Splendid Isolation.* During this stage, which lasted from 1878 to the accession of Edward VII in 1901, England was in a position of isolation. She was a member of no alliance whereas most of the countries in Europe were members of one alliance or the other. France and Russia had friendly relations and were members of the Dual Alliance. Germany, Austria and Italy were bound together by friendly ties and were members of the Triple Alliance. On the other hand, England had no ally on the Continent; she had rather enemies. France maintained an attitude of hostility towards England on account of her occupation of Egypt and Sudan. The relations of France and England were thus strained. Germany had broken with England on account of commercial and colonial rivalry. Russia was anxious to establish her power in the East and thus followed a policy of aggression. This state of affairs caused a great anxiety to the English statesmen. With the accession of Edward VII to the throne in 1901 the foreign policy of England was marked by a great change.

(B) *The Second Stage in the Foreign Policy of England.—Policy of Isolation was abandoned.* The foreign policy of England witnessed a great change with the accession of Edward VII. Edward was a sociable and cordially hospitable gentleman, a very far-sighted and intelligent ruler. He was a peace-loving monarch and as such his influence did much to promote friendly feelings between England and the Powers of Europe.

When Edward ascended the throne, Europe was divided into sharply different political camps and the different countries had formed political alliances with certain political objects in view. England was a member of no alliance and felt politically isolated. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy formed a friendly political group known as the Triple Alliance. Russia and France formed another camp known as the Dual Alliance. Germany was progressing industrially and commercially and had increased her naval force. She wanted to be a great Continental Power, extend her colonies and dominate the whole world. This was a great menace to England and consequently she decided to abandon 'Isolation'. It was left to Edward VII, known as the Peace-maker, to abandon the old policy of isolation and begin the new policy of creating friendly relations with other countries. In a few years Edward's efforts bore fruit and England was a member of several alliances and had created friendly relations with a number of Powers.

Guiding Principles of the British foreign policy during the Second Stage or under Edward VII.

(a) Abandonment of the policy of 'Splendid Isolation'.

(b) To resist the growing German menace attempts were made to secure friendship of different countries such as France, Japan, U.S.A., Russia, etc.

(c) To win over the enemies and to inspire the colonies to sympathise and help the mother-country in times of need.

How Policy of Splendid Isolation was abandoned, Work and activities of Edward VII, Lord Lansdowne and Grey. Englishmen realized that they were in a position of dangerous isolation in the face of an unfriendly continent. The nine years of King Edward's reign witnessed a complete change in the position of their country Lord Lansdowne (1901—1905) and Sir E. Grey (1906—1910) formed a series of alliances, ententes, and arbitration treaties with the great Powers, while the king himself, by his conciliating manner, personal influence and admirable hospitality did much to strengthen the policy of his ministers.

1. *An Alliance with Japan* (1902). To counter-balance the advance of Russia into the Pacific and to prevent the partition of China by Russia, Germany and France, an alliance with Japan was formed in 1902. This alliance enabled Britain to avoid the creation of a strong naval establishment in the Pacific.

2. *Anglo-French Convention* (1904). It was also known as Entente Cordiale. Nominally, this was an agreement between England and France to examine and adjust their differences all over the world. France agreed to give Britain a free hand in Egypt and Britain recognized France's special interests in Morocco. The differences between England and France were removed and their relations improved. Edward VII visited France and the French President came to England and these mutual visits further helped to establish goodwill between the two countries.

3. *Anglo-Japanese Alliance,* (1905). This alliance strengthened friendly retations between England and Japan and they promised to help each other in times of war.

4. *Anglo-Russian Convention,* (1907). This Agreement or the Entente helped to settle amicably the disputes between England and Russia in Persia and Tibet. The northern part of Persia was Russia's 'sphere of influence' and the southern part was England's 'sphere of influence.' Lord Grey said that England had made a more advantageous bargain than Russia. He said, "What we gained by it was real—what was gained by Russia was apparent."

Thus there was the Triple Entente between France, Russia and England. They had removed their misunderstandings in a friendly spirit and settled their differences amicably.

5. *Peace Conferences.* Apart from these alliances and agreements England held a number of conferences of the world Powers, where ways and means were considered to uphold peace in the world and create better understanding and goodwill among one another.

6. *England's relations with her Colonies.* Peace was concluded with the Boers in 1902 and self-government was granted to the Boer colonies in 1906. South Africa was formed into the Union of South Africa. New Zealand was made a dominion and Australia turned into the Commonwealth of Australia. England's relations with her colonies were thus very cordial.

7. *Relations with Ireland.* The King visited Ireland in 1903—1904 and 1907, and a far-reaching measure, viz., the Land Purchase Act of 1903, did more than innumerable Coercion Acts had done to bring about peace and satisfaction throughout the country.

When Edward VII came to the throne of England in 1901, his friend and Secretary explained the European situation in these words. "Germany hated and envied us, France suspected us; Russia looked upon us as the hidden enemy lurking by night." On the death of this King, the same gentleman continued, "when the King died, all was changed. I am far from saying that the more friendly feelings which prevailed were entirely due to his initiation, but I do say that without the wonderful charm which he exerted they would not have existed. He fully recognised his limitations as a constitutional King; it was not for him to start alliances; but he made them possible."

Effect on the position of England. The various alliances, agreements and conferences increased England's power and importance in the East as well as in the West. England's policy was no longer one of isolation. Her influence increased everywhere and the Triple Alliance of Austria, Germany and Italy feared the Triple Entente of England, France and Russia.

Germany made several attempts to break the Triple Alliance of Entente of England, France and Russia but she failed.

The whole atmosphere was cloudy and Britain wanted to safeguard her interests and set up the balance of power by enlisting the co-operation of France and Russia with the result that the Triple Entente was an utter necessity which Britain could not afford to break.

Europe was divided into two hostile camps and it was in a state of 'Armed Peace', i.e., apparently a state of peace, but inwardly the two great groups had made immense military preparations and were ready for war. There was abundant material which might lead to a terrible crisis at any time. A clash between the two hostile camps was inevitable and it was only a question of time.

N.B. King Edward's tact earned for him the right to be regarded as Britain's foremost diplomat; he promised peace and goodwill with foreign nations with equal zeal and discretion and in quite an exceptional degree contributed to the restoration of cordial relations with France.

Q. Describe how Edward VII broke England's position of dangerous isolation in the face of an unfriendly continent and proved himself Britain's foremost diplomat. ***Or,***

Why did Edward VII fully deserve the title of the 'Peacemaker'? ***Or,***

Study the part played by Edward VII in the foreign policy of England.

Ans. Please consult previous Answer.

Q. Discuss the diplomatic relations amongst the great European Powers from 1870 to the outbreak of the Great War of 1914. ***Or,***

Q. Describe the diplomatic relations of the Powers of Europe on the eve of the World War of 1914. ***Or,***

(A.U. 1955, 1948)

Show how between 1879 and 1914 Europe became divided into two Armed Camps or two Rival Groups. ***Or,*** (D.U. 1953)

Trace the diplomatic background to the World War I from 1879 onward. ***Or,*** (A.U. 1955)

The period from 1870 to 1914 is called the period of "Armed Peace". Comment. (P.U. 1955, 1950, 1943)

There were hostile relations between the great European powers during the period 1870—1914. All the nations of Europe were armed to the teeth and ready to fly at each other's throat at the least provocation. Europe was divided into two armed camps or rival groups busy with making military preparations for their mutual suspicion, fear and jealousy might occasion a deadly war between them at any time. The following points will clearly illustrate that period from 1870 to 1914 was rightly called the period of 'Armed Peace':—

Political Forces of the Period. Apparently there was peace in Europe, but in fact the atmosphere was tense with fear, suspicion and distrust. All powers, great or small, were busy increasing their armaments and making preparations for some big war. This had to be, for the most important political forces of the period were nationalism and state-realism. Nationalism, to the popular mind, was nothing but the right of the nation to thrive even at the cost of her neighbours. The worship of the state and its interests was the supreme aim and end of political life. In the words of a contemporary politician, "For the state there is no higher object than the protection of its interests. These, in the case of great Powers, would not be necessarily identical with the maintenance of peace, but much more, the undoing of the enemy, and of competitors through a rightly-constructed stronger group." This ruthless cult of power could only lead to war.

Russian Aggression. The check on Russia on the Continent made her divert her attention to Afghanistan. This threatened British rule in India and in order to check the influence of Russia in Afghanistan, India had to plunge into war.

In 1884, Russia taking advantage of the British being busy with Egyptian affairs, began to improve her position in Asia. This led to the frontier question but the situation was controlled by amicable settlement.

Again, the flood of Russian aggrandisement turned its direction in the Far East to Manchuria, giving rise to important complicated problems.

Balkans, the Powder Magazine of Europe. The Balkan States, which had secured their independence of Turkey during the last hundred years, took advantage of the difficulties of the Turks to go to war in 1912. They won several successes, and, by the treaty of London in 1913, extensive territory was ceded by the Turks. The victors then fell to quarrelling over the spoils. Bulgaria was inspired by Austria-Hungary to attack Serbia, the satellite of Russia. The map had again to be revised on the defeat of Bulgaria, and all her neighbours including Turkey, gained at her expense.

The struggle of races in the Balkan Peninsula was one of the standing dangers to the peace of Europe. The Southern Slavs looked to Russia, the greater Slav State, as their protector against the encroachments of Austria-Hungary, which already had under its rule a large, discontented Slav population, recently augmented by the arbitrary annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Traditional enmity between Germany and France. Germany and France were traditional enemies on the Rhine and Germany also strongly objected to the French interests in Morocco. France was anxious to recover Alsace and Lorraine which she had lost as a result of the Franco-German War of 1870. For this she sought the aid of England and Russia against Germany.

In the race for armaments in Europe, Germany had been gaining the pace. Her refusal to slacken the rate of naval constructions suggested that she aimed at being supreme on sea as well as on land, and, together with the militant methods of her displomacy, aroused suspicion and distrust in France and Britain. Germany and Great Britain were becoming rivals on the sea, and Great Britain feared Germany's world ambitions. "There were ill-feelings and bitter hatred between Great Britain and Germany owing to commercial and colonial rivalry. Germany increased her naval power to destroy the naval supremacy of Great Britain. Germany had the ambition to dominate the world and had visions of a vast empire".

Triple Alliance and Dual Alliance. The great Powers of the Continent were divided into two camps leading to Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy on the one side and the Dual Alliance between Russia and France on the other. The Triple Alliance was formed at the initiative of Germany with the object of isolating France and preventing her from waging war against Germany for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. England remained for some time outside both these groups, but these alliances alarmed British statesmen and then she joined the Dual Alliance of France and Russia thus forming a separate diplomatic group called the Triple Entente. Thus the Triple Alliance faced the Triple Entente. There was in this way a general atmosphere of mutual distrust, fear and jealousy and there was abundant material which might lead to a terrible crisis at any time.

German and British Policies. The Policies of Germany and England were like two poles asunder. The Germans were anxious for war for they were bent upon establishing for themselves a big Empire as England had built for herself. In fact Germany wanted to dominate the world and her leaders had given the Germans the idea that they were born to rule mankind and were superior to others. On the other hand British statesmen aimed at maintaining peace. England attempted to remove misunderstanding with Germany and create a spirit of friendliness, but Germany did not care for it. British attitude was uncertain towards the First Great European War and her statesmen did their best to keep her out of it and it was only when Germany attacked Belgium that England sent an ultimatum to Berlin. When ultimatum was accepted, Britain had no other course than to declare war.

Q. To what principal causes would you attribute the outbreak of the First World War of 1914—1918? *Or,*
(A.U. 1959, 1956; D.U. 1961, 1955; P.U. 1952)

Examine the Anglo-German relations which culminated in the entry of Great Britain in this war. *Or,* (P.U. 1956, 1955)

Account for the tension between Britain and Germany during the period 1880—1914 for the World War I of 1914? Could Britain have kept away from it? (D.U. 1953; P.U. 1943, 1955)

WORLD WAR I

Remote Causes

1. *Germany's Desire to find New Markets for her Manufactures.* Germany had become the greatest Power in Europe after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. She had a large and efficient army. She had greatly developed her industries and wanted markets for her manufactures.

England was pre-eminently an industrial country and much of her prosperity depended upon her world-wide trade. Germany's attempts to destroy the trade of England would have meant the destruction of the prosperity of England.

2. *Lack of Economic Uniformity in the World.* Industrially advanced countries like England, Germany, the United States, France and Italy began to find outlets for their surplus products. It led to a mad race for establishing colonies which gave rise to new rivalries and intensified old animosities among the nations.

3. *Germany's Powerful Navy.* A Navy Law passed by Germany in 1900 and subsequent laws made enormous increase in the German Navy which seemed to threaten the supremacy of Great Britain on the seas, a supremacy on which the very existence of Great Britain depended.

4. *Germany's Ambition to Dominate the World.* Germany was proud of her military power. She had increased her army and fleet. She had built a powerful fleet with determined energy. Her foreign policy and imperialism had become intolerable. She had digested, as she thought, her gains of 1871. She had ceased to be a "satiated State" and was greedy for more. She wanted to control the whole world. Her armies were huge and her people formidable.

Visions of an Empire had long dazzled the eyes of Kaiser William II and the German military class. Even German teachers and professors taught in schools and colleges, that the highest duty of a State was to wage incessant war and to acquire new territories.

5. *Commercial Rivalry Between England and Germany.* The commercial rivalry between the two industrialised nations, England and Germany, sowed the seeds of discord between them. In fact Great War was a duel between Germany and England for the colonial, commercial and naval supremacy. The Kaiser wanted to follow in the footsteps of Napoleon.

Most of the European Powers had industrialised after 1870 and they wanted markets and colonies for the consumption of their goods, and this naturally increased the hostility between the contending Powers.

6. *Rivalry Between Germany and France.* There was serious rivalry between Germany and France. It was mainly due to Germany's capture of Alsace and Lorraine from France during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. France wanted to get back these provinces but Germany was determined not to return them. Another factor that embittered their relations was the Agadir incident. Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir, a port *on the Southern Morocco coast* on the pretext of defending the interests of her nationals but practically to challenge the special interests of France in Morocco. Matters could have taken a worse turn, but when England threatened to help France, Germany stopped her military activities.

7. *Conflict of Interests Between Austria and Russia.* The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (two provinces in the Balkans belonging to Serbia) by Austria in 1908 roused the racial jealousy of Russia. Austria wanted to check the expansion of Serbia. Russia had strong sympathies with Serbia on account of common race origin. Germany began to train Turkish soldiers and launched a scheme of constructing a railway from Constantinople to Baghdad and of Germanising the Balkan States.

8. *Dangerous Situation in the Beginning of the 20th Century.* The European situation in the beginning of the 20th century made war almost inevitable. Europe was divided into two armed camps represented by the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. Germany, Austria and Italy were bound together by the Triple Alliance concluded by the German Minister, Bismark in 1882. England, France and Russia formed a separate diplomatic group called the Triple Entente. This increased mutual distrust and led to an armament race. One writer very aptly described it as a system of "international anarchy". Thus the period from 1871 to 1914 may be described as one of "Armed Peace" for the Continental Powers of Europe. Though apparently at peace with one another, they busied themselves with military preparations and securing allies in view of a possible outbreak of war.

9. *German Militarism.* The militaristic temper of Germany constituted a serious danger to the peace of the world. The whole German nation was filled with the warlike ideas and her teachers and professors, as said above, exalted war as the highest function of the State. She was ruled by a military class.

10. *Germany's Alliance with the Turks.* Germany made friends with the Turks in the hope of invading India with their help. England could not tolerate this and strongly resented this alliance.

11. *Misguided Nationalism.* The wrong notion of nationalism roused racial arrogance and national hatred. To retrieve her honour, France felt agitated to humiliate Germany, the Slav people hated Germany and the national feelings of people like the Serbs, the Bulgars and the Rumanians gave rise to a number of complicated questions. Some of the great Powers used their national sentiments to serve their own selfish purpose and this made the situation still worse. The press added to the hatred by setting one people against the other.

"With all its rivalries, Europe had become like a gunpowder factory in which the match was dropped in the summer of 1914.

Immediate Cause

12. *The Murder of the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Throne.* The immediate cause of the war was the assassination of the Crown-Prince of Austria and his wife by a Serbian. Austria, on Germany's instigation, demanded the surrender of Serbia. Serbia refused to accept the terms of Austria. Austria, then, declared war upon Serbia on July, 28, 1914. Russia took the side of Serbia and Germany that of Austria. France joined her ally Russia. Germany asked Belgium to allow her a passage through her territory to attack France, but on her refusal to do so, Germany attacked Belgium. This was a violation of the neutrality of Belgium and England was compelled to declare war upon Germany to vindicate the principles of international justice. Thus the great European War began. Later on, Turkey and Bulgaria joined Germany and Austria, while Italy and Roumania joined the British, French and Russia. In 1917 America also joined and declared war on Germany.

Why England could not keep away from the War. The tension between England and Germany was so great that it was impossible for England to keep away from the war. Europe was divided into two big hostile camps, the one led by England and the other by Germany. Their mutual rivalries were so deep-rooted that they had a strong sense of hatred for each other and were determined to decide the issue by arms.

England's entry into the war was further made inevitable by the question of Belgian neutrality. England and other European nations were pledged by a treaty to uphold the neutrality of Belgium. When German troops began to cross the frontier of Belgium, England sent to Berlin an ultimatum with twenty-four hours' grace, not to pass through Belgium, but the German Chancellor paid no heed to it. England had thus no alternative but to declare war against Germany. The above factors and circumstances clearly show that the Great War of 1914—1918 was inevitable.

Germany and her allies won several successes in the beginning but they were finally defeated in 1918.

Q. How far was the Great War of 1914—1918 inevitable? Discuss.

The Great War of 1914—1918 was inevitable. The relations between the different powers of Europe were so seriously strained that it was impossible to improve them. (For this please study previous answer).

The Cost of the War. The British National Debt, which had arisen from £ 248 millions to £ 861 millions during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, was £ 269 millions at the end of the 19th century and £ 651 millions in 1914. In 1920 it rose to £ 7,831 millions. In 1914 it averaged £ 15 per head of the population and in 1920, about £ 170 per head.

Results

The Peace Settlement of 1918. The war ended by an Armistice signed by Germans on November 11, 1918. Then a conference of the Allies met at Paris to consider the terms of peace. The resettlement was made in a series of treaties with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The most important was the Treaty of Versailles in which the terms of peace were embodied. The chief results may now be summed up.

Terms of the Treaty of Versailles which embodied the terms of peace.

Disarmament and the Reparations. Germany had followed the system of compulsory military service which had endangered the peace of Europe from 1914—1918. Therefore, it was declared that her army was to be reduced to one lakh soldiers. Other enemy Powers also had to reduce their armaments. The Air Force of Germany and other enemy Powers was destroyed. A large sum of money was to be paid by Germany and enemy Powers as an indemnity of war. The German Navy was destroyed and her mercantile fleet was shared amongst the victors. The war crippled Germany and dealt a death blow to autocracy both in Germany and in several Continental States where monarchies were abolished and republics established.

Territorial Arrangements. The main territorial changes were the following:

Germany gave back Alsace and Lorraine to France which she had captured from her in 1871. The Austrian Empire was dismembered and new States were formed out of its territories. These are: (i) Austria; (ii) Hungary; (iii) Yugoslavia which includes Serbia, Montenegro and the Slav Provinces that formerly belonged to the Austrian monarchy; (iv) Czechoslovakia (Bohemia and Moravia). Romania annexed Transylvania and Galcia was added to Poland. A new Poland was carved out of bits of Russian, Prussian and Austrian territories. Corridor which was a strip of territory belonging to Germany was taken from her and given to Poland so that she might have easy access to the sea. The German part of Danzing was made a 'free city' with a view to give better commercial facilities to Poland.

Hungary was separated from Austria but was reduced in territory. Bulgaria was reduced considerably in territory. Greece increased her territory at the expense of Turkey and Bulgaria. Italy got Trieste, Istria and the Valley of Trent. Three new States were created, Estonia, Latonia and Lithuania. Finland became an independent republic. England considerably increased her empire. Turkey lost everything in Europe except Constantinople and the adjoining strip of land. The Straits were put under international control. Turkish land in Europe went to Greece. The map of Europe was reconstructed politically.

Territorial Arrangements outside Europe. Outside Europe the German colonies and Turkish territories were disposed of by a system of Mandates. Germany was deprived of all her colonies. The power of Turkey in Asia was much crippled. By the System of Mandates their territories were divided and handed over to various European nations for administration under the auspices of the League of Nations. German colonies were distributed amongst France, England, Belgium and Japan.

The League of Nations. The chief achievement of the war was the establishment of the League of Nations. The world had suffered terribly during the Great War and hence people in different countries felt the necessity of some agency which could bring the nations together to discuss their differences, so that by mutual understanding they could avoid war. Through the earnest efforts of President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. the Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the first article of the Treaty of Versailles.

The System of Mandates. Outside Europe the territories of Germany and Turkey were disposed of by the system of Mandates. By this system the ceded territories were handed over to the various European Powers not as owners but as 'governors' in trust under the League of Nations. Under this system Great Britain obtained Palestine, Mesopotamia, German East Africa, and part of Togoland and Cameroons. To France were assigned Syria and a part of German Colonies in Africa. German South-West Africa went to the Union of South Africa. Kiaochau was assigned to Japan, and the islands in the Pacific went to Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

CRITICISM OF VARSAILLES PEACE SETTLEMENT OF 1918

The World War I ended by the Treaty of Versailles and other treaties but it failed to solve all problems satisfactorily and gave rise to a number of complications. The peace settlement, far from improving the situation in Europe, created certain serious difficulties. Some of the problems and complications created by the peace settlement or in other words the defects and shortcomings of the peace settlement are briefly given as under:

1. *Unbearable Punishment and Ignominy Imposed on Germany.* Germany was held responsible for "War-guilt.". She was required to pay a huge war indemnity which was altogether beyond her resources. This heavy indemnity was revised at times and caused her economic dislocation. Her army, navy and air force were greatly reduced. Some of her war-ships and U-boats were destroyed and her future production of arms and ammunition was strictly controlled. She was required not to train her youths for military purposes. She was required to supply large quantities of coal to Italy, Belgium and France for a period of fifteen years. Her territory to the west of the Rhine was to remain in the control of the Allies as a security for her fulfilment of the terms of the treaty.

As regard territory, Alsace and Lorraine were taken from Germany and given back to France. Likewise Belgium, Denmark, Poland and others got some German territory. Her colonies were distributed among England, France, Belgium and Japan. In fact she was reduced to miserable condition and she became a third-rate power. She suffered from innumerable disadvantages and disabilities which roused her spirit of revenge and became ultimately responsible for World War II. The Germans were humiliated and treated in a way as if they were the worst of human beings. Germany was crushed politically and economically and thus the Treaty of Versailles proved to be vindictive and sowed the seeds of another great war. The Peace Settlement was most unjust for Germany. Germany was made the victim of most harsh and ungenerous terms. These terms could not but create strong feelings of resentment and injustice and they ultimately had much to do with the success of the Nazi movement. Gemany was thus bent upon vengeance.

3. *Fate of other Enemy Countries.* Other enemy countries were also held responsible for the war-guilt though to a lesser degree than Germany. Like Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were also dismembered. The size of Bulgaria was considerably decreased and much of her territory was divided among Greece, Romania and others. All these enemy countries suffered humiliation and enormous losses and were anxious to wreck vengeance and regain their lost prestige and possessions. "Their power was crippled and they felt a constant sting to regain their old position and prestige. Efforts were made to bring these states to the point of extinction and it was surely beyond their endurance to bear such ignominy. They were constantly looking for favourable opportunities to deal a blow to their mortal foes".

4. *Violation of the Principle of Self-determination.* The principle of self-determination was entirely ignored in the settlement of the frontiers of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey. When transferring German districts to France, the people of the transferred districts were not consulted. The resentment of the Germans at this forcible transfer was unbounded. Utter disregard of the peoples' wishes was a great injustice and a distinct violation of international principles. Mistakes were undoubtedly made in drawing some of the new frontiers, which did not make allowance for some very important racial, religious and economic factors. This was a great defect in the Peace Settlement and was a potential cause for future wars.

Unsatisfactory "System of Mandates". German colonies and Turkish territories outside Europe were taken over by and assigned to France, Belgium, Japan, Britain and her Dominions. "The principle of 'self-determination' was also violated with equal ruthlessness in the case of the German colonies and the territories of the Turkish Empire. A new system was hit upon. Mandates were given to victor European countries who were responsible to the League of Nations for their good government." This affected the economic condition of Germany most adversely. The Peace Treaty by ceding the German colonies to the allies laid the seed of future rivalry.

6. "*Balkanization of Europe.*" German and Austrian Empires were broken up and a number of new small states were created. These newly built states unable to maintain their independence acted as instruments in the hands of bigger and ambitious powers who still wanted to expand at the cost of others. While creating these states economic and other factors were utterly disregarded and consequently

they failed to make satisfactory progress. A number of problems soon arose which upset the 'balance of power' and created on the continent a number of serious complications.

Only a few years after the Peace Settlement the position of the humiliated Germany was very clear. She wanted her colonies back for her trade had suffered a serious set-back. Allies were in no mood to give back the colonies. She therefore depended upon her sword for the return of her colonies. Italy too was dissatisfied because she thought she had not received a good share of the spoils and so she attacked Abyssinia. Japan too became aggressive. The League of Nations was too weak to enforce her authority and punish the aggressors. The result was that the balance of power was disturbed and another World War became inevitable.

But it was possible to avoid the 'Balkanization of Europe'. It could have been avoided by adopting an attitude of leniency and justice tempered with mercy. Attitude of revenge adopted by the Allies led to all future troubles.

If the Peace Settlement had not been of vindictive nature and better justice was done to the defeated countries, i.e., the Central Powers, and the principle of self-determination had been scrupulously observed, the situation could have improved. Germany had suffered most as the result of the Peace Settlement and so she was the first to attempt to repudiate the Treaty and recover her old position.

In the Peace Settlement, i.e., Treaty of Versailles lay the seeds of the Second World War of 1939—1945. The Second World War was not inevitable and it could be easily avoided, had the leaders of the Peace Conference given a just and fair treatment to the defeated powers. It was the revengeful attitude of the leaders that was mostly responsible for the World War II of 1939.

Q. Show how England became involved in the diplomacy which resulted in the Great War of 1914. What were the causes of her success in the same? *Or,* (P.U. 1953, 1952, 1941)

What were England's reasons for declaring war against Germany in 1914? Examine the Anglo-German relations which resulted in the entry of Great Britain in this war.

The following were the main reasons of England's declaring war against Germany. (The causes of the war have been already described).

1. Germany's efforts were directed against England. During second half of the 19th century, Germany had made rapid strides in economic progress. Her trade and industry increased very rapidly. She was beginning to reap the benefits of her 'Industrial Revolution' which occurred later in Germany than in Britain. She began capturing the markets of the world. German merchants and financiers made huge fortunes and built magnificent houses in Berlin.

2. With a view to maintain her trade and political influence Germany had increased her navy. Her army was recognised as the most

efficient and pefect military machine. Her influence over the Balkan States and Turkey endangered the British interests in the East. Her Berlin-Baghdad Railway was a means to that end.

Thus Germany was advancing by leaps and bounds and her people wanted more colonies for their teeming population, and could not forgive the British race because they had already occupied North America and Australia and secured vast colonies in Africa. The Germans began to consider themselves leaders of mankind and thus laboured under 'superiority complex'. They made up their mind to cripple England and oust her from the political circles and markets of the world.

3. Germany felt a strong jealousy towards England on account of her expanding power. While the Boer War was going on (1899—1902), the attitude of Germany was strongly in favour of the Boer people. The Kaiser's encouraging and enthusiastic telegram to President Kruger deepened the doubts of British politicians. Germany was constantly busy increasing her war resources and improving her army and naval force. This was a great menace to the naval superiority of Great Britain.

4. Germany wanted to crush the power of France. But France and England were on very friendly terms and when Germany attacked France, England was found ready to help France.

5. There was very strong tension between England and Germany. Besides, continental politics reached a state of extreme unrest, suspicion and jealousy, so that even the slightest sign of aggression on the part of any one was sure to provoke others to war.

The pretext came at last. The murder of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria at Serajevo by a youth of Serbia (Bosnia) became the immediate cause of the war. The Austrian Government sent a number of severe terms to Serbia to accept. Serbia showed her readiness to accept some of the terms, and for the rest she requested to be submitted to arbitration. But Austria at once declared war on Serbia. Russia who was interested in Serbia marched her troops against Austria. Germany was the friend of Austria and France was the friend of Russia, so Germany decided to attack France because Russia had mobilised her forces against Austria.

To attack France, Germany had to pass through Belgium. Belgium refused to allow German troops to pass through its territory. The King of Belgium appealed to the British for help. Meanwhile German forces marched through Belgium in spite of her refusal.

Now England had two reasons to interfere. Firstly, the entry of German forces into the territory of Belgium was a direct violation of the neutrality of Belgium, a neutrality which all the leading powers of Europe had guaranteed. Secondly, it was England's traditional policy that the Belgian coast should not be in the hands of any adjacent great Power which might use it as a possible base for invading England.

England sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding the immediate withdrawal of her forces from Belgian soil. No reply was received, and in twenty-four hours England and Germany were at war (4th August, 1914), that caused losses never before known to the world.

Causes of England's Success

1. Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, did not participate in the war for some time and preferred to remain neutral. In May, 1915 she decided to join the Allies. But for this decision of Italy, the issue of the war would have been possibly a different one.

2. The colonies whole-heartedly co-operated with England and liberally supported her by helping her with men, money and munitions.

3. The whole English nation became one and different political parties, laying aside their differences, mustered their strength to fight the enemy. The whole manufacturing power of the country was used for the production of war material and thousands of men and women withdrew from other trades for this purpose. The whole strength of the nation was concentrated upon one great aim—defeating the enemy.

4. The British navy played a very significant part in the defeat of the enemy. From the beginning of the war to the end, the British Navy held command of the seas, aided by the fleets of France, Italy and the U.S.A. It defeated the German squadron in the Dogger Bank engagement and blockaded the German fleet in the Kiel never to come out. The British fleet successfully encountered the terrible menace of the submarines in 1915. Th failure to face the submarine menace would have made it difficult for the Allies to carry on the war on land. The British Navy obtained a strangle-hold upon the commerce of the enemy and thus brought about its ultimate collapse.

5. Rumania and the United States joined the Allies in 1916 and 1917 respectively. It was the enormous damage caused by the German submarines to the neutral shipping that forced the United States to join the Allies against Germany.

6. Germany terribly suffered by the British blockade in 1918 and this resulted in causing serious discontent in Germany, people began to starve and there was a mutiny in the navy.

7. By the beginning of 1918 the enemy's strength was practically broken. During that year the Bulgarian resistance broke and the power of the Turks was smashed; Austria was anxious to sue for peace.

8. Condition of Germany was most deplorable. She was left alone in the struggle and her people and leaders were full of despair; navy and cities revolted. The Kaiser fled to Holland and Germany lost all hope of resistance.

The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918 and the formal conclusion of the war was brought about eight months later by the Peace of Versailles.

(b) *True significance of the Great War.* The Great War really meant more than the military overthrow of Germany, because

(1) It led to the triumph of democracy over autocracy;

(2) It broke down the barrier separating America from Europe and proved that the ideals of America and the most progressive nations of Europe were the same;

(3) it brought home to all mankind that if wars were to be avoided in future, the leading nations must settle international disputes with fairness and goodwill, instead of relying upon force;

(4) it had made people recognise that the world is really a unity and that armies and navies should be used for the defence of international law and order, and not for selfish ends.

Q. Describe the origin, aims and the constitution (organization) or organs of the League.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Origin of the League of Nations. It was a league or association or society of Nations. The Great World War (1914—1918) was of such magnitude, the loss of life was so appalling, horrors were so grave, the waste of money and the economic dislocation caused by it were so great that the leading statesmen felt it necessary to take effective steps to secure peace for mankind and prevent the repetition of any such war. Mr. Wilson, President of U.S.A., suggested as one of the fourteen points the idea of the League of Nations. A Covenant (the constitution of the League and the basis of its organisation) was drawn up and adopted at a full meeting of the Peace Conference and was embodied in all the Peace Treaties. The League of Nations formally came into existence on January 10, 1920, through the coming into force on that date of the Treaties of Versailles.

Aims and Programme of the League. The objects of the League of Nations were explained in the Covenant. The essence of the Covnant was to end war and to establish peace. The principal aim may be described as follows:—

(i) To substitute open diplomacy for secret diplomacy. (ii) To decide disputed questions submitted to it by member-States and to make its decision binding on them. (iii) To obtain an agreed and progressive reduction of armaments. (iv) To foster international cooperation of all kinds in time of peace, such as the protection of the standard of life among the workers, to stop traffic in women and children, the regulation of the opium trade, the framing of measures of international hygiene, etc. (v) To administer the 'mandatory' territories obtained from the Turks and Germans.

Its Constitution. The chief organs of the League were:—

1. The Assembly.
2. The Council.
3. The Permanent International Court of Justice.

4. International Labour Organisation or Office (I.L.O.).

5. The Permanent Secretariat.

1. *The Assembly.* The government of the League had been vested in an Assembly and a Council. The Assembly was a legislative body, like the English Parliament; the Council was an executive body like the English Cabinet whose main task was to execute or carry out the decisions of the Assembly. The Assembly consisted of representatives of all member-States. Three delegates (men or women) from each State might attend the Assembly, but there was only one vote for a State. Its meetings took place in the Hall of Reformation at Geneva, in Switzerland, for about one month (September) during every year. It met in Switzerland for it was a neutral country. It dealt with any matter within the sphere of action of the League. There was perfect State-equality and the members sat alphabetically so that no nation had a position of preference or superiority. It worked normally through six committees, dealing mainly with constitutional, legal, financial, social and political questions. Usually the discussions were in French or English; but sometimes other languages were also used. The Assembly was rightly called the 'Parliament of Nations'. Its meetings were open to the public.

2. *The Council.* It was an executive body and met much oftener than the Assembly. It met four times a year but it could be called whenever necessary. It consisted of fourteen members, out of whom five were permanent and nine non-permanent. The five permanent members were England, France, Germany, Japan and Italy, and the nine non-permanent members were the representatives of smaller powers from among member-States of the League and were elected for a period of three years, three retiring by rotation every year.

It dealt specially with disputes between member-States likely to lead to war, reduction of armament, military matters in general; execution of arbitral awards; exclusion of members for violation of the Covenant and several other matters.

3. *The Permanent International Court of Justice or the League Law Court.* It had its headquarters at the Hague in Holland. It consisted of fifteen judges who were elected by the Council and Assembly for nine years. It dealt with disputes of international nature submitted to it by the States concerned. It decided such cases either finally or gave an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly of the League. It was the 'Machinery' of the League of Nations to resolve international disputes and differences peacefully and honourably.

4. *The International Labour Organisation.* It aimed at the establishment of social justice and specifically at securing humane conditions of labour. The important organ of the League held its annual sessions at Geneva where it invited two delegates from each government—one from the employers and one from the workers—to participate in its meetings. It helped the worker by giving him shorter hours of work, better pay, protection in sickness or injury, aid during unemployment, in short, by improving the conditions of life

and labour in various countries of the world. Gradually it became a world source of information about labour conditions.

5. *The Secretariat.* To carry on day-to-day work of clerical and executive nature relating to the different branches and organisations of the League of Nations, a special staff of men and women was kept at Geneva, concerned with correspondence, collecting facts, filing papers, writing reports in English, French, etc., etc. This staff of men and women was called the Secretariat. The League Secretariat was divided up into departments for political problems, health work, legal problems, social questions, "mandates", minorities, information and labour.

The Secretariat comprised a Secretary, a General and a Deputy Secreary-General and three Under Secretaries-General and more than six hundred civil officials, selected from among the citizens of different countries.

A Special Committee. It was specially set up with the object of bringing about a reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Then again, there were some other Committees which dealt with the treatment of the more backward peoples, the question of slave trade, the arms trade, and the liquor traffic among the subject races.

Main Causes of the Failure of the League in its political objects. (Please see next Answer.)

Q. Briefly describe the work and achievements of the League of Nations in the political, social, humanitarian and economic spheres. Did it fail? (b) Give the causes of the failure of the League or the limitations from which it suffered to achieve its political object? *Or,* (P.U. 1954, 1952)

Q. Is it correct to say that the League of Nations achieved some success in the social and humanitarian field but failed disastrously in the major task, mainly, maintaining world peace?
Or, (A.U. 1951)

Q. What were the factors which led to the failure of the League of Nations? Could it have been avoided?

(A.U. 1954)

Q. 'Like the Holy Alliance, the League was an expression of the desire of a war-weary world to preserve international peace and stability'. How far did the League fulfil the aim with which it was formed? (A.U. 1956)

(a) *Success of the League in Social and humanitarian work.*

1. It carried on a number of social, economic and humanitarian activities such as the control of epidemics and the distribution of relief to the distressed. The International Labour Organisation working under the auspices of the League of Nations was able to bring to the notice of the nations the difficulties of the workers and suggested a number of measures for the removal of those difficulties.

2. To reduce further occasions and possibilities of war, a Disarmament Conference met under the auspices of the League of Nations though much could not be achieved.

3. Attempts were also made to control the production and trade depression of the world. It used its influence for the suppression of slavery and forced labour and traffic in women and children.

4. Attempts were also made to control the production and trade of dangerous drugs.

5. After the close of the great European War, the colonies of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey were given to the League of Nations, which in its turn gave them to certain nations as a trust but the League supervised the government of these colonies.

6. It appointed commissions from time to time to find out the solution of many economic, financial, social and humanitarian problems, which were not concerned with the peace of nations but with the good of the world as a whole.

7. It had been able to offer a swifter method of holding international conference than the world has ever had before. It had made nations approach one another in a spirit of goodwill and sympathetic understanding in the assembly of all nations and adjust their differences as smoothly as possible.

8. It made its best efforts to substitute open for secret diplomacy.

Failure of the League in its Political Object. The League solved some political problems of minor importance and could easily influence the smaller States to do as it liked in matters which threatened to disturb international peace. It cannot be denied that the League succeeded neither in securing disarmament nor in preventing wars and aggressions of bigger nations which threatened to upset international peace and security, the very objects for which the League was created. Nevertheless, the League failed to achieve its political object for it failed to influence the powerful nations.

It could not save Abyssinia against Italy. It could not stop Japanese aggression on China. The authority of the League was successfully defied by Germany by the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, in case of Albania by Italy and by France in Spain.

(b) *Main Causes responsible for the failure of the League.*

1. *International Disequilibrium.* One of the main causes of the League's failure was the international disequilibrium brought about by the economic and political forces after the First Great War. Hunger for more land and new markets was a mania with every country, particularly with Germany, Japan and Italy. It was the goal of Germany's internal and external policy to regain the territories lost during the Great War and repudiate the Treaty of Versailles. In addition to this, the economic nationalism in every country throttled the basic idea underlying the League. In spite of its best efforts at the Economic Conference in 1927, the League failed to solve the problem of tariffs. The economic problems reacted upon the political problems

of every country. On account of the development of economic problems, international sense gave place to nationalism in its narrow sense which ultimately became the major issue with every State. The economic depression of 1929, and mal-administration of gold made the situation serious. It resulted in an economic tug-of-war. The policy of isolation and self-interest gave birth to suspicion and distrust and every State began to make secret preparations for another war. The super-structure of international brotherhood that the League had so nobly aimed at tumbled down by the force of vicious circumstances and the decisions and wishes of the League were openly defied and challenged.

2. *The League had no force to use.* The League had no physical force or other adequate means (navy, army, air force etc.) to enforce its decisions and make them binding upon others. It could not coerce the recalcitrant members or those who flouted its authority. It could make laws and decide cases but it had no power to enforce its decisions. This was the greatest weakness of the League. No doubt it could influence the smaller and weaker Powers but the bigger Powers, like Germany, Japan, Italy, etc., openly defied its orders and ignored its wishes. They committed a number of aggressions and violated international law, but they were left unpunished.

In 1932, the League gave the most shocking demonstration of its weakness in the Manchurian affair. Japan occupied Manchuria in September 1931 and the League sent a commission headed by Lord Lytton to report on the situation in the Far East. The Commission reported that Japan's occupation of Manchuria was not justified by reasons of self-defence and recommended that the Powers should not recognise Manchukuo. Japan meanwhile conquered Jehol and brought Inner Mongolia under the Manchukuan rule. The League adopted the Lytton Report in February 1933, and Japan's reply was to give notice of withdrawal from the League.

The next colossal failure of the League was in the case of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia which was a member of the League. The League invoked article 16 of the Covenant on October 6, 1935, and sanctions were put into operation against Italy. For the first time, a major power was formally condemned by the unanimous vote of the League Council and Italy was declared an outlaw State. But the sanctions failed. In June, 1936 the dispossessed Abyssinian Emperor appeared before the Assembly to plead the case of the country and said pathetically, "God and history will remember your judgment."

In the case of the Spanish Civil War, the League decided upon enforcing a policy of non-intervention, though the proper business of the League was to interfere in order to secure and maintain peace.

Again Japan attacked China without declaring war. This was a major war in the East, yet the League failed to do anything regarding it. In October, 1938 Germany put an end to the life of one of its members, viz., Czechoslovakia and the League failed to take any active step against the aggressor. By December, 1938, the totalitarian States (Germany and Italy) had definitely worsted the League.

The stages which marked the League's decadence and final failure were the German reoccupation of the Rhineland and the Italian war in Ethopia (Abyssinia) in 1935, the war in Spain, the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Neville Chamberlian's experimentation in European Settlement outside the framework of the Covenant, Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Italy's seizure of Albania in 1939.

The League was more like a club, where discussions on matters of international interest were held regularly. But it had no power of coercion and as such it was not possible for it to take action when its mandates were ignored and its decisions flouted.

3. *The League had no power to limit Armaments.* It was a fact and it was also realised by the League that no peace could be maintained in the world without causing a decrease in the armament to the minimum level. Similarly manufacture of war material was also to be limited. Undue increase in the armaments and war material created conditions of mutual suspicion and panic. The League held a number of conferences seeking ways and means to limit armaments, but no serious decision or action was taken. There was a mad race of war preparations and it is rightly said that preparedness for war is a contagious disease which must affect all. The League had failed to effect disarmament.

The Covenant of the League declares that "the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations," but no power cared to observe this dictum and the deliberations of the League had no value.

4. *It was not a representative body.* All the nations did not become members of the League of Nations. It was strange that the government of the U.S.A. (whose President Mr. Woodrow Wilson had proposed the organisation of the League) refused to join it. Russia too did not join it and Germany joined it many years afterwards. Without major powers as its members the League could not serve as an effective instrument of the world peace.

5. *Serious lack of International Co-operation and Goodwill among Member-States.* The experiment of international co-operation proved a sad failure and could not stand the test. England and France dominated the League and this caused strong resentment among other powers. America had refused to enter the League and some of its important members went out of the League after they had wantonly violated the terms of its Covenant. Had the great Powers of the world offered active and sincere co-operation and lived up to the purposes and principles of the League, it should have been able to effectively promote peace and prevent the causes that were finally responsible for the World War II.

6. *No Restrictions were imposed on the Member-States.* If a member-State did not agree to the verdict of the League, there was nothing to prevent it from resigning the membership of the League.

Japan, Italy and Germany withdrew from the League turn by turn because they were not prepared to respect its rules and decisions.

7. *Miscellaneous Causes.* (i) The Peace of Versailles was purely a political peace and the League of Nations a political organization. It was an attempt to patch up human affairs without bringing about any change in the existing governments and conditions of the existing States. The need to modify them was not realized, therein lay an important cause of the failure of the League.

(ii) The League was greatly handicapped by the rule that unanimity was necessary in the Council to make its decisions effective.

(iii) With great Powers like Russia, U.S.A. and Germany out of the League, its decisions could not be said to be representative of world opinion.

(iv) The League was not based on impartial and just principles. The seeds of injustice were bound to sprout, it was only a question of time. The League ultimately found itself in a state of helplessness. Its pitiable condition resembled that of a judge who can decide that the prisoner is guilty but who cannot punish him for his guilt.

The failure of the League could not be avoided.

The inherent defects of the League and the external factors which added to its weakness resulted in the colossal failure and the inevitable collapse of this international organization. Its ultimate failure could have been delayed but not avoided. The League was bound to fail. Its failure was inevitable and it had to die its own death because of its serious defects both internal and external. Its defects were beyond all remedy like the consumptive person whose vitality to survive was entirely finished. The great international organization for maintaining world peace plunged the world into the Second Great War which proved much more terrible than the war of 1914—1918.

The League of Nations ended and on its remains was built the United Nations Organization at the end of the Second Great War.

Q. Give a brief account of the Ministry of Lloyd George. Why is he described as one of the greatest Prime Ministers of England?

Lloyd George. He succeeded Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908, when Mr. Asquith became Premier and carried on his scheme of differential taxation still further. He levied upon all large incomes a supertax over and above the ordinary rate of income-tax. In the budget of 1909 he did more. He linked up the budget of a whole programme of new social legislation. Certain land taxes were proposed. This led to keen controversy. The Lords rejected the budget, defying the constitutional usage of two centuries. This resulted in the introduction and passage of the Parliament Act of 1911. When war began Lloyd George became Minister of Munitions and rendered extraordinary services. He was the heart and soul of the Government throughout the period of war.

As Prime Minister. Lloyd George became Prime Minister in 1916 and inspired the nation with new vigour, energy and confidence. He inroduced an innovation by setting up a Small War Cabinet of Ministers without special departmental responsibility. The Prime Ministers of the Dominions were also taken into consultation. It was largely through his tact, wisdom, energy and enthusiasm that World War I was won.

General elections took place in 1918 and Lloyd George became Prime Minister. He formed a coalition Ministry consisting of the Liberals, the Conservatives and the Labourites. The Coalition Ministry remained in power from 1918 to 1922 in which year Lloyd George was defeated in the elections and since then the strength of his party decreased.

Legislation

1. *The Unemployment Insurance Act of* 1920. The unemployed persons were given more help by the Government and labourers who could secure no work were sent over to the colonies and the Dominions where necessary arrangements were made to provide them with work.

2. *Treaty with Soviet Russia.* England and Soviet Russia entered into a commercial treaty giving each other certain trade facilities and concessions and solving a number of other trade problems.

3. *The Fourth Reform Act,* 1918. (See next Answer).

4. *The Fourth Irish Home Rule Bill,* 1922. An Act was passed in 1922 which conferred on the Irish Free State, which includes all Ireland, except the six counties forming North-East Ulster, the status of a self-governing Dominion of the British family of Nations—a position similar to that of Canada or Australia.

All through the year 1922 the Republicans who were not satisfied with the Act establishing the Irish Free State created trouble, but at last their opposition was overcome. By August 1923, it was possible to hold a general election in Ireland, and to secure a working majority for the Government. The Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations in 1923.

Q. How were franchise and electoral reforms extended by the (a) Fourth Reform or Franchise Act of 1918 also known as the Representation of People's Act of 1918 and the (b) Fifth Reform Act of 1928 also known as the Equal Franchise Act of 1928?

(A) *The Representation of the People's Act of* 1918 (*Fourth Reform Act*). In 1915 a committee of 30 members of both the Houses of Parliament was appointed to prepare a scheme of extension of franchise and further reforms. The scheme was passed by Parliament in 1918. Its clauses were as follows:—

1. *Franchise.* (i) All men of twenty-one years of age who were qualified by six months' residence or by occupation of business premises got the right to vote. (ii) All women of thirty years of

age entitled to vote in the election of a local body or whose husbands were entitled to vote in the election of local bodies, got the right to vote in parliamentary election. (iii) The voters could not vote in more than two constituencies (in residential constituency, and in business consituency or University constituency). (iv) A single election day was fixed for Great Britain.

2. *Distribution of Seats*. Forty-four old boroughs were deprived of their seats and 31 new boroughs were created.

(B) *The Equal Franchise Act of* 1928 (*Fifth Reform Act*). This Act made the following changes in the Act of 1918:—

1. As for the qualifications of male voters they were reduced to three: (i) he must be a resident of some locality. Instead of the residence for six months, as in the Act of 1918, the Act of 1928 laid down that a voter must be living in the constituency on June 1 at least for thirty days at the time of registration or (ii) he must occupy some business premises or (iii) he must possess some University degree.

2. The qualifications of women voters became the same as those of the men voters. By this Act every man or woman over twenty-one got the right to exercise vote. (Lunatics, peers, etc., could not exercise the right of vote).

3. Seats were redistributed. One seat was assigned to every constituency of 70,000 inhabitants.

By the Five Reform Acts (1832, 1867, 1884, 1918 and 1928) three out of five persons got the right to vote.

Q. Review the principal landmarks that made the English House of Commons a truly representative body in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. *Or,*

Q. What made England a politically democratic country? *Or,*

Indicate the various stages in the democratization of the electorate. *Or,*

How was complete democracy established in England?

Ans. [Study the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918 and 1928 and the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949.

N.B.—By the Secret Ballot Act passed in 1872 the voters were required to exercise their vote by ballot and not pubicly. The great effect of this Act was that the voters were no longer influenced by landlords and employers. The voters could exercise their vote in favour of any candidate they liked most.

By the Corrupt Practices Act passed in 1873 it became a crime for the candidates to bribe voters in order to influence them to vote in their favour.]

MINISTRIES OF THE REIGN

The Coalition Ministry of Lloyd George 1916—1922. At the end of 1922 the Conservative Party withdrew its support from the Coalition Government, which consequently fell.

The Bonar Law Ministry (1922—1923). As a result of the General Elections held in 1922 a Conservative Ministry was formed with Bonar Law as Prime Minister. The Ministry was in favour of Tariff Reforms and wanted to introduce them but the free traders were opposed to the reforms and so the Ministry resigned.

The First Stanley Baldwin Ministry (1923—1924). Like the Bonar Law Ministry, this Ministry also wanted to introduce tariff reforms but due to the opposition of the free traders the Ministry had to resign.

Ramsay Macdonald Ministry (1924). The Labour Party for the first time came into power in the elections held in 1924 with Ramsay Macdonald as Prime Minister. Its life was so short that it carried through only one domestic measure of importance, namely, an Act designed to increase materially the supply of workmen's houses in Great Britain.

The Second Baldwin Ministry (1924—1929). In the election which followed, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, having made it plain that 'Protection' was no longer a part of his policy, was returned at the head of a huge Conservative majority.

The most important measure passed by the new Parliament during its first session (1925) was the Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act. This Act made provision for the payment, without any means of test, of old age pensions at the age of 65, instead of 70, to those insured under the National Health Insurance Act, and for the payment of pensions to their widows and orphans.

By the Locarno Treaty made in 1925 Germany was admitted to the League of Nations.

In 1926 the coal-miners struck work and there was a brief general strike in sympathy with them. The general strike was called off after nine days though the miners did not resume work for seven months.

With the intention of preventing a recurrence of such unhappy events Parliament in 1927 passed the *Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act*, declaring general strikes to be illegal and those taking part in it to be punishable by law. The Act also placed certain restrictions upon Trade Unions and their activities, especially during the course of a trade dispute.

The chief event of the Parliamentary session of 1928 was the passing of the Equal Franchise Act, which gave both parliamentary and municipal votes to women on exactly the same terms as to men. Practically all British subjects resident in the United Kingdom were now placed on the list of voters on attaining the age of 21.

The Second Labour Ministry of Macdonald (1929—1931). Its legal term of existence being near an end, the Parliament elected in 1924 was dissolved in May, 1929. The general election which followed placed the Labour Party in power and Ramsay Macdonald became Prime Minister for the second time. A trade depression of world-wide extent increased unemployment in England and the country had to face a financial crisis. The Labour Government resigned for its inability to solve the economic question as the unemployment problem had greatly intensified the difficulty of the situation.

Macdonald's Nationalist Government (1931—1935). A Nationalist Ministry consisting of 4 Conservatives: 2 Liberals and 4 Labourites was formed by Macdonald at the instance of the King. A second budget, making drastic cuts in expenditure and levying increased taxation, was approved by the House of Commons, and this restored foreign confidence in Britain's financial position. In the early part of 1932 Parliament passed measures imposing custom duties on practically all manufactured goods imported into England and thus Britain became a 'Protectionist' country once more. As a result of these measures, it became evident in the years 1933 and 1934 that British industry and commerce had begun to revive.

The Statute of Westminster was passed in 1931 by which a Dominion got the right of secession, i.e., it could break away from the Commonweath and remain no longer its member. To improve the relations and for better understanding between England and the Dominions various conferences were held, for instance the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932 at Ottawa and the Disarmament Conference of 1933 for the consideration of the reduction of armaments.

The Third Baldwin Ministry (1935—1937). The Conservatives with Baldwin at their head were in power again. George V having completed twenty-five years of his rule the Silver Jubilee of the King was celebrated in every part of the British Empire with great pomp and show amidst great rejoicings of the people.

The death of the King in 1936 was followed by the accession of his eldest son Edward VIII to the throne. In these moments of peace and prosperity when the whole British Empire was looking eagerly for the King Emperor's Coronation, it was shocked to hear King Edward's intentions to marry a lady of lower rank. The British Constitution did not allow such a marriage and Edward VIII had to choose between marriage and the throne. To the great grief of the people he chose the former and abdicated in December 1936. He was succeeded by his younger brother, King George VI.

CHAPTER XXXVI

EDWARD VIII

(January 1936—December 1936)

His Accession and Abdication. Edward VIII succeeded his father, George V, to the Engish throne in January 1936. His reign opened in very auspicious circumstances. The National Government of Great Britain, at first under the leadership of Ramsay Macdonald and on the failing of his health, under Baldwin, had successfully rescued Great Britain from the acute financial crisis of 1931—1932. The material conditions of the country were definitely improving. Unemployment was decreasing and Britain was again capturing markets. The British Empire, as a whole, experienced a similar state of progress. The English Crown was still a symbol of unity of the Empire and was an object of the sincerest sympathies and loyalties of the people. Great Britain was also prosecuting a strong pacifist policy in European affairs and had led the hesitating European nations in the brisk policy of protest against Italy's unjustifiable invasion of Abyssinia. Great Britain's greatness and prestige was visible in internal progress as well as world affairs.

The year 1936 which saw the accession and abdication of the most popular Prince who began his rule in such hopeful atmosphere, must remain noteworthy in the annals of the world owing to a series of important events which had a large influence in the shaping of future happenings. Italy continued the subjugation of Abyssinia despite the protests of the League of Nations and the world States. Germany denounced the Locarno Pact and occupied, in violation of the causes of the Versailles Treaty, the left bank of the Rhine and began its militarization. Austria, contrary to her promises in the Treaty of St. Germain, enforced conscription or universal military training on her people. Then these three Powers went on to revive the old Triple Alliance whose moving figure was Bismark, but now it was Mussolini. This veritable show of high-handedness by Italy and Germany under their dictators, Mussolini and Hitler, not only laid bare the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations as a potential institution for the establishment of peace in world, but also greatly disturbed world peace and created occasions when war seemed imminent. But the pacifist policy of England and France averted its outbreak. Abyssinia was conquered, but other countries refused to recognize the Italian sovereignty over it. Towards the fall of the year, a new disturbing factor appeared in the European horizon which gave rise to acute bitterness between Germany and Russia. This was the Civil War in Spain in which the rival sections had the support of these two countries. England and France refused to intervene and started a non-intervention movement. They were trying to localise the Spanish conflict and avert a European conflagration. Germany and Japan entered into a pact against Communist Russia. This state of things, however, was increasing genuinely the fears of the outbreak of another world war.

In Imperial matters Great Britain had a successful time. India began preparations for the inauguration of new Reforms as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. A Treaty was concluded with Egypt's young ruler, and Egypt became a first class independent State. The Suez Canal area, however, remained under British influence. The Arab riots in Palestine were suppressed and a Royal Commission was instituted to hear their grievances. Turkey was allowed to re-militarise the Straits.

In these moments of peace and prosperity when the whole British Empire was looking eagerly for the King Emperor's Coronation, it was shocked to hear King Edward's intentions to marry a lady of lower rank. The British Constitution did not allow such a marriage and Edward VIII had to choose between love and throne. To the great grief of the people he chose the former and abdicated in December 1936. He chose Austria for his residence and retired thither. His younger brother, King George VI, succeeded him to the throne of England.

Instrument of Abdication. The following is the instrument of abdication: 'I, Edward the Eighth of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Emperor of India, do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the throne for myself and for my descendants and my desire is that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately. In token whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December, 1936, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed. Edward, R. I. signed at Fort Belvedere in the presence of Albert Henry George." The King renounced all titles and was known as Mr. Windsor. He left England on the 12th December, 1936.

It must be remembered that his abdication was an act of self-denial and he behaved like a great gentleman. The man who renounced a throne for the sake of the woman he loved, is the man who is bound for all times to have a high and honoured place in all human hearts. The King said that he took this step—abdication—for he thought it best for the stability of the throne and the Empire and the happiness of his people.

The throne automatically passed to the next lawful heir, the Duke of York. Britain and the Empire thus changed one king for another without the slightest shock to the Constitution.

The Duke of York, who became King George VI, conferred on the ex-king Edward the title of H. R. H. the Duke of Windsor.

George VI (1936—1952) After the abdication of King Edward VIII, the successor of the throne was Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George, Duke of York, second son of the late King George V and Queen Mary. He was born on December 14, 1895, He was sent to

Osborn and the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, and after completing his course he was, in September 1913, appointed to H.M.S. *Collingwood* as a midshipman. At the end of 1917 he was attached to the naval section of the Royal Air Force and served on the Western Front from October, 1918 qualifying as a pilot. In 1920, he reached the rank of Wing Commander. In June, 1920, he was created Duke of York and in 1921, a G.C.V.O. In the same year he was promoted Commander in the Navy. He became Colonel of the East Yorkshire Regiment in 1922. In January, 1923, he was betrothed to Lady Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes Lyon, fourth daughter of the Earl and Countess of Strathmore and Kinghore. The Duke who took keen interest in industrial questions became president of the Society for Industrial Welfare and in 1925 was president of the Empire Exhibition at Wembly. The Duchess had taken a full share in the national life, working for all kinds of philantropic institutions, and with her husband, had visited many centres of industry. In 1927, the Duke and Duchess left England on a six months' visit to Australia and New Zealand, sailing in H. M. S. *Renown* to Jamaica and proceeding *via* the Panama Canal to Liwa, Fiji and Auckland.

Coronation. The coronation ceremony of King George VI was performed on May 12, 1937, amidst great enthusiasm. The King was crowned at 12-30 P.M. on Wednesday in Westminster Abbey towards the close of an exceedingly impressive coronation ceremony service. Simultaneously salutes boomed from Hyde Park and the Tower of London. Throughout Great Britain, Dominions, India and other parts of the Empire, the day was celebrated with great interest and enthusiasm. Prayers were offered for the long life and prosperous reign of their Majesties. There were interesting demonstrations and unprecedented illumination.

Q. Describe briefly the main causes of the Second World War of 1939—1945. Was the war inevitable? (P.U. 1956)

Causes

1. *Humiliation of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles*. The root cause of this terrible war was the Treaty of Versailles, 1918, which sought to eliminate the Germans and Germany from European politics. Germany was divided and new States were created at the cost of Germany and her allies. A slice was added to one country and a slice to another. She was deprived of all her foreign possessions. The Germans were humiliated and treated as if they were outside the pale of European civilization. The victors chiefly France, in their desire to retaliate, crushed and humiliated Germany politically and economically, never to recover and rise again to disturb the peace and prosperity of Europe. In short, the Treaty of Versailles proved to be vindictive. "The seeds of the Second World War were sown in the Treaty of Versailles concluded at the end of the World War I. This Treaty was defective and the big powers determined to crush Germany. A war was inevitable as the defeated nations were suppressed."

2. *Rise of the Nazy Party*. The World War I had brought miseries and distress to the people of Germany. There was hardly

any family in the country that did not lose a son or two. German armies were disbanded, her naval power practically crushed and her industries dislocated.

Amidst this confusion and chaos a person appeared on the scene. He was an Austrian painter—Adolf Hitler. He was endowed with a rare gift of oratory. By his forceful speeches he rallied the German youths around him. He contended that Germany was never defeated. He preached to the people that Germany must be restored to her former glory. She must hold a place of pride and have her due share in world affairs. He became leader of the Nazy Party that had a definite programme of purging their country of foreign elements and rallying all the German subjects of the non-German Governments under the German banner.

Thus Hitler slowly and steadily rose to power till at last he occupied the most prominent position of a Chancellor in 1933. Next year on the death of the President, the two posts were amalgamated and he became President also. As soon as he found himself and his party secure and all-powerful, he embarked on a course of aggression. All opponents of his party were crushed with an iron hand. The Jews were the most unfortunate victims of his devilish tyranny. When the country was completely purged of his adversaries, he replaced the democratic form of Government with dictatorship and thus became the first dictator.

All these events followed each other in quick succession and the foreign Powers neither protested nor paid any heed to them. Consequently the German dictator found the most opportune time to flout the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1935 he increased the number of soldiers contrary to the terms of the treaty. Next year his army occupied Rhineland. Henceforth territories inhabited by Germans were annexed one after another. Austria, Sudedanland and Czechoslovakia were annexed. He paid special attention to the air force which was bound to play the most prominent part in the future war. He organised a "fifth column" consisting of spies who were sent to foreign lands for propaganda in favour of the Nazy Party.

3. *Dissatisfaction of Italians with the Treaty of Versailles.* Benito Mussolini, a blacksmith by birth, figured as a towering personality in Italy. The Italians were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Versailles as they were not given the promised share in the reconstruction of Europe. Mussolini organised the Fascist party in Italy, which resembled the Nazy party in aims and policy. The strange coincidence of their policy and programme brought the dictators together. Although Italy had a monarch, he receded into the background and Mussolini became a dictator who dreamed of the ancient glory and empire of Rome. He remained in power from 1922 to 1943 during which time he considerably improved the condition of his people. He trained the youths of his country for war and gave them the necessary military training. He filled the youths with great ambitions and said to them that Italy had been the centre of Roman Empire in the

past and she could again become an empire. He attacked Abyssinia and conquered it; then he invaded Albania and conquered that too. Thus Mussolini had started his ambitious career, conquering weaker countries and defying the League of Nations.

4. *Lack of International Equilibrium.* Economic and political problems on the continent that cropped up after the First Great War upset international equilibrium, and every nation became anxious to seek more territories and markets for itself. Nationalism in its narrow sense and self-interest gradually took the place of international sense and spirit of broad-mindedness. The policy of isolation and self-interest gave rise to such a strong mutual suspicion and distrust that each State was prepared to cut the throat of the other. Every State began to increase its armaments and prepare itself for the war.

5. *Weakness of the League of Nations.* The League had been brought into existence to maintain peace in the world, to create good will and better understanding among nations and to prevent war by helping nations to solve their differences and disputes in a friendly way. But it is said that the League failed to fulfil its political mission. It has to its credit a number of very useful economic and humanitarian activities, but the political purpose for which the League was created was not fulfilled. The League had no effective power to enforce its decisions against the offending States, it had no power to ask the states to limit their armaments and then there was no co-operation and goodwill among the member-States of the League. A strong and powerful body inspiring the confidence and co-operation of the member-States could have prevented war.

6. *Berlin-Rome Axis.* The two dictators (Mussolini of Italy and Hitler of Germany) were following the same policy and programme. Both of them considered the Allies, England and France, as a hindrance to the realization of their ambitions. They wanted to make their policy a pivot of universal politics. Hence there came into existence what is known as the Berlin-Rome Axis. Italy conquered Abyssinia and violated clauses of the League of Nations. Mussolini wanted to keep his influence on the Mediterranean Sea. He was supported in his designs by Hitler. They formed the "Rome-Berlin Axis."

At first the Allies did not take notice of the aggressive programme of the Axis because France had made herself very secure by the impregnable Maginot Line which extended along the frontiers of Italy and Germany. The Allies were fully aware of the terrible consequences of a war. But as the aggression of the Axis became obvious and threatening to the peace of Europe they began to protest, which proved ineffective and did not deter them from aggression.

Immediate Causes of the War. In August 1939, Hitler demanded Corridor and Danzig—German populated areas entrusted to Poland in the Treaty of Versailles—from the Polish Government. It was not a demand, it was an ultimatum because without waiting for the reply, German forces invaded Poland. Thus the Second Great War began.

The Allies tried their utmost to persuade Hitler to settle the dispute about the Corridor and Danzig peacefully by arbitration so that the world might be saved from impending calamity. But Hitler in his pride of power and fully confident of his success did not pay any heed to the persuasions of the Allies. As a result of their unsuccessful negotiations for peaceful settlement of the thorny question, the Allies sided with Poland. England declared war on 3rd September and France on 4th September 1939.

Parties

Poland, England and France were against Germany, Russia and Italy. During the course of war Russia changed sides and joined the Allies.

Was the Second World War inevitable? We have carefully studied the causes of the Second World War as given above.

Germany had received a vindictive treatment by the Treaty of Versailles. She had been deprived of some of her European territories and all colonies, her navy and army had been reduced, she had to pay a heavy war indemnity and in fact she had been reduced to utter humiliation and perfect impotence. Germany was naturally anxious to get back her former status. Hitler and his Nazi Party were resolved not only to get back the former place and position for their country among the nations of the world but to dominate the world. Hitler violated the Treaty of Versailles by keeping a large standing army and taking forcible possession of Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc.

Italy was also not satisfied with the Treaty of Versailles. She had her own grievances. Mussolini wanted to revive the glory and greatness of the old Roman Empire.

There was economic depression on the continent which made nations selfish and narrow-minded so that there was mutual distrust and suspicion.

These were some of the main causes that were responsible for the Second World War. The question is, could these causes be prevented? The answer is in the affirmative, if the League of Nations were strong enough to assert itself. 'War' or 'No War' depended upon the position of the League of Nations. The League had been created for the prevention of War and in its early years it decided disputes between Finland and Sweden and then between Italy and Greece with great success. Gradually the League lost its prestige and it failed to take action when Japan made an attack on Manchuria or when Italy took Abyssinia. The growing weakness of the League encouraged Germany to offer open defiance to it. The result was the Second Great World War which proved to be more terrible than the first one.

Whether the Second World War was inevitable depended upon the position of the League of Nations. The answer to this is to be sought in the circumstances by which the League was surrounded. If the League were a powerful body it could surely take action against Japan, Italy, Germany or any power that defied its decisions and the war could be prevented. But as ill-luck would have it, the prestige of the League had considerably suffered, it had no coercive power to make its decisions binding, it had no power to limit the increasing armaments of nations that were secretly preparing for the war and it had no co-operation among its member-States so that it had a divided house. Under the circumstances the war, i.e., the Second World War became inevitable.

End of the War. The war continued with varying fortunes up to May 1945. Germany surrendered unconditionally in May 1945 for Hitler having lost all hopes of success had committed suicide a month earlier, i.e., in April. After the fall of Germany, the U.S.A. and Great Britain threw two atom bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which caused great destruction. This compelled Japan to an unconditional surrender.

Germany was divided into four zones by the United Nations. Each of the four zones was put under the care and supervision of a country. Russia took charge of one zone. Great Britain of the second, U.S.A. of the third and France of the fourth. The prisoners of the War were set free. German army was disarmed and all her war-material and weapons were distributed by the Allies among themselves so that Germany was thoroughly disarmed. The German ring leaders and others who had committed serious crimes were tried and suitably punished.

An Allied Army with General MacArthur at its head occupied Japan where a new Japanese government was set up.

The United Nations Charter was signed in June 1945 at San Francisco the main purpose of which was to maintain peace and security among the nations of the world and to settle all disputes among them in a friendly and amicable spirit.

N.B. Churchill succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister of England in 1940 and remained in office from 1940 to 1945. The success of England in the World War II was mostly due to the capacity, wisdom, tact and organization of Churchill. General elections took place in England after the War when the Labour Party came into power and Churchill had to accept defeat. Churchill became Prime Minister once again in 1952 as the result of elections.

Queen Elizabeth II (1952—). She succeeded to the throne of England after the death of her father in 1952. Mr. Clement Attlee, the leader of the Labour Party, was the Prime Minister of England from 1946 to 1951. Churchill was Prime Minister of England once again in 1952 and remained in office till 1955. Sir Anthony Eden assumed the Office of Prime Minister in 1957 but he resigned as his weak health did not permit to continue in office any more. Sir Anthony was succeeded by Harold Macmillan in 1957.

England had a very complicated situation when Mr. Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. The forces of England and France led an attack against the Egyptian ports situated on the canal. The matter was discussed in the U.N.O. where it was decided that England and France should withdraw their forces and the United Nations Forces should guard and look after the Canal.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

> *"The Commonwealth guarantees peace and security to its constituents."*

Q. What is the "British Commonwealth of Nations"? How does its significance differ from the term "British Empire"? What is a Dominion?

Meaning of the "British Commonwealth of Nations." The British Commonwealth of Nations is another name for the British Empire with certain significant distinctions. The British Empire was composed of diverse elements like (a) colonies and countries acquired in course of trading operations, (b) self-governing colonies, (c) backward regions, (d) strategic places, and (e) the mother country. The degree of Independence enjoyed by each of them was quite different and there was no equal partnership among all the constituents. The name British Commonwealth of Nations was officially given to the Empire in 1927 and implied equal partnership among all member-dominions of the Commonwealth. It is, therefore, wrong to call the British Empire, composed as it is of diverse elements and not enjoying equal partnership, a Commonwealth.

The Significance of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The significance of the term "British Commonwealth of Nations" as differing from the term "British Empire", lies in the following points:—

(i) The British Empire was composed of various and diverse elements like (a) colonies and countries acquired in course of trading operations, (b) self-governing colonies, (c) backward regions, (d) strategic places, and (e) the mother country. Whereas the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations are Britain and the self-governing colonies, viz., Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, Irish Free State, Pakistan, Ceylon, and India with a peculiar position.

(ii) In the British Empire we had the old idea of the subject races and the ruling race. The different constituents were taken as the subject races and Britain as the ruling race. The British Commonwealth of Nations does not imply an idea of subject race or inferiority, all the dominions and Britain enjoy equal partnership and form a family of adult and equal nations in the real sense. They are equal in status and in no way subordinate to one another. It clearly shows that the position of the Dominions is entirely different from other members of the Empire.

(iii) The members of the Commonwealth are bound together by ties of common interests, common language, common traditions, common allegiance to principles of freedom and the recognition of the British Crown as the symbol of unity. No such bonds and ties of affection hold together other members of the Empire and the different constituents have different forms of government and in essence they are considered subject races.

"The British Commonwealth is an international association working for the promotion of international harmony and understanding. It is a union of nations connected by circumstances of history, grouped round one central State for general purposes, and held together by a community of aims and sentiments. It is like a family of nations, united by ties of affection and interest and common allegiance to principles of freedom, with the fullest liberty accorded to its individual members. It illustrates how the ideal of a world-state has been achieved on a small scale."

What is Dominion Status? Each of the Dominions included in the British Commonwealth of Nations is a self-governing unit on the basis of equality with Great Britain. Dominion Status means the position of equality with Great Britain in all matters, internal and external. Dominions are completely autonomous and independent of the British Parliament. The only link between the Dominions and England is that they have a common king. The Dominions also possess the right of secession, i.e., breaking away from the Commonwealth.

The authoritative definition of Dominion Status, which was adopted by the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee, is that of the Balfour Declaration of 1926. According to this definition, the countries referred to above "are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." If the Dominions co-operate with England in certain matters that is entirely on a voluntary basis. There is no compulsion on the part of any Dominion to stand by the side of England.

The Significance of the Commonwealth of Nations in World Politics. In the words of an eminent person, "The Commonwealth guarantees peace and security to its constituents. There is complete harmony in the relations between the member-states. This means that the chances of conflict have been eliminated from among the peoples who come within the orbit of the Empire, and this is a great contribution to the maintenance of peace in the world."

Q. Discuss the position of a Dominion in the Commonwealth, viz., the political relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions. *Or,*

What are the ties that bind together the various Dominions Great Britain in the Commonwealth? *Or,*

Q. Write a note on the Statute of Westminster (1931).

How does it regulate the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain?

The present Relationship of the Dominions with the mother-country, viz., *Great Britain.* The Balfour Report (1926) and the Statute of Westminster (1931) have clearly defined the Dominion Status and the relationship of the Dominions with Great Britain. The following points will help us to understand clearly the present position of Dominions in the Commonwealth or the political relationship between a Dominion and Great Britain:—

1. By the Statute of Westminster, 1931, the Dominions possess perfect equality with Great Britain. They are all members of the Commonwealth with equal rights and position. They are in no way subordinate to one another or to the British Government.

2. All Dominions are perfectly autonomous, i.e., completely independent in their internal and external policy, action and affairs. Their form of government is thoroughly 'responsible' and they have their own flag, own system of coinage and separate fighting forces. The Parliament of a Dominion is the supreme legislative authority and has complete control over the Executive. It can levy taxes as it likes and its trade and commerce are purely its own affairs. They are free to conclude treaties with other countries and send and receive ambassadors. For all intents and purposes they are Sovereign States.

3. If Great Britain is in a state of war with another country, a Dominion can follow its own policy. It may join Great Britain or remain neutral. In World War II, Ireland, though a Dominion, stood aloof. Great Britain has no right to compel any Dominion to take part in any war in which she is herself involved.

4. The membership of the Commonwealth as a Dominion is a matter of one's own free choice. The Statute of Westminster gives a Dominion the right of secession, i.e., it can break away from the Commonwealth and remain no more its member.

5. The Commonwealth is not a federation, but a free association of a number of independent and sovereign states where every member has perfect freedom to sever its connection with the Commonwealth whenever it so desires. A federation possesses a controlling authority, whereas the Commonwealth does not. There is complete absence of compulsion or undue pressure from the mother-country on the Dominions. The Dominions are free to act as they choose.

There is no Imperial Federation or a written constitution to hold together the various members of the Commonwealth, but in practice we find them held together by a number of ties that serve as strong connecting links and bind them together. Some of the connecting links that keep the Dominions together are the following:—

(i) Ties of common interests, common traditions, affection and common enjoyment of liberty. In the two World Wars the Dominions loyally stood by Great Britain. (Ireland excepted) and contributed their maximum help.

(ii) The king is the King of the Dominions as well as of Great Britain. The units of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, are united by common allegiance to him. He is, therefore, the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

(iii) The Crown still appoints colonial governors and governors-general of the Dominions at the advice of the dominion cabinet.

(iv) Judicial appeals lie to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain from the various parts of the Empire and the Donions, provided they so desire.

(v) In some matters of foreign policy, Britain may imperceptibly influence the Dominions but such influence is neither extensive nor deep.

(vi) The Imperial Conferences held at various times, particularly in the years 1897, 1902, 1907, 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1930, to hold consultations on problems of common interests, helped to keep the members together.

(vii) In 1932, an important step was taken to make the Empire economically self-sufficient. A conference of the representatives of the Dominions and Britain was held at Ottawa in Canada. By mutual consent, and acting on the principle of 'give and take', the Conference succeeded in arranging an economic agreement based on the principles of Imperial Preference.

(viii) Certain matters of common interests, besides the economic and political advantages derived by the Dominions from the membership of the Commonwealth, tend to strengthen the bonds of the members.

Q. Give an account of the relations between England and Ireland from 1689 to 1800.

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

Ireland from 1689—1800. The history of Ireland from 1689 to 1800 can be divided into three periods: from 1689 to 1763, the period of repression; from 1763 to 1782, the period of constitutional opposition; from 1782 to 1800, when the Act of Union was passed, the period of establishment of self-government.

Period of Repression 1689 to 1763

During this period which lasted from 1689 to 1763, the bulk of the Irish who were Roman Catholics suffered a great deal. They suffered from religious, economic and social disabilities.

Religious Disabilities. The Protestants were only one-seventh of the whole Irish population, and yet the Established Church in Ireland was Protestant. The Catholics who formed about six-sevenths of the total population suffered from many religious disabilities, and the privileges enjoyed by the Protestants were denied to the Catholics. Priests were forbidden to celebrate marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic and such marriages were invalid. Catholic worship could not be carried on freely and Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland lived often under assumed names, in house of some farmer or landowner. All the ecclesiastical power of Ireland legally belonged to the Protestant Church there.

Political Subordination and difficulties. The Irish Parliament was definitely subordinate to the English Parliament. Any bill passed by the Irish Parliament must pass through the Privy Council in England and obtain royal sanction before it could become an Act. This subordination was further extended when Parliament in England, in the reign of George I, arrogated to itself the rights of passing laws binding upon Ireland.

The Roman Catholics could neither vote for members of Irish Parliament nor sit in any of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament. They could not hold any government post. They could not join the army or the navy or become members of the town or city corporations. They could not become school-masters and could not study in the Trinity College. They could not practise law.

Economic and Social Difficulties. The Navigation Acts passed in 1663 deprived Ireland of the advantages of trade with British Catholics. By an order in 1665, Irish cattle or pigs could not be imported into England which was the only good market for them. In 1699, the Irish people were forbidden to export wool or woollen goods to any place except England. The trade of Ireland in consequence of the above prohibitions suffered immensely.

The greater part of the land passed into the hands of Irish Protestants or English adventurers, for the land of the old owners had generally been confiscated as punishment for rebellions and other charges. Many of the new landlords were generally absent from Ireland and their lands were left to be managed by bailiffs. The new landlords and the bailiffs took no interest in the land and the peasants. The result was the cultivation deteriorated. The peasants and their families grew poor and were in a hopeless condition. Many of the peasants emigrated and those that were left were ill-clothed, ill-fed and ill-housed. Their condition could be better imagined than described.

Racial Animosity. The confiscations of the past had brought about cleavage between 'the two classes in Ireland, viz., a privileged upper class of English blood and peasantry of Celts'.

Period of Constitutional Opposition, 1763 *to* 1782. The period from 1763 to 1782 is known as the period of constitutional opposition. The American War of Independence immensely intensified and accelerated the movement of opposition in Ireland. A party was formed in Parliament which criticized the undesirable policy of the government with great vehemence and called for reforms. Charles Lucas and Henry Flood became formidable opponents of the government, exposed the abuses of the Protestant Government and seriously criticized its policy. When England was busy in war with American colonies she recalled all her troops from Ireland. The Irish, fearing the danger of a French invasion, organized themselves into volunteers under the leadership of Grattan to defend their country against an invasion from France. When the danger of the French invasion was over, the Irish insisted upon securing their national liberties. They demanded an independent Parliament and abolition of all restrictions imposed upon their trade and industries. Ireland had found a leader in Henry Grattan gifted with exceptional courage and ability. By his fierce fight he compelled the British Parliament in 1780 to remove the restrictions that had been imposed upon Irish trade and industries. In 1782 the British Parliament repealed the Poynings Act and Ireland secured her legislative independence. The British Parliament gave up the right to pass laws binding upon Ireland. Thus England's difficulty during the American Revolution became Ireland's opportunity. Parliament which sat from 1782 to 1809 is known as Grattan's Parliament.

Period of Self-Government, 1782 *to* 1800. The period from 1782 to 1800 is called the period of self-government. The Irish Parliament had secured its legislative independence as the Poynings Act had been repealed. The British Parliament lost the right of passing laws binding upon Ireland.

During the eighteen years 1782 to 1800, Ireland's finances, trade and industries made a wonderful progress. The French Revolution produced a strong impression on the minds of the Irish and in fact nowhere this influence was more profound or more disastrous than in Ireland, for it came at a time when a healthy national spirit was beginning to unite Irishmen of all creeds and classes; and it violently interrupted the process of reconciliation, and created new and bitter hatred between the English and the Irishmen.

Many secret societies were formed and the Ulster Presbyterians, who sympathised with the French movement, conducted correspondence with the French clubs. An organization was formed both of Presbyterians and Catholics, called the "Irish United men", whose sole object was to force the Government to bring about a reform in the constitution. The organization became very popular and enlisted many members, but the Government looked upon it as a hostile and conspiring society. In order to win over the Catholics an Act was passed in 1793, which conferred upon them franchise on equal terms with the Protestants. But the measure failed to achieve the desired object, for while it gave the Catholics the right of voting, it did not make them eligible to Parliament, or to the most important offices. The Irish people lost all faith in the honesty and good intentions of the British Government and they felt that the constitutional channel to reform was closed. The Irish people had to choose between submission and rebellion and they decided to resort to the latter course. The result was a serious revolt which broke out at Wexford in 1798. But the rebellion was stamped out and the French army that landed in Ireland to help the rebels was defeated. The resistance was mercilessly suppressed.

Pitt saw that the only way to maintain friendly relations between England and Ireland and to preserve harmony between the Catholics and the Protestants was to bring about a union between England and Ireland. The Irish people who were bent upon complete separation from England were opposed to Pitt's scheme of union. Pitt cleverly won over the Protestants by promises of posts, honours and money and the Catholics by promising them emancipation, i.e., relief from all penal laws and disqualifications.

The Act of Union was passed in 1800, but Pitt, on account of the opposition of King George III, had to give up his projects of emancipation and resigned. The so-called Union without emancipation brought no relief to the Irish Catholics, who henceforth became its chief enemy.

Q. Discuss the relations of England with Ireland from 1800 to the establishment of the Irish Free State, 1922. (*Imp.*)
Or, (P.U. 1954, 1953)

Q. Give a brief account of the Irish struggle for Home Rule.
Or,

Q. Trace briefly the Anglo-Irish relations from 1800 until the Disestablishment of the Irish Church by Gladstone. *Or,*

Q. Trace briefly the story of the Home Rule Movement. ***Or,***

Q. What were the main grievances of the Irish after the Act of Union? To what extent and by whom have they been removed? *Or,*

Q. Describe briefly the part of Daniel O'Connell and Charles Parnell in the Irish Liberation Movement. *Or,* (D.U. 1957)

Ireland 1800—1870.—*Daniel O'Connell and the repeal of the Repressive Acts.* Daniel O'Connell, an Irish barrister, was an ardent Catholic. He was gifted with exceptional courage, ability and power of speech. He had a wonderful control over the audience and was an undisputed leader of the Irish people. He made up his mind to fight for the cause of the Catholics and get their disabilities removed. The Catholics suffered from many political disabilities—by the Test and Corporation Acts, the Catholics were debarred from holding offices in the government in the navy and in the army. They could not hold any municipal offices. They could not sit in either of the two houses of Parliament. The agitation of Daniel O'Connell was so strong that the ministry of Wellington was compelled to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts and thereby removed the disabilities of the Catholics. O'Connell organized in 1828 a *Catholic Association* for further repealing the disabilities of the Catholics. There was so much excitement and furious agitation in the country that the ministry of Wellington felt itself compelled to pass the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829 by which the Catholics were allowed to become members of Parliament.

The Tithe War, 1833—1835. Most of the Irish people were Catholics but the Established Church in Ireland was Protestant. The peasants who were generally Catholics had to pay tithes against their wish for the support of a Protestant Church, which they did not like at all. O'Connell started a war against the tithes. The agitation over the tithes became so fierce that a law was at last passed by which tithes were to be paid by the landlords and not by the tenants. Thus the Tithe War came to a close.

O'Connell's Agitation to secure the Independence of Ireland. O'Connell devoted his whole attention to secure the independence of Ireland. Agitation grew formidable and O'Connell wanted to address a monster meeting but Peel forbade the meeting by a proclamation. O'Connell was then arrested for his seditious speeches and imprisoned. He was acquitted on appeal but died broken-hearted in 1847.

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846. The Corn Laws imposed heavy duties on the foreign corn imported into England. The landowners and farmers grew rich while the poor suffered much on account of high price of bread. A society was then formed called the Manchester Free Trade League for the abolition of corn duties and thus to get free trade in corn. The chief leaders were John Bright, Richard Cobden and Charles Villiers. The leaders held meetings for this purpose and agitated for the repeal of the Corn Laws in many other ways. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1846 caused a horrible famine and Peel was compelled to abolish the Corn Laws.

The Sinn Fein Movement, 1859. In 1859 was started the Sinn Fein Movement in America by the Irish who had emigrated there. This movement aimed at establishing an Irish Republic. On the close of the American Civil War in 1865, the Irish Americans came to Ireland in large numbers with a view to securing the independence of Ireland and establishing an Irish Republic. The British Government arrested them as soon as they reached Ireland and the Sinn Fien Movement thus failed.

Dis-establishment of the Irish Church, 1869. In 1869, Gladstone dis-established the Irish State Church by means of an Act. By this Act the connection of the Irish Protestant Church was cut off with the State. This Act turned the Established Church into Episcopal Free Church by which the Catholics and Protestants were placed almost on equality. The Irish Catholics were somewhat conciliated.

The Land Question. Gladstone then dealt with the land question. The land question in Ireland was very serious. The Irish had generally been rebellious against the government and so their lands had been confiscated. The confiscated lands had been given to the Protestants or the English. The new landlords took no interest either in the improvement of the land or the welfare of the tenants. The landlords were generally absent and there were the bailiffs and the middlemen in their place. The middlemen dealt roughly and mercilessly with the tenants. The tenants were in a miserable condition—they were ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. The tenants had no legal claim on the improvements they made. If a tenant left the land, his improvement became the property of the landlord. Up to this time nothing had been done to improve the condition of the tenants though so many Acts were passed to protect the landlords. It was Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 that tried to better the sad state of affairs and improve the relations between the tenant and the landlord. By the Land Act of 1870 the landlord had to pay compensation to the tenants who had made any improvement in the land. This measure could not fully satisfy the Irish tenants.

Ireland from 1870 to 1922

Home Rule Movement for Ireland, 1870—1893. The Reform Bill of 1867 led to the birth of Nationalist or Home Rule Party in Ireland. Isaac Butt introduced a number of resolutions in favour of Home Rule in the House of Commons but they were all rejected.

Charles Stewart Parnell and Parnellism. Isaac Butt having died in 1879, his place was taken by Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant Irish landowner. He entered Parliament in 1875 and was the leader of the extreme party. He wanted to have Home Rule. He was not satisfied with the methods of Butt, so he adopted the policy of 'obstructions' and generally obstructed the business of the House. In 1879 was founded a society called the Land League in order to improve the condition of the tenants by reducing the rents and enabling them to own their lands. In 1880 Parnell established the institution of "Boycott." Parnell's policy led to disorder in Ireland—and the government took drastic measures and adopted a policy of coercion to restore peace and order. In order to improve the condition of the tenants, Gladstone introduced his Second Land Act in 1881. By this Act the rent of every holding was fixed, and a tenant was not to be disturbed as long as he paid his rent and he was to enjoy the full right of selling his tenancy. Even this Act did not satisfy the Irish. Government passed stringent Coercion Acts but the situation did not improve. Parnell was imprisoned and there was great agitation in the country. At last Gladstone arrived at an understanding with Parnell and released him and his friends. At this time a suit was brought in the Divorce Court in 1890 against Parnell by his wife. The influence and prestige of Parnell suffered. Parnell died a few months later.

The movement for Home Rule Bill sarted by Parnell is known in history by the name of Parnellism.

The First Home Rule Bill, 1886. Gladstone seriously considered the Irish Question and decided to settle this question by a grant of Home Rule to Ireland. He introduced the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 but it was rejected by the Commons.

The Second Home Rule Bill, 1892. Gladstone introduced the Second Home Rule Bill in 1892. It was passed by the House of Commons but the Lords rejected it.

The Fourth Irish Land Act, 1903. By this Act passed in 1903 the British Treasury advanced huge sums to buy lands for the tenants in Ireland, the Irish landlords and the proprietors of the soil. This Act made the Irish tenants prosperous but the struggle for Irish independence continued with great persistence. A new society, called Sinn Fein, preached vigorously in favour of Irish independence and cutting off all connections with England.

The Third Home Rule Bill, 1912. In 1912 Mr. Asquith's government introduced a new Home Rule Bill. It was passed in the first stage but when it reached its last stage the Protestants of Ulster offered a vehement opposition because they were not prepared to tolerate the control of the Irish Catholics. They prepared themselves for a civil war under their leader Carson. There was an open rebellion in Dublin in 1916 but it was put down. The Sinn Feiners daily gained in strength and they were returned to the Parliament in an overwhelming majority. In 1920, the Government proposed to divide Ireland into two parts—the Protestant counties of Northern Ireland forming one part and the rest of Ireland forming the second. The two parts were to have separate Parliaments. The Protestant counties of Northern Ireland agreed to have a separate Parliament but the Irish Catholics did not agree to the proposal and rose in rebellion under the leadership of the Sinn Feiners.

Fourth Home Rule Bill, 1920. The Sinn Feiners announced the independence of Ireland and elected a President of the Irish Republic. The Government could not suppress the rebellion.

At last a Fourth Home Rule Bill was passed in 1920 but it failed to solve the Irish difficulties.

The Irish Free State Act, 1922. The Fourth Home Rule Bill did not satisfy the Irish and there were troubles and civil strife in Ireland and at last the Irish Free State Act was passed in 1922 by which the six Protestant counties of Ulster were allowed to retain their union with Great Britain and to have a Parliament of their own and the remainder of Ireland, called the Irish Free State, was granted the status of a self-governing Dominion of the British family of nations—a position similar to that of Canada or Australia. The Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations in 1923.

Ireland after 1922. De Valera and his party (Sinn Feiners) were not satisfied with the status of a Dominion and carried on the agitation. They insisted on the abolition of the oath of allegiance to the King of England and the cancellation of the Debt. De Valera was arrested and his followers punished; Cosgrave was elected President. Within the next few years Ireland gradually settled down to a peaceful life. De Valera came into power once again in 1933 as the head of the Republican Party. He carried on the administration of the country wisely and strongly and several new parties—Blue Shirts, Centre Party, etc.—came into existence to oppose De Valera. By the Act of 1938 the Irish Free State came to be called 'Eire' or Ireland, the term of the office of the President was fixed at seven years. Ireland was to have its own tricolour national flag and absolute freedom of trade was established between England and Ireland.

Q. (a) What were the main causes that had made the solution of the Anglo-Irish question a difficult one?

(b) What was Fenianism or Sin Fein Movement?

(c) "The nineteenth century has witnessed the persistent vengeance of Ireland. We destroyed her manufactures in the eighteenth century, in the 19th century she has destroyed our ministries." Discuss.

(a) The causes which made the peaceful settlement of the Anglo-Irish question practically impossible were the following:—

Hints for Expansion. 1. Ireland was Roman Catholic and England was Protestant. George III was a strong opponent of Roman Catholics and he forbade Pitt to emancipate the Catholics.

2. The public opinion in England was against separation. There was long delay in agreeing to the reasonable demand of the Irish for the right of managing their own affairs.

3. Real troubles of Ireland were never understood. England used political measures to treat social and economic troubles of the Irish people.

4. The House of Lords was conservative. It proved a great stumbling block. It never gave Ireland anything except under compulsion. Since Ireland had to fight for everything, it never felt grateful for what it got. The way for the Irish Home Rule Bill was easy only after 1911, when the House of Lords was deprived of most of its powers.

5. There were frictions in Ireland itself. The Ulster was Protestant and desired union with Britain. Hence there was fierce civil strife in Ireland itself.

(b) *Fenianism or Sinn Fein Movement.* It was a movement started by the Irish people in Ireland and America to set up an Irish Republic. To achieve this purpose the Fenian Society was started in 1853. The movement gained fresh vigour, when after the end of the American Civil War, many Irish, who had learnt military discipline in America, returned to their homeland. The aims of the society were revolutionary. The Government became aware of their meetings which were held secretly and in December, 1858 it suddenly arrested twenty leading members of the society. Most of the prisoners were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The movement quietened for the time being.

In 1867, a general revolt was attempted in Ireland by the Fenians. Though the movement was not very successful, the Fenians, however, succeeded in carrying out a series of daring acts in England. They attacked a police van in Manchester in order to rescue some Irish prisoners and even shot the police sergeant incharge of the van. In London they succeeded in bringing down the walls of the Clerkenwell Prison where several Fenian leaders were imprisoned. Several persons were charged with treason and one of them was eventually executed.

These activities of the Fenians attracted the attention of the people to the genuine grievances of the Irish. The movement was, no doubt, suppressed but it increased the number of the supporters of Irish cause. Gladstone and the Liberals started a new agitation for Irish reform and even succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the dis-establishment of the Irish Church. But Disraeli remained obdurate. He soon dissolved the Parliament. In the new elections the Liberals obtained a majority and Gladstone formed his first ministry and did much to appease the Irish.

(c) During the 18th century Ireland was groaning under political subordination, social disabilities and economic discontent. The majority of the Irish had no share in the government of their country. A Catholic was practically treated as an outcaste under the law. In economic relations of England with Ireland we find that the English policy aimed at crushing the Irish trade, commerce and industries. The misery of Irish peasant knew no bounds. The Irish struggled hard for the removal of trade restrictions and legislative disabilities. In 1870 their efforts bore fruit and they secured freedom of trade and commerce. A few years later they were granted legislative independence and at last in 1800 the Irish Union Act was passed much against the wishes of the Irish.

Irish Question Destroyed English Ministries in the 19*th century*. It was on so many occasions that parties were split up and ministries were divided on questions pertaining to Ireland. Here are some examples:—

During the 19th century Ireland followed persistently the policy of vengeance and missed no opportunity of causing obstruction in Parliament and it was on this Irish rocks that so many of the English ministries were broken. William Pitt, the Younger, had to submit his resignation in 1801 on the question of Catholic Franchise; Willington had to resign in 1829 on the question of Catholic Emancipation. The Irish famine of 1846 and the Repeal of the Corn Laws drew Peel out of the picture and Gladstone's Ministries broke on the question of Irish Home Rule. It was thus the obstructionist policy of the Irish in the Parliament that led to the resignation of so many English ministries.

A LIST OF IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

BOOK I (TUDOR PERIOD)

What was the Renaissance or the New Learning? What do you know of it with particular reference to its influence, effects and importance?

"The reign of Henry VII saw the end of the Middle Ages (Medievalism) and the beginning of the Modern Times." Discuss.

Describe the Home and Foreign Policy of Henry VII.

Give a brief sketch of the career of Cardinal Wolsey. What is your estimate of his character, work and policy?

Sketch the course of the Reformation in England from 1529—1536 *and indicate its effects.* Or,

Discuss the nature of the English Reformation. What was Henry VIII's attitude towards the Reformation?

"The Tudors were autocrats outgrowing all moderation. Under Henry VIII this high-handed despotism reached its high water-mark 'ain *Elucidate.*

Trace the progress of Reformation under Somerset and Northumberland in the reign of Edward VI. What did Mary Tudor do to undo the work of the Reformation or restore Catholicism.

Describe briefly Elizabeth's religious views and her religious policy or her Settlement of the religious question in England.

Elizabeth's religious settlement on system was based on the policy of compromise and moderation. Discuss. Or,

"Elizabeth's religious settlement was more of a politician than of an Ecclesiast." Comment.

What led to the conflict between Elizabeth and Spain? Why was the Spanish Armada defeated? What were the effects of its defeat?

"Elizabeth's reign was one constant struggle against the forces of Counter-Reformation." Elucidate.

What were the chief features of the reign of Elizabeth? Or,

Elizabeth's reign is called 'Spacious Days in English'. Comment.

Explain the causes and conditions that enabled the Tudor Sovereigns to establish a strong personal rule (New Monarchy or Personal Rule or Popular Despotism).

To what causes would you attribute the success of the Tudor sovereigns?

Describe the main features of Tudor despotism. Or, *State carefully the nature of Tudor despotism.*

Discuss the relations of the Tudors with their Parliaments.

Discuss briefly the achievements of the Tudors or their importance in the history of England. Or.

What services did the Tudors render to England for which the English people are grateful to them?

What do you mean by 'Nationalism'? Briefly give the causes that were responsible for the rise of 'Nationalism' under the Tudors.

Write short notes on Martin Luther, The Court of Star Chamber Mary Queen of Scots, Literary and Maritime activities of Elizabeth's reign.

Write a short essay on the Reformation under the Tudors. Or,

How did England become a Protestant country under the Tudors?

BOOK II (STUART PERIOD)

What mainly characterised the Stuart Period was the struggle between the King and the Parliament? Give the causes of the struggle. Or,

Why did the first two Stuart Kings quarrel with their Parliaments?

(a) What do you know about the character of James? 'The wisest fool in Christendom', is this a correct estimate of the character of James I?

(b) What were his relations with his Parliaments?

What do you know of the Petition of Rights (1628) *with particular reference to the circumstances that led to its clauses and its constitutional significance? How far did Charles I abide by its clauses?*

Give an account of the Puritan Revolution or the Rebellion of the Parliament or the Civil War between Charles I and the Parliament from 1642—1649.

How would you account for the success of the Puritan Revolution (the Great Civil War)?

Describe briefly the career, work and achievements of Oliver Cromwell with reference to his home, religious and foreign policy.

Examine the various schemes for the governance of England from 1649 *to* 1660. Or,

Describe briefly the various constitutional experiments made during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate between 1649 *and* 1660.

Why did the attempt to set up a state form of government during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate fail? Or.

Account for the unpopularity and failure of the Puritan Revolution in the achievement of its aims.

Account for the Restoration of the Stuart Monarchy in 1660. *Discuss the nature and effects of the Restoration.*

(a) What attempts were made by Charles II to establish royal absolutism or revive second Stuart despotism?

(b) What constitutional progress was made in the reign of Charles II?

Give the causes and factors or the unconstitutional measures of James II and other circumstances that brought about the Glorious or Bloodless Revolution of 1688—1689. *Why was it called Glorious?*

Describe the results of the Glorious Revolution or its constitutional, religious and political significance.

What was the Bill of Rights (1689)? *Discuss its clauses and constitutional significance.*

Write a note on the financial policy and reforms of William III and the Act of Settlement.

Give a brief account of the rise of the Party System and Cabinet Government of constitutional progress in the reign of William III and Queen Anne.

Describe the circumstances that led to the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707. *What were its clauses? How did both the countries gain by it? Why did it prove lasting?*

White short notes on the following:—

Eleven Years' Tyranny, Wentworth, Laud, The Long Parliament, Grand Remonstrance, Instrument of Government, Declaration of Rights, Treaty of Ultrecht (1713).

Contrast Tudor despotism with Stuart despotism or why did Tudor despotism succeed and Stuart despotism fail?

BOOK III (HANOVERIANS AND OTHERS)

Bring out the political and constitutional significance of the reign of the first two Georges or the Hanoverian succession in England.

Give an account of Sir Robert Walpole with special reference to his work and achievement and his contribution to the development of the British Constitution.

Give a brief account of William Pitt the Elder (Earl of Chathan or the Great Commoner) with special reference to his work an achievements or his services to his country.

(a) Account for ascendancy of the Whig Oligarchy during first half of the eighteenth century.

(b) What was the Whig contribution to the growth of the constitutional monarchy in England? How would you account for their fall?

(a) What means were employed by George III to displace the Whig Oligarchy, to establish personal rule and as much independence of Parliament and Cabinet as possible?

(b) How did his rule end?

(a) Discuss the causes and factors leading to the War of American Independence. What were is results? (b) Why did the Americans win?

Give a brief account of the administration of William Pitt the Younger with special reference to financial reforms and home and foreign policy.

Describe the causes and circumstances that led to the French Revolution. What were its effects on England, France and World and Europe?

(a) Why was Napoleon defeated?

(b) Explain how the British people contributed to the overthrow of the domination of Napoleon over Europe.

Review briefly the social and economic effects of the Napoleonic Wars in England. How far is it true to say that the years 1815—1822 *were full of distress for England?*

What do you understand by 'The Industrial Revolution?'' What were the causes or what changes took place in industry that brought the Industrial Revolution in the 18*th century? What were its economic, political, social and intellectual effects?*

Review the causes that brought the question of parliamentary reform in the forefront in the early thirties. Trace the progress of the Reform Bill of 1832. *Describe its provisions and also its effects and significance.*

Describe the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel with particular reference to his Financial Reforms, Home, Foreign and Social Policy. What is your estimate of Peel's work and achievement?

Write short notes on the following:—

Continental System of Europe, Napoleon's Russian Campaign, he Congress of Vienna, Chartist Movement, Benthamism.

Give an account of the causes, main events and results of the nean War (1854—1858). *Why is it said of it that it was the 'most ess war of the* 19*th century and that it was a 'history of blunders'?*

Describe briefly the political career of Lord Palmerston, his home foreign policy and his work and achievements.

Give a brief account of the Second Reform Act of 1867, *the nird Reform Act of* 1884 *and the Act of* 1885 *with particular refere to their constitutional significance.* Or, *Show how Great Britain has progressively become a complete political democracy since* 1832.

(a) Describe Gladstone's political career and his domestic reforms or Home Policy.

(b) "Gladstone's domestic policy had been too supine." Comment.

(a) Write a note on Gladstone's Irish Policy.

(b) Form an estimate of Gladstone's work, services and achievements.

(a) Give a short critical account of Benjamin Disraeli with particular reference to his Home and foreign policy.

(b) Give a careful estimate of Disraeli mentioning his work and achievements and his services to his country.

Attempt a contrast of the character and policy of Gladstone and Disraeli.

(a) What exactly do you understand by the term 'Eastern Question'? Briefly state its different stages up to 1856.

(*b*) *Give a brief account of the Russo-Turkish War* (1877) *with special reference to the Treaty of Berlin* (1878).

Trace the origin and growth of the Cabinet System and Party Government in England.

Write short notes on the following:—

The Old Colonial System of England, The New Colonial Policy of England, Lord Durham's Report, Lord Salisbury.

What was the policy of 'Splendid Isolation'? How did Edward VII abandon this policy and adopt one of entering into agreements and alliances?

How did the Parliament Act of 1911 *affect the position and power of the House of Lords?*

To what principal causes would you attribute the outbreak of the First World War of 1914—1918? *What were the terms of the Treaty of Versailles? What is your criticism of the Treaty?*

Give the chief causes of the Second World War (1939—1945). *Was the war inevitable?*